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The Victoria History of the
Counties of England

EDITED BY H. ARTHUR DOUBLEDAY

A HISTORY OF
THE COUNTY OF
NORTHAMPTON

VOLUME I

THE HISTORY OF THE
COUNTY OF
SOMERSET

A HISTORY OF
THE COUNTY OF
SOMERSET
BY
J. H. COLEMAN

THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTIES
OF ENGLAND
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE



PUBLISHED FOR
THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH
REPRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITION OF 1902
BY
DAWSONS OF PALL MALL
FOLKESTONE & LONDON
1970

*Issued by
Archibald Constable and Company Limited
in 1902*

*Reprinted for the University of London
Institute of Historical Research*

*by
Dawsons of Pall Mall
Cannon House
Folkestone, Kent, England
1970*

ISBN 0 7129 0449 2

*Printed in Great Britain
by Photolithography
Unwin Brothers Limited
Woking and London*

INSCRIBED
TO THE MEMORY OF
HER LATE MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA
WHO IN HER LIFETIME GRACIOUSLY
GAVE THE TITLE TO
AND ACCEPTED THE
DEDICATION OF
THIS HISTORY

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GENERAL ADVERTISEMENT

THE VICTORIA HISTORY of the Counties of England is a National Survey showing the condition of the country at the present day, and tracing the domestic history of the English Counties back to the earliest times.

Rich as every County of England is in materials for local history, there has hitherto been no attempt made to bring all these materials together into a coherent form. There are, indeed, histories of English Counties; but many of them—and these the best—are exceedingly rare and costly; others are very imperfect; all are out of date.

THE VICTORIA HISTORY will trace, county by county, the story of England's growth from its prehistoric condition, through the barbarous age, the settlement of alien peoples, and the gradual welding of many races into a nation which is now the greatest on the globe. All the phases of ecclesiastical history; the changes in land tenure; the records of historic and local families; the history of the social life and sports of the villages and towns; the development of art, science, manufactures and industries—all these factors, which tell of the progress of England from primitive beginnings to large and successful empire, will find a place in the work and their treatment be entrusted to those who have made a special study of them.

Many archæological, historical and other Societies are assisting in the compilation of this work, and the editor also has the advantage of the active and cordial co-operation of the National Trust, which is doing so much for the preservation of places of historic interest and natural beauty throughout the country.

The names of the distinguished men who have joined the Advisory Council are a

guarantee that the work will represent the results of the latest discoveries in every department of research. It will be observed that among them are representatives of science; for the whole trend of modern thought, as influenced by the theory of evolution, favours the intelligent study of the past and of the social, institutional and political developments of national life. As these histories are the first in which this object has been kept in view, and modern principles applied, it is hoped that they will form a work of reference no less indispensable to the student than welcome to the man of culture.

Family History will, both in the Histories and in the supplemental volumes of chart pedigrees, be dealt with by genealogical experts and in the modern spirit. Every effort will be made to secure accuracy of statement, and to avoid the insertion of those legendary pedigrees which have in the past brought discredit on the whole subject. It has been pointed out by the late Bishop of Oxford, a great master of historical research, that 'the expansion and extension of genealogical study is a very remarkable feature of our own times,' that 'it is an increasing pursuit both in America and England,' and that it can render the historian useful service.

Heraldry will also in this Series occupy a prominent position, and the splendours of the coat-armour borne in the Middle Ages will be illustrated in colours on a scale that has never been attempted before.

The general plan of Contents, and the names of the Sectional Editors (who will co-operate with local workers in every case) are as follows:—

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The issue of this work is limited to subscribers only, whose names will be printed at the end of each History.



1. 11. 1891. 11. 1891.

THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTY OF
NORTHAMPTON

EDITED BY W. RYLAND D. ADKINS B.A.
AND R. M. SERJEANTSON M.A.

VOLUME ONE

PUBLISHED FOR
THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

REPRINTED BY
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PREFACE

THE scope of this work, as will be seen from the general advertisement of the *Victoria History*, differs essentially from that of any county history hitherto attempted. The services of specialists both national and local have been secured for the treatment of the subjects with which their names are identified, so that the authority for the statements put forth and the views advanced can be at once recognized. The subjects comprised in the present volume are arranged in chronological order from the geology of the county down to the Domesday Survey. From this point the general articles do not naturally fall into any special order, and Mr. Albert Hartshorne's monograph on monumental effigies therefore forms a convenient conclusion to the volume. In the second volume will follow general articles on ecclesiastical history, the history of ancient schools, architecture, industries, etc., but the bulk of the remaining three volumes will be taken up with detailed histories of the parishes and manors of the county, and the work will conclude with a chapter that draws the various threads together, and recounts the civil and political history of this part of England from the Saxon period, when the county first emerged as a distinct area, to the present.

Northamptonshire readers and others in opening this volume will probably reflect that there are already three histories of the county of great reputation : Morton's (1712), Bridges's (1791), and Baker's. The existence of these works makes the compiling of the present volumes at once easier and yet more difficult. Easier because of the great amount of material and information already gathered together, but more difficult because of the necessity of sifting the evidence on which various statements rest, and of the labour of testing and substantiating the very large number of references. John Morton's folio *Natural History of Northamptonshire* is the only one of these older histories which to any extent covers the same ground as that traversed in the present volume, for not only did Morton deal somewhat exhaustively with the natural history of the county so far as such studies were then understood, but he treated also of some of the antiquities and gave a carelessly executed transcript of the Domesday Survey. Baker's work is, alas, only a fragment, and the History of John Bridges was written at a time when many sources of information now available were unknown, and before the scientific conception of historic development had been applied to county history. These two, which have more in common with the present

PREFACE

undertaking, as a whole, than Morton's work, will be referred to again in the volumes to come.

The Editors wish to express their thanks to the members of the Executive Committee and to many correspondents throughout the county for the assistance which, whenever sought, has been so ungrudgingly given. For permission to reproduce some of the illustrations in this volume they are indebted to the courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries, the British Archæological Association, the Associated Archæological Societies, and to Mr. W. C. Wells of Oxford Street.

A HISTORY OF
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

GEOLOGY

IN the following pages it is proposed to give, as far as possible, a geological history of Northamptonshire as a succession of physical events in defined time periods, and to use the composition and natural sequence of the rocks, as well as the present configuration of the ground, or modern scenery, chiefly in evidence.

GEOLOGICAL MAPS

On looking at the geological map which accompanies this descriptive matter, it will be observed that the county is coloured in what may appear to be a very erratic manner. Each colour is supposed to represent the area over which a particular rock formation outcrops, or is otherwise exposed at the surface. The colours are of course purely conventional.

The expression 'supposed to represent' is used advisedly, for over a considerable part of the county is spread a mass of gravel, sand, or clay of glacial origin, which partially or wholly obscures the particular formation represented on the map. The term 'Glacial Drift' or simply 'Drift' will be used in a comprehensive sense to include the deposits of all kinds and of relatively different ages directly or indirectly due to ice action. In the maps of the Geological Survey, on the scale of one inch to the mile, the chief areas covered with this confusing Drift are provisionally indicated by lettering, and where the covering is so thick as to leave the extent of the immediately underlying rock in doubt, dotted boundary lines are used for the latter. In some cases there is uncertainty as to whether the rock represented is even present.

It may be noticed on the map that the colours tend to form bands lying approximately from north-east to south-west; this direction of outcrop is spoken of as the 'strike' of the beds, and along it they preserve more uniformity of height above ordnance datum than in any other direction.

The general 'dip' of the beds is towards the south-east or at right angles to the strike, so that in traversing the county from north-west to south-east newer rocks successively occupy the surface without any concomitant rise of the ground level, but rather the reverse. In the direction of the county's greatest length however, which is nearly that of the strike, a single formation, the Great Oolite for instance, may be met with at the surface almost uninterruptedly from one extremity to the other.

We now proceed to give in tabular form the various geological formations to be found in the county, together with their most distinctive characters and approximate maximum thicknesses. Further details with regard to each will appear in succeeding pages.

TABLE OF FORMATIONS

Era or Group	Period, or System	Formation	Character of the strata in Northamptonshire	Approximate maximum thickness in feet
Quaternary or Post- Tertiary	Recent	Alluvium	Dark carbonaceous mud or loam .	15
	Recent and (or) Pleistocene	Fen-land	Gravels, sands, clays and peat . .	?
		Valley Gravels . .	Alluvial gravels and sands . . .	35
	Pleistocene	Upper Boulder Clay .	Clay, with much chalk and many erratics	100
		Mid-glacial Gravels .	Coarse gravel to fine sand . . .	35
		Lower Boulder Clay and Sands	Gravels, sands, loams and clays ; few erratics	170
Cainozoic, or Tertiary	<i>Pliocene, Oligocene, Eocene</i> (absent)			
Mesozoic, or Secondary	<i>Upper Cretaceous, Lower Cretaceous and Upper Oolitic</i> (absent)			
	Middle Oolitic		Corallian Beds . . .	?
			Oxford Clay . . .	10 ?
			Kellaways Rock & Clay	
	Lower Oolitic	Great Oolite Series	Cornbrash	15
			Forest Marble Series .	8
			Great Oolite Clay .	
			Great Oolite Limestone nodules	12
			Great Oolite Limestone . .	25
	Inferior Oolite Series	Lincolnshire Oolite . Lower Estuarine Beds (part of North. Sand) Northampton Sand .	Upper Estuarine Beds . .	30
			Oolitic and shelly limestones & slates	85
			White and ruddy sands and clays, carbonaceous	15
	Liassic	Upper Lias	Ironstones, sandstones, calcareous beds	60
			Blue clay, with cement stones and stone beds	180
			Middle Lias	98
Palæozoic, or Primary	Triassic	Lower Lias	Blue clays with cement stones and limestone bands	520
			Rhætic Beds	36
			Keuper	107
	Permian (absent)	Bunter	Black shale and white limestone, etc.	
			Variously coloured sandstones and marls, etc.	
			(absent)	
Palæozoic, or Primary	Carboniferous	Coal Measures . . . Millstone Grit . . . Carboniferous Lime- stone Series	(absent ?)	
			(absent ?)	
			Dolomite, limestone, sandstone, marl, etc.	190
	Old Red Sandstone and Devonian	Old Red Sandstone .	Red sandstone, grits and marls .	to 105
Azoic	<i>Silurian and Cambrian</i> (not yet found)			
	Archæan		Contemporaneous volcanic rocks .	to 74

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It may be seen from this table that Northamptonshire is built up chiefly of Jurassic rocks (Lias and Oolite), upon a foundation of Upper Palæozoic ones. It is partially and irregularly roofed over by Quaternary deposits. The sculpturing of the county into hills and valleys as we now see it, was begun before, continued with interruptions during, and completed after the Pleistocene period.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

The Mesozoic rocks of Northamptonshire rest upon an old, irregular land surface of Palæozoic or older rocks, which may be regarded as the foundation of the county. This Old Land Surface has been found, and the rocks composing it penetrated to a small depth, at a few places in the county, by deep borings, and we propose in this section to give a summary of the interesting information thus obtained.

ARCHÆAN. THE VOLCANIC PERIOD

The oldest rocks known in Britain have been named 'Archæan,' and, since the existence of life on the earth at the time of their formation has not been satisfactorily demonstrated, the term 'Azoic' has been applied to the era of their formation.

During late Archæan times Orton in Northamptonshire was the site of a volcano, possibly one of a string of volcanoes extending from Charnwood Forest in Leicestershire, in a south-easterly direction, as far as Cambridgeshire. The Orton volcano poured forth a lava rich in silica, which, could it have been seen in a less altered condition than that in which it is now found, would probably have been called a 'dacite.' As the lava gradually cooled it became devitrified, losing its glassy nature by the development of crystals, and then, or afterwards, was crushed, and took on the form it now has, to which the names quartz-felsite or (perhaps more suitably) quartz-porphyry have been given.

The above remarks embody opinions that have been expressed by Prof. T. G. Bonney and others in various papers, and have been arrived at from a comparison of some volcanic rocks found in a deep boring at Orton with the volcanic rocks of Charnwood Forest in Leicestershire, some 25 miles to the north-north-west, and of High Sharpley in particular, and also of both with the old volcanic rocks of the Wrekin and Wales.¹

The Orton boring was a trial one for coal, made in Harrington Dale, in 1883-84, by Mr. J. Fleming of Newcastle, and although un-

¹ Henry John Eunson, 'The Range of the Palæozoic Rocks beneath Northampton,' *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* (Aug. 1884), vol. xl. p. 492; 'Deep Boring at Orton, near Kettering, Northamptonshire,' *Journ. North. Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iv. pp. 57-68; Hill and Bonney, 'The Pre-carboniferous Rocks of Charnwood Forest,' *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.*, vol. xxxvi. p. 342; T. G. Bonney, 'On the Archæan Rocks of Great Britain,' *Report of the Brit. Assoc.*, Montreal (1884), p. 537; 'Presidential Address to the Geological Society,' *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.*, vol. xli., pt. 2, p. 48.

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successful in its object, the incidental information then obtained is most interesting. An abbreviated section is given below.

SECTION AT ORTON	Thickness in feet	Top of bed from sea-level
UPPER LIAS, including soil and silt	48	+ 374
MIDDLE AND LOWER LIAS	618	+ 326
RHÆTIC (WHITE LIAS and BLACK SHALES)	22	- 292
KEUPER : Sandstone and Breccia	27	- 314
<i>Old Land Surface</i>		- 341
VOLCANIC ROCK : Quartz-porphyrite showing an eroded surface ; distinct cleavage at an angle of 18° with the axis of the core .	74	- 341
Greatest depth	789	- 415

Quartz-porphyrite (or dacite ?) occurred in both the Keuper breccia and Rhætic conglomerate (White Lias), clearly indicating that after the volcanic rock at Orton had been covered with newer deposits the same rock was still exposed not far away ; that is to say, Orton was not the highest part of the volcano, or not the only one.

THE CAMBRIAN AND SILURIAN PERIODS

The Cambrian and Silurian periods may be passed over with the remark that, considering the relatively small thickness of the earth's crust at present pierced by borings in Northamptonshire, and for other reasons, one or both of these formations may be supposed to occur below the ascertained rocks.

THE OLD RED SANDSTONE (?)

The oldest stratified rocks that have been encountered *in situ* in Northamptonshire consist of coarse red sandstones, grits and marls, believed by Mr. Etheridge to belong to the Old Red Sandstone period, though, as remarked by Prof. Judd, they may belong to the Carboniferous formation ; in the absence of fossils the point must remain undecided. Prof. Bonney says that undoubtedly the material was derived from granitoid rocks of Archæan age.¹

The rocks here referred to were encountered in the deepest boring so far made in Northamptonshire (994 feet), at a place near to the canal and railway between Gayton and Bugbrook, some five miles south-west of Northampton, and two miles north-west of Blisworth station. The boring was a trial one for water by the Northampton Waterworks Company. As with the Orton boring, an abbreviated section is given from information then obtained.

¹ Henry John Eunson, 'The Range of the Palæozoic Rocks beneath Northampton,' *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* (Aug. 1884), vol. xl. p. 492.

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SECTION AT GAYTON	Thickness in feet	Top of bed from sea-level
UPPER LIAS, including soil	8	+ 282
MIDDLE and LOWER LIAS	573	+ 274
RHÆTIC : WHITE LIAS (14 feet), BLACK SHALES (22 feet), GREY MARLS ? (6 feet)	42	- 299
KEUPER : Sandstones and marls (53½ feet), Littoral deposits (22½ feet) <i>Old Land Surface</i>	76	- 341 - 417
LOWER CARBONIFEROUS : Limestones, sandstones, shales and marls	190	- 417
OLD RED SANDSTONE ? Coarse red sandstones, grits and marls, dipping at an angle of 45°.	105	- 607
Greatest depth	994	- 712

THE CARBONIFEROUS LIMESTONE SERIES

There is no uncertainty with respect to the presence of rocks of Lower Carboniferous age in Northamptonshire; they were proved to be 190 feet thick at Gayton, and at Northampton a boring was stopped after passing through 45½ feet of them. It is interesting to note that in each case they indicated, by an eroded top covered with fragmental deposits, an Old Land Surface. Fossils were fairly abundant, and included fish remains, cephalopods (*Orthoceras*), lamellibranchs, corals, and wood.

The boring at Northampton, referred to above, was also a trial one for water by the Northampton Waterworks Company, made in 1879, and below we give an abbreviated section similar to the last, compiled from information in Mr. Eunson's paper.¹

SECTION AT KETTERING ROAD, NORTHAMPTON	Thickness in feet	Top of bed from sea-level
NORTHAMPTON SAND, mostly slipped material	18	+ 278
UPPER LIAS, partly denuded	153	+ 260
MIDDLE and LOWER LIAS	567	+ 107
KEUPER : Sandstones, conglomerates, marls, and clays (Littoral deposits)	67½	- 460
<i>Old Land Surface</i> , dipping at angle of 15°		- 527½
CARBONIFEROUS : Red and white dolomite (25 feet), red and yellow sandstones, limestones and shale (20½ feet)	45½	- 527½
Greatest depth	851	- 573

THE COAL MEASURES

So far the Millstone Grit and the Coal Measures have not been found in Northamptonshire. Very plausible reasons have been given for supposing that they were never deposited over a considerable area of

¹ Henry John Eunson, 'The Range of the Palæozoic Rocks beneath Northampton,' *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* (Aug. 1884), vol. xl. p. 492.

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central England, owing to a broad belt of elevated land stretching across what is now Britain, from Wales to the east coast, during the Upper Carboniferous period. Without contesting in any way the general conclusion referred to above, it may be remarked that the evidence available from deep borings tends to show that the proved absence of coal from certain parts of Northamptonshire admits of and requires another explanation, and this may here be briefly discussed. Coal, or a near approach to it, lignite, may be found in any of the stratified rocks of Northamptonshire, in small pieces or larger patches, no doubt originally consisting of drift wood. Morton records¹ various diggings or borings for coal in the county previous to 1712; and an energetic attempt appears to have been made at Kettering in 1766.² A more ambitious scheme was formed in 1836, and a company commenced sinking a shaft at Kingsthorpe near Northampton. This venture was made on the advice of 'practical men,' and in opposition to the opinions of Wm. Smith ('the father of English geology') and Mr. Richardson (of the British Museum).³ £30,000 was expended, and a depth of 967 feet reached without either finding the Coal Measures or proving their absence. An attempt was made to revive the scheme about 1854, and again in 1869, but nothing came of either.

No accurate record of the strata passed through in making the Kingsthorpe shaft was kept, and the only available figures as to the thicknesses of the various formations are certainly wrong somewhere. It will suffice here to record that after passing through the Lower Lias they apparently met with Red Sandstone 60 feet (or 80 feet?), Red Marl 12 feet, Conglomerate 15 feet, and stopped at 967 feet, without reaching the Old Land Surface; but considering that the Conglomerate consisted chiefly of Carboniferous Limestone pebbles in a greenish sandy matrix, as at Gayton, there can be no reasonable doubt of its occurrence only a little below.

The problem of finding coal in Northamptonshire involves a consideration of several of the preceding sections and some of those which follow, thus:—In the early part of the Carboniferous period the district was mostly well under water and receiving marine deposits (cf. Gayton and Northampton), and since the whole of the Carboniferous rocks were deposited in a gradually subsiding area, it seems more likely than not that the Coal Measures, the uppermost division of the system, did actually cover the whole or parts of the county, and that they, as in the West of England and in Wales, rested directly upon Carboniferous Limestone without the intervention of the Millstone Grit, or even in other parts of the county upon Archæan rocks, as in certain districts of Leicestershire. If consideration be given to the great gap between the Carboniferous Limestone formation and the Keuper (see Table of Formations,

¹ John Morton, *The Natural History of Northamptonshire* (1712).

² *Northampton Mercury*, Feb. 24th, 1766.

³ Wm. Brown, 'The Iron Ores of Northamptonshire,' *Proc. of the South Wales Institute of Engineers*, vol. ii. p. 198.

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p. 2)—representing a period of time during which deposits of the aggregate thickness of some 20,000 feet were formed in other localities—and it be asked what was happening here, the answer is clearly this, that the denudation which did not finish till late in Triassic times commenced a great deal later than the Lower Carboniferous period, or there could otherwise have been none of the Carboniferous Limestone left. In other words, there must have been a very considerable thickness of rocks for denuding agents to act upon, over the Carboniferous Limestone now found, and these may well have included the Coal Measures.

THE PERMIAN AND TRIAS. THE MOUNTAINOUS PERIOD

A termination to the long Carboniferous period appears to have been brought about by extensive earth movements in the part of the world embracing what is now England, by which great arches (anticlinal axes) and corresponding troughs (synclinal axes) were formed, having directions approximating more nearly to east and west than to the other cardinal points. In the troughs the Permian rocks were deposited, and any Coal Measures below preserved for the time being, whilst the ridges were exposed to denudation, and the coal originally on them swept away.

At the close of the Permian period a new series of earth movements resulted in the formation of other ridges along approximately north and south lines.¹ It was this later series which completed the Pennine chain, the great central ridge of the north of England. The two sets of intersecting ridges divided the coal formations into groups of depressions, commonly called basins, and in the partially land-locked hollows so produced the Trias beds were deposited, whilst the newly-formed ridges were being denuded of both Permian and Coal Measures.

Northamptonshire shared in one or both of these earth movements, and throughout the greater part of the Trias, if not also the Permian period, was largely a land surface, subject to denudation, and during the later stages at least, as the Carboniferous Limestone and other older rocks got exposed, acquired an appearance comparable to that of the mountainous parts of Derbyshire now. Still, it may be pointed out, the problem of finding coal in Northamptonshire remains unsolved.

The conclusion of the Palæozoic period in geological history, and the slightly later closing of the long land period over Northamptonshire, left then a very uneven surface, mostly of limestone, as a foundation upon which the main mass of the well known stratified rocks of the county were afterwards piled almost uninterruptedly through some millions of years.

THE BUILDING UP OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

To appreciate properly the character and proportions of the Jurassic architecture of Northamptonshire, it is necessary to take a glance at conditions over a larger area. We have spoken of earth movements resulting in folds of the rocks; these were merely wrinkles in a vast

¹ Edw. Hull, *The Coal Fields of Great Britain*.

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surface itself slowly heaving, and for a time we may forget them and attend to the larger movements. Supposing we draw a line through Northamptonshire in the direction of its greatest length, then, speaking generally, to the north-west of this line the characteristic rocks of the county gradually disappear from the surface, and the Trias and older rocks take their place, and also attain to great thicknesses. To the south-east of our hypothetical line we also find the characteristic rocks of Northamptonshire disappearing, but in this direction their place is taken by Cretaceous and newer formations. These contrary conditions along a line lying approximately north-west to south-east can only be explained by differential movements equivalent to alternate rising and sinking about some more stable intermediate area. Apparently the north-west was the sinking area up to about the Middle Lias period, and afterwards the rising one, whereas the south-west, only finally submerged in Cretaceous times, was no doubt changed from a stationary or rising to a sinking area at about the same time.¹

Northamptonshire happened to be so near to the fulcrum of the differential movements we have been speaking of, and others acting transversely for shorter periods in Lower Oolitic times, that when within the sinking area it never received the full advantage of it, and when within the rising it lost very little of what it had previously gained; thus qualitatively the Jurassic rocks are well represented, but quantitatively they are rather deficient.

THE KEUPER

The first effect of a gradual incursion of the sea into an area which for a long time previously had been dry land would be to convert the fragments of already disintegrated rock strewn its surface into pebbles. The uneven character of the Old Land Surface in Northamptonshire (see pp. 4, 5, 6,) necessarily implies that the pebble beds resting upon it at different levels are not quite of the same age. Some of them greatly resemble the Bunter, but there can be no doubt that they are all of late Keuper to early Lower Lias age.

By tidal action then the fragments of Carboniferous limestone, quartz-porphyrite, and other rocks constituting the Old Land Surface, were more or less rounded; they became imbedded in a matrix of light green sand and carbonate of lime, and so produced a kind of concrete which tended to level up the new sea floor.

Further levelling up of the inequalities of the floor was brought about by deposits of variously-coloured sandstones, marls and clays. (See sections of Orton, Gayton, Northampton and Kingsthorpe, pp. 4, 5, 6). These beds have usually been described as Trias simply, a quite unnecessary precaution, since in two cases (Gayton and Orton) they

¹ Granite has been found in the Kellaways Beds at Bletchley; quartz, quartzite, and fossils of Jurassic age in the Lower Greensand of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire; granite, sandstone, shale, quartzite, and volcanic ash in the Chalk Marl of Cambridgeshire, indicating the late period of total submergence in or near these localities.

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are immediately succeeded by Rhætic beds without any signs of unconformity, and at three (Gayton, Northampton and Kingsthorpe) have yielded salt water, rising to a great height, thus proving their connection with the Warwickshire Keuper. It may be added that salt water was also met with in a boring at the L. & N. W. Railway Bridge Street Station, Northampton, in 1846. The water came from about 650 feet below the surface, *i.e.* about 559 feet below sea-level, and rose to within 8 feet of the top of the boring.

THE RHÆTIC BEDS

For a considerable time preceding the Rhætic period, a vast regional depression had in all probability been taking place, which masked any differential movement that may have accompanied it; each succeeding deposit covered a larger area than its predecessor, up to the time when no dry land was left near; and not only so, but greater uniformity in the character of the sediment resulted as the land supplying it receded, and so permitted of the sorting action of deeper water. We therefore find the GREY MARLS of the Rhætic period probably represented by some 6 feet of grey and cream-coloured marls at Gayton only, the most westerly section to which we can appeal. The BLACK SHALES are well developed at Gayton (22 feet), the *Avicula-contorta* zone being identified by such fossils as *Avicula contorta*, *Cardium rhæticum* and *Pecten valoniensis*, and the horizon of the celebrated Bone bed by the remains of fish, such as *Acrodus*, *Gyrolepis* and *Saurichthys*. At Orton these beds can only be identified by the exact matching of some 10 feet of green shale and sandy marl with material at Gayton. The WHITE LIAS is almost equally well developed at Gayton and Orton, it is characterized by iron pyrites in both places, but the only fossils recorded¹—*Pectens*, *Ostrea* and reptilian remains—are from Gayton.

The absence of Rhætic beds at Northampton has presented difficulties² but admits of a simple explanation. If we take the top of the Middle Lias as a datum, and consider that it was deposited under very uniform conditions as to depth over a large area (see p. 12), then, since that time, relatively to Northampton, Orton has been raised some 219 feet, and Gayton 167 feet. Before this movement, therefore, it would appear that the Old Land Surface at Northampton must have been about 57 feet higher than at Gayton, and 33 feet higher than at Orton, and not lower as at the present time, so we can understand why it never received true Rhætic deposits.

The peculiar littoral deposits resting on the Old Land Surface at Northampton, and other specific characters of this section can now be better understood, for the deposits are in part contemporaneous with the Rhætic and lowest beds of the Lower Lias of other localities. The combined thickness of Lower and Middle Lias is less at Northampton than

¹ Henry John Eunson, 'The Range of the Palæozoic Rocks beneath Northampton,' *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* (Aug. 1884), vol. xl. p. 492.

² *Ibid.*

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at either Gayton or Orton, as it should be according to this contention ; also, as Mr. Eunson observes,¹ the lower part of the Lias clay at Northampton has a more sandy appearance and uneven bedding than was observed at the other two places, indicating nearness of the material from which it was formed and shallow water dispersal of the same.

THE LOWER LIAS

For a long time following the Rhætic period, as far as we can judge, the general tranquil sinking continued over a very large area. At first the sea was shallow, and we find evidences of proximity to land in the remains of insects in the lowest beds of the Lias. We may consider that some Carboniferous Limestone was left exposed for a long time in the direction of Rugby, which, by its disintegration into calcareous mud, and admixture with argillaceous matter from a more distant source, formed the succession of marls, also assisted by dissolved carbonate of lime in a warm shallow sea the numerous alternating beds of argillaceous limestone so characteristic of the Lower Lias limestone quarries around Rugby. Higher in the formation, and therefore later in time, the Lower Lias is a more purely argillaceous deposit, and although stone beds do occur at intervals, they are often composed of fossils. Irregularly disposed argillaceous nodules, or cement stones, occur throughout the formation, but the exact origin of these has not yet been demonstrated.

The Lower Lias as a surface formation skirts the western and north-western parts of the county from near Banbury to near Market Harborough (see map). It is exposed along valleys converging to Weedon, but not so much as the map indicates. The average thickness, deduced from the various borings, may be put at 520 feet ; this is less than is usually quoted because the thickness of the Middle Lias has, until lately, been much underestimated.²

It may be that every well-recognized Palæontological zone of the Lower Lias occurs in Northamptonshire, for they have all been found within or near the borders ; they include the zones of *Ammonites planorbis*, *A. angulatus*, *A. bucklandi*, *A. semicostatus*, *A. turneri*, *A. obtusus*, *A. oxynotus*, *A. raricostatus*, *A. armatus*, *A. jamesoni* (with sub-zone *A. pettos*), *A. ibex*, *A. henleyi*, *A. capricornus*.³

We have not thought it necessary to give a very detailed account of the Lower Lias because there are few exposures in the county. The following particulars will give an idea as to where it may be studied. The Ibex, Henleyi, and Capricornus zones were passed through in making Kilsby tunnel ; the Ibex zone can be seen at Welford and Braunston ; the Henleyi zone at Buckby Wharf ; the Capricornus zone at Little Bowden,

¹ Henry John Eunson, 'The Range of the Palæozoic Rocks beneath Northampton,' *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* (Aug. 1884), vol. xl. p. 492.

² Beeby Thompson, 'Excursion to the New Railway at Catesby, Northamptonshire,' *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, vol. xiv. pt. 10 (Nov. 1896), pp. 65-88.

³ Beeby Thompson, 'Excursion to the New Railway at Catesby, Northamptonshire,' *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, vol. xiv. pt. 10 (Nov. 1896), pp. 65-88 ; 'Geology of the Great Central Railway, Rugby to Catesby,' *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.*, vol. iv. (Feb. 1899).

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and it was cut through at the northern end of Catesby tunnel on the G. C. Railway.

THE MIDDLE LIAS

A considerable change in the nature of the deposits, without any striking change in the general assemblage of fossils, occurs as we pass upwards into the Middle from the Lower Lias. It would appear that the general depression had ceased, that the north-westerly uplift previously referred to had commenced, and that it included or came near to western and north-western Northamptonshire, for in these directions we find such deposits in the Middle Lias as would be likely to result from the disturbance and redistribution of the Lower Lias near at hand, such as pebble beds containing rolled Lower Lias fossils (*A. capricornus* for instance), sandstones, limestones, marls, and especially thick clay beds with a much larger percentage of the quickly settling sand and mica than the Lower Lias beds contain.

It is only in the western parts of the county that the Middle Lias has been and can be fully investigated, hence the abbreviated type section is taken from there.¹

TYPICAL SECTION OF THE MIDDLE LIAS OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Name of Bed or Zone	Description of the Beds	Approximate thickness	
Transition Bed or 'Acutus' Zone	A. Soft grey marl, or stone, passing upwards into red sandy clay, with <i>Ammonites acutus</i>	ft.	in.
		0	6
'Spinatus' Zone	* 1. Rock-bed. A calcareous or sandy bed, often ferruginous, many fossils. <i>Ammonites spinatus</i> (rare)	6	0
	2. Calcareous or sandy clay, may have ferruginous nodules and one or more beds of sandy limestone	9	0
'Margaritatus' Zone (upper)	3. Two beds of soft sandstone, or shale, highly fossiliferous, separated by sandy, micaceous marl or clay; all containing <i>Ammonites margaritatus</i>	12	0
	4. Sandy, micaceous and ferruginous clay; fossils all casts	12	0
	* 5. Hard mottled rock, may be largely oolitic, and green in colour, or composed of comminuted shell; generally contains pebbles and water-worn fragments of fossils	2	0
'Margaritatus' Zone (lower) or 'Nitescens' Zone	6. Bluish-grey, sandy, highly micaceous clay, with numerous more calcareous indurated masses and impersistent beds, with <i>Ammonites nitescens</i> , etc.	56	0
Junction Bed	7. Layer of water-worn nodules, discoloured, bored, in matrix of green sand with numerous <i>foraminifera</i> , <i>oysters</i> and <i>pectens</i> , etc. Resting on 'Capricornus' zone	0	6
		98	0

* Water-bearing.

¹ Beeby Thompson, 'Excursion to the New Railway at Catesby, Northamptonshire,' *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, vol. xiv. pt. 10 (Nov. 1896), pp. 65-88; The Middle Lias of Northamptonshire.

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Any of the hard beds may yield water, but the only ones that can be fairly well relied upon to do so, and that give permanent springs within the district, are those marked thus *.

The Junction bed, No. 7, is seldom to be seen; the most interesting exposure that has occurred was near to Welton Station.¹ Beds included under 6 may be examined in the deep valleys around Catesby and Hellidon; beds 3 to 5 near to Staverton and Byfield, etc.

The Marlstone rock-bed, No. 1, may be found over much of the area shown as Middle Lias on the map; it is by far the most important bed, having been worked for ironstone in the south-western parts of the county, near Kings Sutton, and for building stone and road metal almost everywhere where it occurs near to the surface.

THE TRANSITION BED

At or near the close of the Middle Lias period there appears to have been a pause in the terrestrial movements we have chronicled in previous pages, during which time little or no sedimentation took place, for attrition of the rock-bed itself may have yielded the small thickness of grey marl usually found resting upon it. The striking similarity in character, thickness, and fossil contents of the Transition bed over a large part of Northamptonshire and some neighbouring counties, indicates uniformity of conditions, including depth, hence a few pages back we took this horizon as a datum for calculating subsequent earth movements. The time taken up by the period we are considering was no doubt a fairly long one, for the fauna of the bed is a mixture indicating a decline of Middle Lias forms and an influx of Upper Lias ones, hence the term 'Transition Bed' given to it by Mr. E. A. Walford.² *Ammonites acutus* is characteristic, and several of the interesting gasteropods found in it might be so regarded for this district.

THE UPPER LIAS

Before the Transition period much or the whole of Northamptonshire was embraced in the north-westerly rising area, after it in the sinking (south-easterly or general ?) area. Then followed, on a smaller scale, a remarkable repetition of Lower and Middle Lias phenomena. As the near land disappeared, and the shore line receded, in succession were formed paper shales with much vegetable matter, and fine-grained fish and insect limestones, then calcareous clays with argillaceous limestones, (but only two or three); next purer clays with isolated cement stones. Towards the close (corresponding to the change from Lower to Middle Lias, p. 11) we find a layer of water-worn nodules and rolled fossils, some covered with *ostrea* or *serpulæ*, followed by micaceous sandy clays containing an entirely new fauna mixed with the old, and in certain

¹ W. D. Crick and C. Davies Sherborn, 'On some Liassic Foraminifera from Northamptonshire,' *Journ. North. Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. vi. p. 208.

² Edwin A. Walford, 'On some Middle and Upper Lias Beds in the Neighbourhood of Banbury,' *Proc. Warw. Nat. and Arch. Field Club* (1878).

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places clay balls crowded with fossils, at all angles, which they had picked up whilst rolling in a soft condition, indicating nearness of actual denudation. Finally, in the Northampton Sand we have the representative of the Marlstone rock-bed, by its fossils linked to the beds below, and with wood and ironstone indicating nearness to land ; its coral reefs, slates made of calcareous sandy mud, beds of comminuted shell, and layers of small pebbles all pointing to shallow, warm water. An abbreviated section of the Upper Lias is given below ; further particulars may be obtained from other sources.¹

TYPICAL SECTION OF UPPER LIAS

Zone	Name of Bed or Zone	Description of the Beds	Approximate maximum thickness in feet
'Jurensis' Zone	'Opalinus' Zone	NORTHAMPTON SAND	
	'Lilli' Zone (Buckman)	1. Layer of nodules, some bored, some phosphatized. 2. Micaceous sandy clay, with layers of nodules, thin oyster beds, clay balls ; many Inferior Oolite fossils 3. Layer of water-worn nodules, bleached, some covered with <i>ostrea</i> or with <i>serpulæ</i>	24
	Leda-ovum Beds	4. Blue clay, with nodules, <i>Leda-ovum</i> , and many <i>ammonites</i> ; <i>Cerithium armatum</i> and other <i>gasteropods</i> in lower 30 ft.	72
'Communis' Zone	Unfossiliferous Beds	5. Blue clay, with large nodules, much <i>nail-head spar</i> , and few fossils	76
	Communis Beds	6. Argillaceous limestone passing into shale, or even clay ; many fossils, especially <i>ammonites</i> 7. Somewhat calcareous clay, with oolitic concretions, many small specimens of <i>Ammonites communis</i> and other <i>ammonites</i> of the same group	5
'Serpentinus' Zone	Serpentinus Beds	8. Hard, argillo-calcareous stone, with large <i>ammonites of the Harpoceras group</i> , etc. 9. Light-coloured marl, very few fossils	5
	Fish Beds	10. Paper shales, dark or light-coloured according to weathering, with <i>fish remains</i> 11. Fish Beds, one or two, fine grained limestones, nodular or persistent, with <i>ammonites</i> and <i>fish remains</i>	2
			184

¹ Beeby Thompson, 'The Upper Lias of Northamptonshire,' *Journ. North. Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 3, 183, 299 ; vol. iv. pp. 16, 27, 215 ; vol. v. p. 54 ; vol. vi. p. 96 ; 'Report on some Liassic Beds in Northamptonshire,' *Report Brit. Assoc.*, 1891, pp. 334-351.

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The Upper Lias varies very little in thickness throughout the county, and the zones are well marked. The map will show where the Upper Lias is exposed, and as the clays are largely used for brickmaking, the neighbourhood of any town or large village situated on it, or on the Northampton sand, will generally have one or more exposures.

THE LOWER OOLITES

The Lower Oolites consist of ironstones, sandstones, clays, marls and limestones ; and since sandy strata, and even some limestones, indicate comparative nearness to the source of the material, they are seldom as persistent in thickness and superficial extent as argillaceous beds. In addition, oolitic limestones probably indicate warm, agitated, and therefore shallow water during the time of their formation. There was so much coquetting of the land with fresh and salt water about this period that we can scarcely speak of the series of Lower Oolitic rocks as we did of the Lias, but will make such references to the physical conditions then existing as seem called for, in the appropriate place. The beds can be usually identified without the aid of characteristic fossils.

THE INFERIOR OOLITE

Inferior is a term used to designate position only. In our small scale map the whole series is represented under one colour.

TYPICAL SECTION OF INFERIOR OOLITE SERIES

Name of Series	Description of the Beds	Approximate maximum thickness in feet
Lincolnshire Oolite	* 1. LINCOLNSHIRE LIMESTONE : Cream-coloured freestones, shelly oolitic ragstones, and marly beds. Many fossils	80
	* 2. COLLYWESTON SLATE : Fissile, calcareous sandstones, or sandy limestones (or sands only)	5
Northampton Sand	3. LOWER ESTUARINE BEDS : Mostly white or bluish sands with vertical plant markings	15
	4. VARIABLE BEDS : Calcareous and slaty with much comminuted shell when distinct, but may incline to 3 or 5	30
	* 5. IRONSTONE BEDS : Rich red ore, ruddy sandstone, green or grey carbonate of iron, calcareous beds, and more rarely pyritous beds	30

* Water-bearing beds.

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THE IRONSTONE BEDS constitute a valuable source of iron, and are consequently worked at many places. The red ore consists largely of a hydrated peroxide of iron (Brown Hæmatite or Limonite) ; it may present

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varied appearances, but the most characteristic is that of a dark brown or red mineral, rich in iron, filling cracks in, and coating blocks or roundish lumps of green, grey, or brown oolitic or other lighter-coloured ferruginous matter concentrically, thereby producing a peculiar cellular or box-within-box-like arrangement. The red beds may however consist of sand coated with a pellicle of iron peroxide, which gives a regular ruddy appearance to the whole. The green ore is almost entirely an oolitic carbonate of iron, to the colour of which either or both silicate and phosphate of iron contribute. Low down in the series a darker bluish green rock is often met with, which is rejected for furnace purposes because of the phosphorus it contains. Calcareous matter is no disadvantage in the ore unless it replaces the iron too much. Highly pyritous mineral occurs at a few places where the rock is deep-seated, and water has not been able to circulate in it; indeed everywhere the circulation of oxygenated water appears to have been the direct cause of peroxidation of the mineral.

The origin of the iron and the form of the ore in the Northampton Sand cannot here be discussed, indeed it is by no means a settled question, but those who wish to pursue the subject must consult Prof. Judd's remarks thereon.¹

The distribution of fossils in the ironstone beds is most erratic; in places they are exceedingly abundant as casts, or moulds; or when the beds are more calcareous good specimens can be secured, but miles of ironstone cutting may be searched in vain for such. *Ammonites jurensis*, *A. opalinus* and *A. murchisonæ*, cephalopods which are characteristic of distinct zones in other parts of England, appear to occur together low down in the series.

Although 30 feet is given as the maximum thickness of the ironstone beds, it is rare to find more than from 9 to 12 feet worth working.

THE VARIABLE BEDS well deserve the name for they are most irregular in character and occurrence; they may lose their individuality in the white sands above, in the ironstone series below, or more or less in both. In the forms of an inferior ironstone, a red freestone, or white oolitic flaggy beds, they have been extensively used for building purposes, and even dug for roofing slates (New Duston); they have also been burnt for lime.

Since in many places where these beds cannot be identified there is no apparent thickening of the estuarines above or the ironstone below, we may presume that they are absent, and where they are present, therefore, a local origin for the material of which they are composed is to be postulated. There is reason to believe that the purer limestones of the series consist largely of coral mud and sand; certainly near Northampton, in the direction of Abington, such beds partly fringe and partly cover

¹ John W. Judd, 'The Geology of Rutland,' etc., *Memoirs of the Geological Survey*, pp. 113-138.

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an extensive coral reef, which rises above the general surface of the deposits now constituting the ironstone beds under part of Northampton.

THE LOWER ESTUARINE BEDS consist, usually, of white or light purplish sands, with some argillaceous matter, but the latter may preponderate. A striking characteristic of these beds is the almost universal presence in them of vertical black streaks or even carbonized stems of plants of contemporaneous growth. Two distinct periods of plant growth may be traced over many square miles,¹ and at places (*e.g.* Corby), horizontally bedded carbonaceous matter may be detected between the plant beds, indicating contemporaneous denudation in the neighbourhood.

The sand as such is used for various purposes ; where more indurated as a building stone (at Kingsthorpe for example), though very little at the present day ; the clay beds for brickmaking (Dene and elsewhere), and terra-cotta² manufacture (Stamford).

Notwithstanding the often very distinctive characters of these beds, it is impossible to regard them otherwise than as the upper part of one series, the Northampton Sand.

THE NORTHAMPTON SAND then embraces the three sets of beds just described, and these may quickly pass from one into the other. For instance, at Duston, two miles west of Northampton, the ironstone beds are fully 30 feet thick ; at Berry Wood, three-quarters of a mile to the north-west, in the entire thickness of 68 feet of Northampton Sand there is no true ironstone, but only ferruginous rock ; in another three-quarters of a mile in the same direction the whole exposure, some 30 feet, is white, or only slightly ruddy sand ; at New Duston, one and a half miles nearly north of the ironstone workings, under about 4 feet of white sand, are 42 feet of either ruddy building stone, or calcareous rock and slaty beds, with fossiliferous limestones near the base. In a southerly direction the white sands rest directly upon Upper Lias Clay (Grafton Regis and Paulerspury) ; and in a south-easterly direction the series apparently dies out very rapidly and is not to be detected at and beyond Preston Deanery, which latter place is only four and a half miles from Duston. On passing the Ise brook in a north-easterly direction the Northampton Sand maintains a much more equable facies over a considerable area.

The Estuarine origin of the deposits may be pretty confidently affirmed, judging by their rapid variations in character, both vertically and horizontally ; beds with corals and other marine fossils alternate with

¹ Beeby Thompson, 'The Oolitic Rocks at Stowe-Nine-Churches,' *Journ. North. Nat. Hist. Soc.*, No. 48, vol. vi. p. 295 ; 'Excursion to Weldon, Dene, and Gretton,' *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, vol. xvi. p. 226 (Nov. 1899).

² John W. Judd, 'The Geology of Rutland,' etc., *Memoirs of the Geological Survey*, pp. 103, 104.

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brackish water forms; plant beds occur, from which it would appear that a kind of equisetum covered a great many square miles of the swampy ground; and false-bedded and ripple-marked sandstones indicate shallow water. It is probable that the river or rivers came from the north-west.¹

THE LINCOLNSHIRE OOLITE

The latter part of the Inferior Oolitic period in this district was characterized by a local depression over an area of some ninety square miles, embracing chiefly north-east Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire. The extreme westerly (Maidwell) and southerly (Wold) limits of the Lincolnshire limestone now to be seen are probably not far from the boundary of the original depression in these directions.

The main mass of the Lincolnshire Oolite consists of compact, subcrystalline, oolitic, fossiliferous, and slightly argillaceous limestones; and of shelly ragstones (Barnack Rag, etc.), towards the formation of which coral contributed much. The beds thicken in a north-easterly direction to about 75 feet at Stamford, in which direction no doubt the deeper water lay. Nearness to land and shallow water is indicated by wood, plants, and rolled shells, indeed the limestone appears to have been in places a dead-shell bank. The lower beds may be marly and soft, but a good portion of the stone furnishes a cream-coloured freestone suitable for ornamental work, as well as general building purposes. A hard shelly variety takes a good polish, and is known as Weldon marble, Stamford marble, etc., according to the place from which it comes. All forms produce lime of good quality.

Collyweston Slates. The lower beds of the Lincolnshire Oolite formation in those parts that may be looked upon as the margin of the depression in its earlier stages, are either sands or sandy limestones or both. The arenaceous limestones have been largely worked at Dene, and between Stamford and Collyweston and elsewhere, under the name of Collyweston Slates. At Collyweston the workable bed varies from 6 inches to 3 feet in thickness, but more or less slaty beds occasionally encroach on the main mass of limestone to the thickness of 18 feet. Ripple marks, worm tracks, and plant remains in the slates, as also the sands, indicate shallow water and nearness of land.²

¹ John W. Judd, 'The Geology of Rutland,' etc., *Memoirs of the Geological Survey*, p. 129.

² For more detailed description of these and other beds of the Inferior Oolite consult Sharp and Judd. John W. Judd, 'The Geology of Rutland,' etc., *Memoirs of the Geological Survey*; Samuel Sharp, 'The Oolites of Northamptonshire,' pt. i., *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* (Aug. 1870), p. 354; pt. 2, *ibid.* (1873), p. 225.

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TYPICAL SECTION OF THE GREAT OOLITE SERIES

Description of the Beds	Approximate maximum thickness
	ft. in.
* 1. CORNBRASH : White, ruddy, or blue limestone, very fossiliferous, with <i>Ammonites macrocephalus</i> , <i>A. discus</i> , etc.	15 0
2. FOREST MARBLE SERIES : Variegated clays, hard flaggy blue-hearted limestones, shales, and oyster-beds, etc.	8 0
3. GREAT OOLITE CLAY : Blue and purple clay, with wood and carbonaceous matter, and ironstone	12 0
* 4. GREAT OOLITE LIMESTONE SERIES : Hard shelly limestones in courses, with marly or oyster-bed partings. <i>Ammonites gracilis</i>	25 0
5. UPPER ESTUARINE SERIES : Very variable	
(a) Green, grey, or blue clay, or marl, with vertical plant-markings and carbonaceous matter	
* (b) Hard blue-hearted limestone, marl, hard shale, or oyster-bed (6 ft.)	30 0
(c) Blue, dark brown, or nearly white clay, with vertical plant-markings, or carbonaceous matter; or possibly an oyster-bed. Ironstone at base	
	90 0

* Water-bearing.

THE UPPER ESTUARINE SERIES

The scale of the accompanying map does not permit of the divisions of the Inferior and Great Oolite series being separately and respectively represented on it, hence the connection between the two sets of Estuarine beds is not seen. Speaking generally, in the valley of the Nene the two Estuarine series come together, and in the valley of the Welland they are separated by the Lincolnshire Oolite.

The Upper Estuarine beds are even more variable than the lower in thickness and character over large areas. They also undergo rapid changes in the same area. In some places from eight to ten very distinct beds might be chronicled, but a three-fold division (see Typical Section) answers for most purposes.

The occurrence of carbonaceous matter, large pieces of wood in some places vertical plant markings in others, and limestones, as well as both marine and fresh or brackish water mollusca—*Modiola*, *Ostrea*, *Cyrena* and *Unio*, etc.—point to such variable conditions as could be best secured in the estuary of a large river, hence the name given to them by Prof. Judd. Probably the finest section ever exposed within the county was at Roade Cutting, on the L. & N.-W. Railway, but a very good one could recently be seen in one of the ironstone workings near to Finedon. In the eastern parts of the county a nodular fossiliferous ironstone, about one foot thick, occurs at the base; and even in the western, midland and other parts, where the two Estuarines come together, in almost all cases a ferruginous band marks the junction. The commonly irregular junction, with its ferruginous band, is supposed to indicate an unconformity

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between the two estuarine series; probably it does, but absence of sediment rather than loss of it by later denudation accounts for the missing beds.¹

The clays are dug for brick-making, and have been used for fire-clay and terra-cotta manufacture; the ironstone yields a good quality of iron, but does not pay to work. Agriculturally these beds are probably the worst in the county, producing cold wet lands, and the heartily disliked oyster-bed soils, locally known as pen-earth or penny-earth.

The Upper Estuarine series represents in time the Fuller's Earth of Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, indeed the limestone, 5*b*, may be a deposit contemporary with the Fuller's Earth rock. The upper part of 5*a*, together with the lower part of the limestones above, probably corresponds in time with the Stonesfield slate.

THE GREAT OOLITE LIMESTONE

This set of beds consists of yellowish or white limestone in various courses, much jointed, sometimes compact and blue-hearted, and mostly bluish when deep-seated. The partings between the courses of stone may consist either of sand, marl, dirty clay, oyster-beds, or comminuted shell. The limestone is seldom oolitic, and only occasionally can be worked as a freestone like its contemporary the Bath oolite, nevertheless it has been most extensively used in the county for building, both of churches and houses, and for walls, often without mortar. Some of the hard, blue, shelly and subcrystalline limestone will take a good polish; around Castor and Alwalton such stone was formerly quarried and used under the name of Alwalton marble, but it appears to be lacking in durability. The limestone is much quarried for the production of lime, but to a still larger extent as a flux for local ironstone.

The limestone division of the Great Oolite series retains considerable uniformity in character and thickness throughout the county; this is the more notable since not far from Banbury, in a south-westerly direction, it gets very sandy, and has been mistaken for the Northampton Sand; and in Lincolnshire it almost disappears. It is distinctly a marine formation, as shown by the abundant fauna, yet the frequent alternation of oyster-beds, the common occurrence of plant remains, the change to sandy conditions to the south-west and dying out to the north-east, as well as its interposition between beds of an estuarine character, point to shallow water conditions and nearness to land.

THE GREAT OOLITE CLAY

The clay named Great Oolite Clay by Prof. Judd is the same as the Blisworth Clay of Mr. Sharp,² and no doubt represents, in time, the

¹ Beeby Thompson, 'Excursion to Weldon, Dene, and Gretton,' *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, vol. xvi. p. 226 (Nov. 1899).

² Samuel Sharp, 'The Oolites of Northamptonshire,' pt. i., *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* (Aug. 1870), p. 354.

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Bradford Clay of south-eastern England. In Northamptonshire it is a variegated clay—blue, green, yellow, or purplish, and occasionally bituminous (Peterborough)—containing, in irregular layers, white, green, septarian, concretionary, calcareous, or ferruginous nodules. *Ostrea subrugulosa* is fairly abundant, and quantitatively may be regarded as a characteristic species of fossil in differentiating this from the beds immediately above (see next section). Blisworth, Stowe-Nine-Churches, Thrapstone, Oundle and Wansford are some of the places where it has been well exposed.

THE FOREST MARBLE SERIES

This set of beds (named from its occurrence at Wychwood Forest in Oxfordshire) is, in north-eastern Northamptonshire, inseparable from the Great Oolite Clay, hence under the latter name is recorded a thickness of 20 feet. South of the Nene valley, at Stowe-Nine-Churches, near Pattishall, Roade, and Quinton, we have, over beds such as are described in the previous section, variegated clays with thin bands of fibrous carbonate of lime, hard shales, flaggy limestones with abundant interbedded plant remains, and oyster-beds. At Quinton a bed between 3 and 4 feet thick consists almost entirely of *Ostrea sowerbyi*, with a smaller number of specimens of *Modiola imbricata* and *Unicardium varicosum*.

Both the Great Oolite Clay and the Forest Marble series, although containing only a marine fauna, by their changeable nature, interbedded vegetation, and other characters suggest distinctly shallow water and estuarine conditions, though there was probably a general sinking and consequent levelling up going on, preparatory to the deposition of the thick argillaceous deposits commencing with the Oxford Clay.

THE CORNBRAsh

The Cornbrash is usually a hard, blue, fossiliferous limestone when encountered under other rocks; at the surface it weathers to a yellowish or ruddy colour, and forms a rubbly or brashy rock and soil, supposed to be particularly suited to corn, hence the name. Within Northamptonshire it mostly occurs as isolated masses (see map), but no doubt at one time covered the whole county, for it is the most persistent of all the calcareous strata of the Oolitic period, being met with right across England. It has been found in Northamptonshire as far westward as Stowe-Nine-Churches, let down by a 'fault.'¹ The average thickness is about 5 feet, but in the eastern parts of the county (Peterborough, etc.) it reaches to 15 feet. The stone is not much used, though some rough walling may be done with it also road mending; it is also occasionally burnt for lime.

¹ Beeby Thompson, 'The Oolitic Rocks of Stowe-Nine-Churches,' *Journ. North. Nat. Hist. Soc.*, No. 48, vol. vi, p. 295.

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THE OXFORD CLAY AND KELLAWAYS ROCK

The Oxford Clay is now only represented by the lower beds within Northamptonshire ; it forms a fringe to the east of the county, from Yardley Chase to Peterborough ; patches of it occur as outliers at a few places (see map) ; it underlies part of the Fenland, and probably at one time covered the whole county. The formation, as here to be examined, consists of a blue, slate-coloured, or brownish clay when superficial, containing iron pyrites, selenite, septaria, and many fossils. The lowest portion, a little above the Cornbrash, is shaly, and contains fissile sandy layers almost passing into stone, with *Avicula inæquivalvis*, *Gryphæa bilobata*, *Nucula nuda*, etc., and so no doubt represents the Kellaways Clay and Rock of other localities.

THE KIMERIDGE CLAY TO THE CHALK

There is some reason to believe that the Kimeridge Clay once covered the county, for its characteristic fossils occur rather abundantly in the Drift deposits at certain places, whereas traces of rocks of an age between it and the chalk do not. It is still more certain that the county was once covered with chalk, for the double reason that it could not have remained above water during the deposit of the deep sea chalk around, and the chalk and flint fragments of the early Drift are likely to have had a home origin.

THE SCULPTURING OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

On emergence of land subsequent to the chalk period the sculpturing of Northamptonshire began. Desiccation of the recently water-logged rocks caused their exposed surfaces to crack in all directions, while the gases of the atmosphere acted on them chemically. Possibly freezing and thawing, but certainly wetting and drying, and heating and cooling with night and day and the changes of the seasons assisted then, as they do now, in breaking up the surface of the ground, while wind and running water distributed the material. Assuming that denudation commenced here at about the same time that Tertiary deposits were beginning to be formed in the southern, south-eastern, and eastern districts of what is now England, we may consider that the sculpturing of the county has occupied between two and three millions of years.

The dip of the newly-exposed ground determined the general, and inequalities on its surface the specific directions of the earliest main lines of drainage, but the deepening and widening of these primary valleys, and the development of lateral ones, has been chiefly the work of running water since.

If we look at a map of the Catchment Basins of England, we shall observe that the Wash receives water from practically every point of the compass excepting that in which lies the open sea, which is at least inconsistent with the general south-easterly dip of the strata we

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have spoken of (p. 1). Again, we notice that whilst the Nene and Welland rivers, and even the Ise, Harper and Willow brooks in the early parts of their course, flow in a north-easterly direction, the newer tributary streams of the Nene and the later-formed channels of the older ones take directions much more in accordance with the present dip of the strata, being even more southward than eastward (see map). All this points to a second uplift of the strata not in concord with the first, which, while it modified much of the drainage, could not divert the then well-established main lines of the rivers.

THE NORTHAMPTON HEIGHTS

The structure and formation of hills in general will be considered later, but this appears to be the proper place to speak of that range of heights bordering the county to the west and north-west, from north of Banbury to near Market Harborough, known as the Northampton Heights or Northampton Uplands. They form an almost uninterrupted fence to the county nearly approaching or exceeding 500 feet in height; patches more than 600 feet above O.D. occur about Charwelton, Cold Ashby, Naseby and elsewhere, and some smaller spots reach to 700 feet or more, the highest point being Arbury Hill, 735 feet. These hills constitute a part of the diagonal water-parting of lower central England, and may be regarded as a continuation of the Cotteswolds. Now considering the height of the hills, the exceptional and very similar dip from all points of the compass ranging between south-west through west to north towards Northampton, confirmed by the direction of flow of the two main branches of the Nene to the same place (see map), we conclude that these hills represent the direction of that line of uplift which appeared to be called for by differences in direction of the earlier and later-formed valleys of the county. A diagonal elevation or fold, running approximately from south-west to north-east, on crossing the area dipping to the Wash, would give rise to a curving of the Mesozoic outcrop towards the depression, just as we find it.

No evidence is available to fix the time of the probable uplift we have been considering, but on the whole it is more likely to have occurred during the Miocene (or early Pliocene) than any other period, a time of great crust movements affecting a large portion of the earth, when both the Alps and Himalayas received their last great upward thrust, and when England acquired very closely the shape it now has, though it was not quite severed from the continent till later.

THE PLIOCENE PERIOD

Great earth movements, by affecting the distribution of land and water, would be likely to bring about changes in climate; but whether we accept this as sufficient, or add to it astronomical causes, there is clear evidence that towards the close of the Tertiary—that is, in the Pliocene period—the climate was getting colder, and ultimately ice reigned supreme over Northamptonshire and all districts north of it.

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As the southern counties of England were not glaciated when Northamptonshire was, so at an earlier period Northamptonshire was not when more northern counties were. Certain accumulations of sand in old depressions (valleys) of Pre-glacial age, sometimes described as Pre-glacial deposits,¹ may have been formed contemporaneously with the Pliocene beds of the east coast, but they may have been formed later, and since they are certainly connected with glacial conditions not far away, they will receive attention in the next section.

THE GLACIAL PERIOD

Clear evidence exists of two distinct periods of refrigeration in Northamptonshire, and of three periods of diluvial action, corresponding with the advent, temporary recession, and final decline of glacial conditions. A common-sense view of what would be likely to happen during the advance and retirement of an ice sheet appears to afford an adequate explanation of the extra-ordinary phenomena of the Drift deposits.

Considering the main mass of a glacier to have passed from snow, through *névé*, to compact ice, a great thickness of ice presupposes a plentiful supply of moisture, but not necessarily great cold, indeed a mean annual temperature not far below the freezing-point of water would suffice for glacier formation. Northamptonshire was never far from the southerly limit of complete glaciation, and so probably fulfilled the above conditions.

Suppose an ice sheet advancing from the north. This would necessarily imply, either as a cause or effect, a lowering of the mean annual temperature, but is quite compatible with warm, if short, summers during which the melting of local snow and ice would give rise to great floods, and these would distribute sand and gravel derived from local rocks along their course of flow, the old river valleys, whilst disengaged blocks of ground ice and masses of frozen ground would disturb the soft wet clays on which they impinged or grounded. Most of the evidences of this preliminary glacial (or pre-glacial) action were necessarily obliterated by subsequent events, but some remain.

There are certain sand beds, from 20 to 40 feet in thickness, with a width varying up to half a mile, occupying an elongated depression, which have been traced for about eight miles on the south side of the Nene valley, through the parishes of Heyford, Bugbrook, Rothorpe, Milton, Collingtree, Courteenhall, and beyond towards Piddington. These sands, finely laminated and apparently quite free from erratics, are certainly to great extent derived from the Northampton Sand. Recently these beds were cut right through at Courteenhall for draining purposes, and it was then seen that at and towards the base of the cutting gravel rather than sand predominated, that this gravel

¹ John W. Judd, 'The Geology of Rutland,' etc., *Memoirs of the Geological Survey*, p. 240.

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rested upon an irregular surface of Upper Lias Clay, which, where rising into hummocky masses, was highly contorted. Again, in the stratified gravel and sand beds above were large and small boulders of Upper Lias Clay, some oxidized and carrying vegetable matter, showing them to be fragments of the pre-glacial soil, and to have been carried by *floating ice*.

With continued refrigeration (fluctuations apart), we may consider that each succeeding winter the ground would get frozen to a greater depth, and each summer the proportion of snow and ice melted less, until a sedentary ice sheet formed *in situ*. A glacier advancing from more northerly parts would firstly override this, then by a process of regelation incorporate it, and so ultimately compel movement of it. The thickness of matter moved would at first, of course, correspond to the depth of previously frozen ground, and the junction of this latter with the unfrozen rock below the lowest plane of shearing. These basal layers, highly charged with local rock constituents, would move very slowly compared with the glacier as a whole, and so the material be only to a small extent, and that very gradually, incorporated in the main mass of ice, carried as englacial drift and deposited as erratics at a considerable distance from its source. Hence we see why Boulder Clay or Till is so commonly in the main composed of local rocks.

The movement of ice, like that of water, being along lines of least resistance, such as are afforded by river valleys and low-lying ground, an easy passage for a glacier would be afforded in eastern Northamptonshire and the whole area around the Wash; combine this with a slightly higher latitude, and it is reasonable to suppose that the outfalls of the Welland, Nene and Ouse were stopped before true glacial conditions prevailed in more westerly parts of the county, and so the ordinary and extraordinary drainage of a large area diverted to the west and south.

To water from outside the county in a northerly direction, seeking to discharge southwards, the Northampton Heights and a spur of high ground by Hillmorton and south of Rugby offered an almost complete barrier, and so the water was largely diverted into the Avon valley; the evidences of this are as follows. At Hillmorton drift sand and gravel are heaped up to the thickness of 170 feet against a highly inclined cliff of Lower Lias Clay facing nearly north. Eastward, towards Crick, the deposit to be seen, 50 feet in depth, passes rather rapidly into gravel; westward, however, towards Rugby, gravel gives place to fine false-bedded sand, with here and there lenticular patches of gravel, or even clay; and then, in a kind of bay east and south of Rugby, to a contorted brown sandy clay or loam, with a few erratics in patches, showing that a glacier contributed both water and ice, and of this there is further evidence in disturbed and scratched local limestone block.¹

One opening into the county, and probably the only one in the

¹ Beeby Thompson, 'Geology of the Great Central Railway, Rugby to Catesby,' *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.*, vol. iv. (Feb. 1899); 'Excursion to Hillmorton and Rugby,' *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, vol. xv. pt. 10 (Nov. 1898).

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western half of it that allowed water to enter from without, appears to have existed between Kilsby and Crick, and through this gap a portion of the glacier water poured after reaching a certain level, and in it left a deposit of sand continuous with the Hillmorton beds. We thus have a simple explanation of the disastrous quicksand encountered near the south end of Kilsby tunnel when the latter was made, of the enormous volume of water pumped from it, and the remarkable way in which the trial holes failed to detect it.

Southward of the Kilsby tunnel gap the water appears to have been disposed of partly to the westward, around the southern end of the Marlstone outlier on which Welton stands, towards Braunston, and so into the Leam valley ; partly along the valley through which the L. & N. W. Railway runs from Watford to Weedon (see map), and thence along the channel previously referred to as extending from Heyford to Courteenhall, and on into the low-lying land constituting the valley of the Ouse. This old channel was, there is much reason for believing, a branch of the Ouse, and not the Nene as the nearest stream to it now is. The sand beds which we rely upon for identifying the course of flow are, between Wilton and Daventry, about 40 feet thick under 10 feet of gravel, and nearly the same at other places south of the Nene (see p. 23).

LOWER GLACIAL DEPOSITS

The sand beds (not including the overlying gravel) although formed by water action antecedently to the period of complete glaciation of the county, no doubt ultimately passed upwards into an earth and boulder-laden ice, and by this ice, valleys at a higher level, and otherwise less accessible to glacier flood water were gradually choked, and the general surface of the ground covered. The infilling Boulder Clays, or dirty gravels of certain pre-glacial valleys may be regarded as an imperfectly washed residue of this first ice sheet, and are therefore Lower Glacial deposits, but on the whole the previous presence of an extensive ice sheet can only be inferred from the modified Drift to be considered next.

MID-GLACIAL GRAVELS. INTER-GLACIAL PERIOD

The first glaciation was followed by a comparatively long interval of time during which a mild climate prevailed. The retreat of the ice, like its advance, was accompanied by great floods, implying rather rapid changes of climate. It would appear that subaerial melting produced superglacial floods sufficient in intensity to carry away all the finer argillaceous matter previously included in the ice, and ultimately left a well-washed ground moraine of coarser material spread over much of the county, but especially in the larger valleys, where the ice had been thickest and the consequent floods greatest and most prolonged. These Drift Gravels or Mid-glacial Gravels rest either upon the denuded surface of one of the Mesozoic rocks, or unconformably upon the earlier sand or gravel beds (as may be well seen at Hillmorton) ; they are usually well

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bedded, and by alternations of pebbles and sand indicate variations in the strength of the water currents.

In the eastern half of the county gravel beds of local material are to be met with, as might have been anticipated. At Pytchley, for instance, a deposit of nearly pure Great Oolite limestone gravel, some 15 feet thick, covers a considerable area. At Brigstock, a deposit of shelly oolitic limestone has only recently been proved to be gravel by the finding in it of land and freshwater shells in small patches of clay, and, when carefully looked for, small quartz pebbles, etc.¹

In the western half of the county the gravels reach their greatest development, the beds are thicker and cover a more extended area than in the eastern parts, all of which is consistent with the supposition that the area was nearer to the extreme limits reached by the ice.

THE GREAT CHALKY BOULDER CLAY

Again glacial conditions set in, ice once more invaded the county, picking up and incorporating in its mass the loose material of the mid-glacial gravels, clay and fragments of local rocks, and so producing, with the new material it brought from a distance, a more complex mixture than any preceding it. The permanent results were so different to those of the former glaciation as to justify the following comparison. The falling and rising of mean temperature was slower, advance and recession of the ice sheet more gradual, antecedent and consequent floods less violent, period of glaciation longer, thickness of the ice greater, advance southwards further than in the previous period, added to which there was a probable depression of the whole area some 150 to 200 feet.

The evidences of the last glaciation of the county are to be found in a mass of clay resting indifferently upon any of the older formations of the county, in which boulders of various rocks, and chalk and flint in particular, are abundant, hence the name Chalky Boulder Clay. The clay is mostly blue, but may be brown or yellowish in colour, and calcareous or sandy in constitution, or even approximate to a dirty gravel, depending upon the comparatively local ground rock which furnished the main mass of the material. The order of relative abundance of the argillaceous matter appears to be Oxford Clay, Kimeridge Clay, Upper Lias, Middle Lias, Lower Lias, and this, judged by fossils found in the Mid-glacial gravels, might well have been the relative order of abundance of argillaceous matter in the earlier Boulder Clay. The so-called '*Gryphæa incurva*,' abundant in both sets of deposits, is not a Lower Lias fossil, as was long supposed, but a Kellaways Clay or Rock fossil (Lower Oxford Clay).

The great thickness—100 feet or more—of unoxidized clay not far removed from its source may be taken to indicate considerable depth of frozen ground previous to actual incorporation in the moving glacier, as

¹ Beeby Thompson, 'Peculiar Occurrence of Land and Freshwater Shells in the Lincolnshire Oolite,' *Geol. Mag.*, decade iv., vol. ii., No. 371, May, 1895; see also *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, vol. xiv. pt. iii. (July, 1895).

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also the slow advance of the latter ; whilst a residue of much clay and little or no real gravel, except in particular situations, must be accounted for by a very slow melting of the ice, either from below upwards, by the rise of earth heat when actual refrigeration ceased, or if under subaerial melting (as it must have been very largely towards the end), by the slight fall of the water, due to depression of the land. Chalk, flint, and Bunter pebbles are the most abundant erratics ; granite, greenstone, jasper, lydian stone, white quartz, mica-schist, carboniferous limestone, gritstone, coal-measure sandstone and shale, etc., also occur, all indicating a distant origin for much of the ice. Some of the stones are striated, but more particularly the large and moderately hard local rock fragments generally found at or near the base.

The great thickness of the glacier and its universal extension over the county are not in doubt, for every hill that has been carefully examined shows traces of Drift.

POST-GLACIAL GRAVELS

No marine or fresh water shells of contemporaneous age have been found in the Drift of Northamptonshire (excepting such as admit of another explanation, cf. Brigstock, p. 26), and speaking generally there is no distinct bedding in the Boulder Clay ; in other words it was not deposited in water. Much evidence is available, however, from outside the county, of a depression of some 140 to 170 feet during the period of extreme glaciation, and restitution to its present level afterwards.

We accept such a depression for Northamptonshire because it is quite consistent with observed phenomena, and permits of a better explanation of some succeeding events than could otherwise have been given, such as post-glacial gravels only on fairly high ground, or in the river valleys, where, as so-called river gravels, they occur at different heights.

DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN SCENERY

The larger features of Northamptonshire Physiography were undoubtedly developed before the Pleistocene period, nevertheless considerable modifications were brought about by glaciation of the county ; for instance, the hills are now specifically or relatively less high than they were by the amount of material removed from them by ice, and much of the lower ground probably higher than before from the Drift deposits left on it being thicker than the rock removed.

As the last ice sheet was melting old lines of drainage tended to resume control of the water discharge, and in this they were largely but not completely successful. It must be remembered that when cutting back of the ice-filled valleys recommenced, it was not from present sea-level, because the eastern part of the county, and therefore the lower parts of the old valleys, were submerged ; so by the time that the land had regained about its present elevation, many new lines of drainage had been

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developed and old ones permanently deserted. These old valleys filled in with Boulder Clay or Glacial Gravel have, not inaptly, been called buried valleys.

BURIED VALLEYS

Buried valleys are by no means uncommon, but only occasionally can they be traced for a sufficient distance to make out the original source and particular destination of the water they carried, for they are not noticeable till the ground is opened. A buried valley near Northampton extends from the Wellingborough Road to the Billing Road, under Abington Abbey, and evidently debouched into the Nene. The trough is some 200 yards wide, depth unknown, and is filled with a jumble of materials not greatly water-worn, none being older than the Northampton Sand. On the Wellingborough Road Great Oolite limestone largely preponderates, on the Billing Road there is more clay, and Kimeridge Clay fossils are rather abundant.

At Furtho, towards Stoney Stratford, an old valley of the Ouse has in its midst Boulder Clay to a thickness of 100 feet or more, which the small post-glacial streams have not been able to remove.¹ Numerous sand and gravel deposits would probably come under this head, including the sand beds in the parishes of Milton and Courteenhall referred on page 23.

THE NENE VALLEY

The following remarks with respect to the Nene valley would apply, with modifications, to the Welland or other large watercourses. If we stand on any of the bounding hills of the Nene valley below Northampton and look at the deep, wide excavation, and then at the thin, scarcely distinguishable stream meandering through the flat meadows, and if we further take account of the occasional great floods, it is difficult to conceive that the river and the floods could have produced the results observed, for the river has little or no excavating power, and floods generally, if not always, deposit more silt in the valley than they carry away out of it; in fact the river and the valley are misfits. Now since the drainage area above any selected point was never more, and even may have been much less than now, we have to look back for a suitable time and adequate cause for a small river in a large valley, and both we find at the end of the first stage of the Glacial and the beginning of the Inter-glacial periods. The rapid melting of the first ice sheet, which left a capping of gravel over even the flat lands of the county, produced floods immense in volume and of great velocity in this valley, being perhaps equivalent in effect to a heavy rainfall over the whole watershed for a very long time, at first without any exposed porous rocks to help in its disposal by absorption, and later only saturated ones. These floods carried away all the finer material of the glacier ice, deepened the valley by excavating the clay bottom, widened it by washing away the sides, in which they were aided by frequent slips of the

¹ Beeby Thompson, 'Pre-glacial Valleys in Northamptonshire,' *Journ. North. Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ix. p. 47 (June, 1896).

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soddened clay slopes of the bounding hills, and ultimately left, on a cleanly-washed surface of blue Lias clay (Northampton) a deposit of coarse gravel, to the depth of 20 feet or more, in the lower parts of the conical bottom of the valley. This deposit is of course a Mid-glacial gravel, and not a river gravel as commonly called. It is seldom to be seen because charged with water and below river level, but a very large excavation was made in it at the Northampton Gas Works some years back, 34 feet down to the clay, and no trace of terrestrial life, such as true river gravels yield, was found.

VALLEY GRAVELS OR RIVER GRAVELS

It is quite certain the melting of the second ice sheet which terminated the Glacial period did not produce such violent floods as the melting of the first, but for this reason alone they must have lasted longer in the valleys then opening up. Owing to the land at first being lower than now (we will say 150 feet), the earliest formed valley gravels would be high up the valley and high up the sides of it after re-elevation of the district; but with the rising of the land similar deposits would be formed at what would now be called lower levels, though all may have been formed at approximately the same level above the sea of the time, making allowance for fall in the valley. So we have *high-level gravels* and *low-level gravels*. The earlier formed river terraces have mostly been obliterated by more recent slipping and denudation, but the later ones are nearly everywhere found as a wide fringe to the present valley, occupying positions from river level to 40 or 50 feet above it.

This river gravel consists chiefly of the contents of the previous ice-cap, that is to say it is essentially the residue of a washed Boulder Clay; it contains flint and Bunter pebbles in abundance, and physically can scarcely be distinguished from some of the Mid-glacial gravels. It is interesting in that it contains remains of various terrestrial animals, some of which do and others do not now inhabit England, and of others which are extinct, together with the earliest indications of man in the shape of rude flint implements, showing it to belong to the Palæolithic or Older Stone age.

The remains of terrestrial animals reported from the river gravels of this county include the mammoth (*Elephas primigenius*), early elephant (*E. antiquus*), rhinoceros (two species), hippopotamus, reindeer, red deer, wild hog, ox and horse. In the upper part of the Nene valley the remains are apparently fewer than lower down, and moreover restricted to the heavier and harder parts of animals, such as molars and tusks, which could survive the turbulent waters that formed the gravel; but lower down, towards Peterborough, where the valley was at first under, and afterwards at the edge of the sea, Estuarine conditions prevailed, sand largely replaced gravel, and there is a mixture of marine shells, such as oysters, cockles, etc., with delicate terrestrial and freshwater molluscs, as *Helix*, *Planorbis*, *Limnæa*, etc., and other parts than tusks and teeth of the larger terrestrial animals cited above.

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The age of the extinct or now foreign mammalia and contemporaneous man is a matter of much interest and importance ; let us briefly review the evidence. The remains cannot be admitted to be of Pre-glacial or Lower Glacial age, nor of the age of the formation of the Mid-glacial Gravels for various reasons, but most conclusively because none of the deposits of these periods contain any trace of such remains. In like manner and for like reasons we can cut out the Second Glacial period, hence they must be of Mid-glacial or Post-glacial age. Now the river gravels, as gravels, are of course of post-glacial age, and merge almost imperceptibly into the slightly newer Alluvium, an excellent preservative of animal remains, but one which contains only a present-day fauna. The inference that man and the mammoth were contemporaries in the Interglacial period thus seems incontestible. Still we have to account for the occurrence of these animals only in the river valleys. The remains of animals do not last long unless quickly buried in non-porous material, or at least where air and water cannot frequently change places, and such conditions would only prevail inland in the alluvial flats of the river valleys. The wash-out of an interglacial alluvium from the basement layers of a valley glacier seems to offer the only adequate explanation of the kind, number, condition and position of the remains.

RIVER ALLUVIUM

The river gravel of the central portion of the Nene valley passes upwards into sandy clays or silts containing much organic matter. This is a *deposit dropped* by dirty waters coming from adjacent hills or more distant parts of the watershed, whereas the river gravel is a *residue left* by the removal of just such material from a mixed Drift and Alluvium of an earlier period ; hence, although so nearly of the same age as gravel and clay respectively, the difference of fauna proves a great break in time of each as a sediment. For these reasons we have kept the nomenclature of the two more distinct than is common. When the extra-ordinary floods of the declining Glacial age passed into ordinary ones, each left fine sedimentary matter behind to fill up all inequalities of surface, and convert the valley into a dead level—the *Great Flood Plane*—through which the river now takes its winding course to the sea.

The Alluvium abounds in remains of vegetation and molluscs identical with those inhabiting the waters to-day ; human remains occur rarely, though a skull is reported to have been found at a considerable depth in it between Castle Station and Hunsbury Hill, Northampton. Near to the Nun Mills, at Northampton, a long bone of an ox (?) was found with a well-bored hole at each end, as though it had been used as a yoke for domestic cattle. At Mr. Martin's brickyard, near Spencer Bridge, Northampton, a bowl with handle cut out of one piece of wood was found, and here too, although the alluvium itself was thin, several large trees lay, apparently stranded in a bend of the old river, and ultimately buried by slips of clay from a higher level. The trees were probably all oak, but fruits of other plants were found. The following

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were identified by Mr. H. N. Dixon and Mr. Clement Reid : oak, hazel (abundant), alder, common elder, pine (two species), bird-cherry, blackthorn, dog's mercury, knot grass (?), yellow water-lily, chickweed. The terrestrial animals found in the Alluvium include : ox (both *Bos taurus* var. *primigenius* and *Bos taurus* var. *longifrons*), horse, sheep, wild hog, red deer, etc.

In the Alluvium wood is mostly quite black ; many of the bones, smaller pieces of wood, and even stones are bright blue from the deposition on them of vivianite (phosphate of iron) ; water running from the sandy layers leaves a red deposit. These effects may be explained thus : The organic acids produced by decomposing vegetable matter dissolve iron out of the ferruginous silt ; the solution of iron impregnates the wood, and with the tannin there produces the deep black colour ; the same solution reacting on the phosphates in the bones produces blue phosphate of iron ; and lastly, the soluble neutral crenates and apocrenates of iron, on exposure to the air, turn into insoluble basic ones, hence the red deposit from the water.

THE WINDINGS OF THE NENE

The windings of the Nene and other streams call for a few remarks. A stream not perfectly straight to start with must of necessity get more crooked, for every convex bend of one bank causes the water to impinge on the opposite one, by which the latter is under-cut, and gradually worked backwards into a deep curve with a vertical or even overhanging face. One might expect the convex bank to exhibit the very opposite characters, a very gentle long slope to the water ; so it does very frequently ; still there are many places, more particularly in small valleys, where, apparently without artificial aids, both banks are fairly perpendicular. The reason appears to be found in a periodical expansion of the clay soil and subsoil on absorption of water after drought, which expansion causes the ground to creep in the direction of least pressure, *i.e.* the stream.

MINOR VALLEYS AND SPRINGS

What happened in the early stages of formation of the larger valleys may now be observed in the smaller ones. It may be inferred from a study of the map, but better still by field observation, that every valley permanently or periodically carries a stream of water ; the valley and the stream being (except in the older river valleys) intimately related in respect of size. Again, in almost every case the bottom of the valley and parts of the sides consist of impervious clay, and the higher parts of the bounding hills of porous rock, and we will take as a typical example one where the porous rock is Northampton Sand and the impervious one Upper Lias Clay.

The Northampton Sand is usually very porous throughout, and when its junction with the underlying impervious clay was first exposed by denudation, in the early stages of valley formation, water would run

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from it almost anywhere along that line ; but some particular places being slightly more favourable than the average for discharging it gradually monopolized the water from an increasingly large area up to a certain limit determined by friction. Thus the bed, although pretty uniformly porous, is drained by distinct widely-separated springs.

Springs that have once asserted themselves in this manner never lose their advantage whilst the porous bed lasts, for, although slipping of the wet clay in front may expose a new junction, it is always in the direction in which the water had already been making for itself a trough. So every valley has been elongated in the direction it now has by the gradual cutting backwards of the spring now at its head.¹ A newly-opened junction does not show widely-separated springs, and a valley that is new, geologically, does not either, but instead swampy ground, or numerous small springs only a little above the level of the stream.

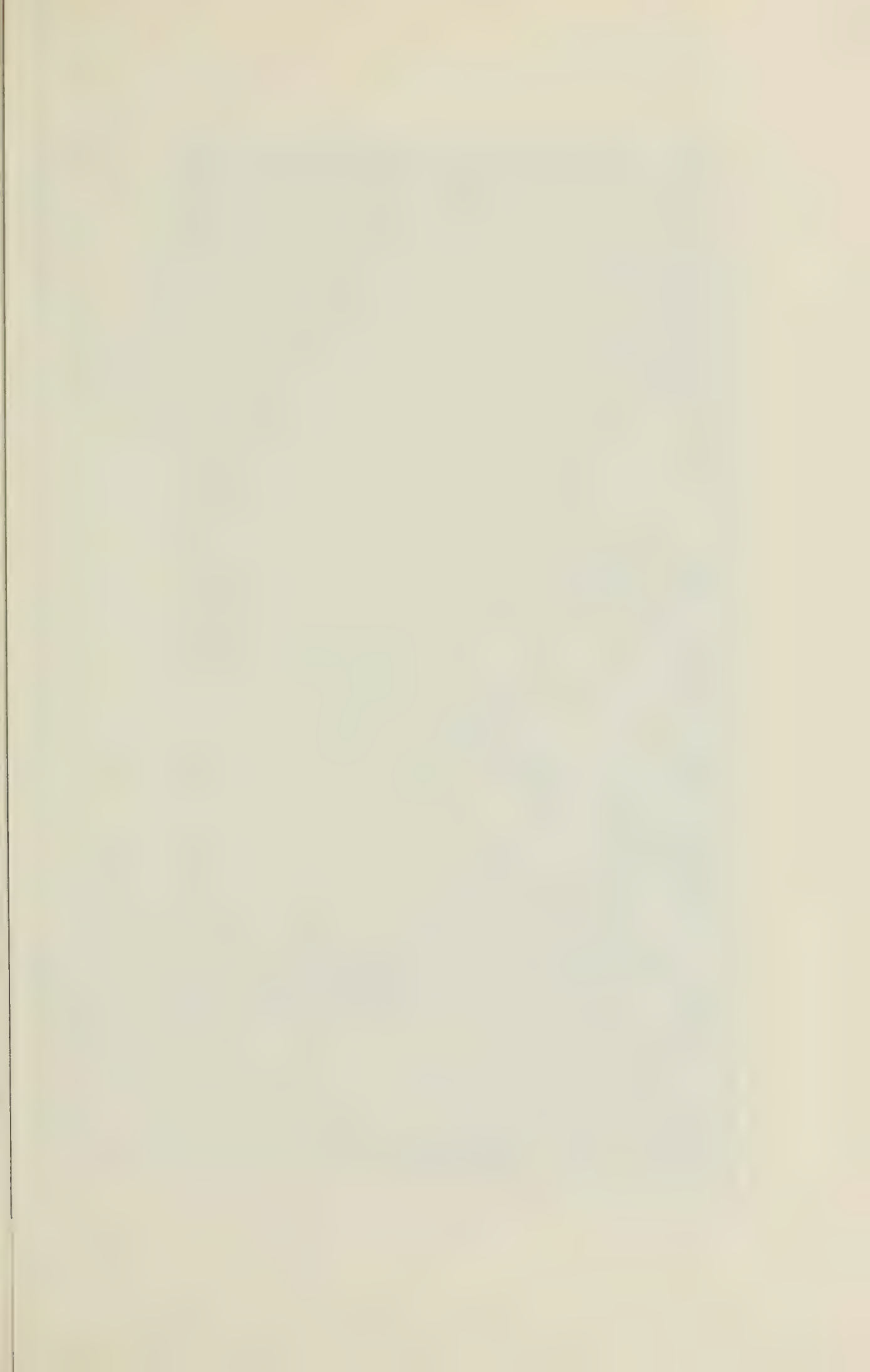
HILLS, SLOPES, ESCARPMENTS

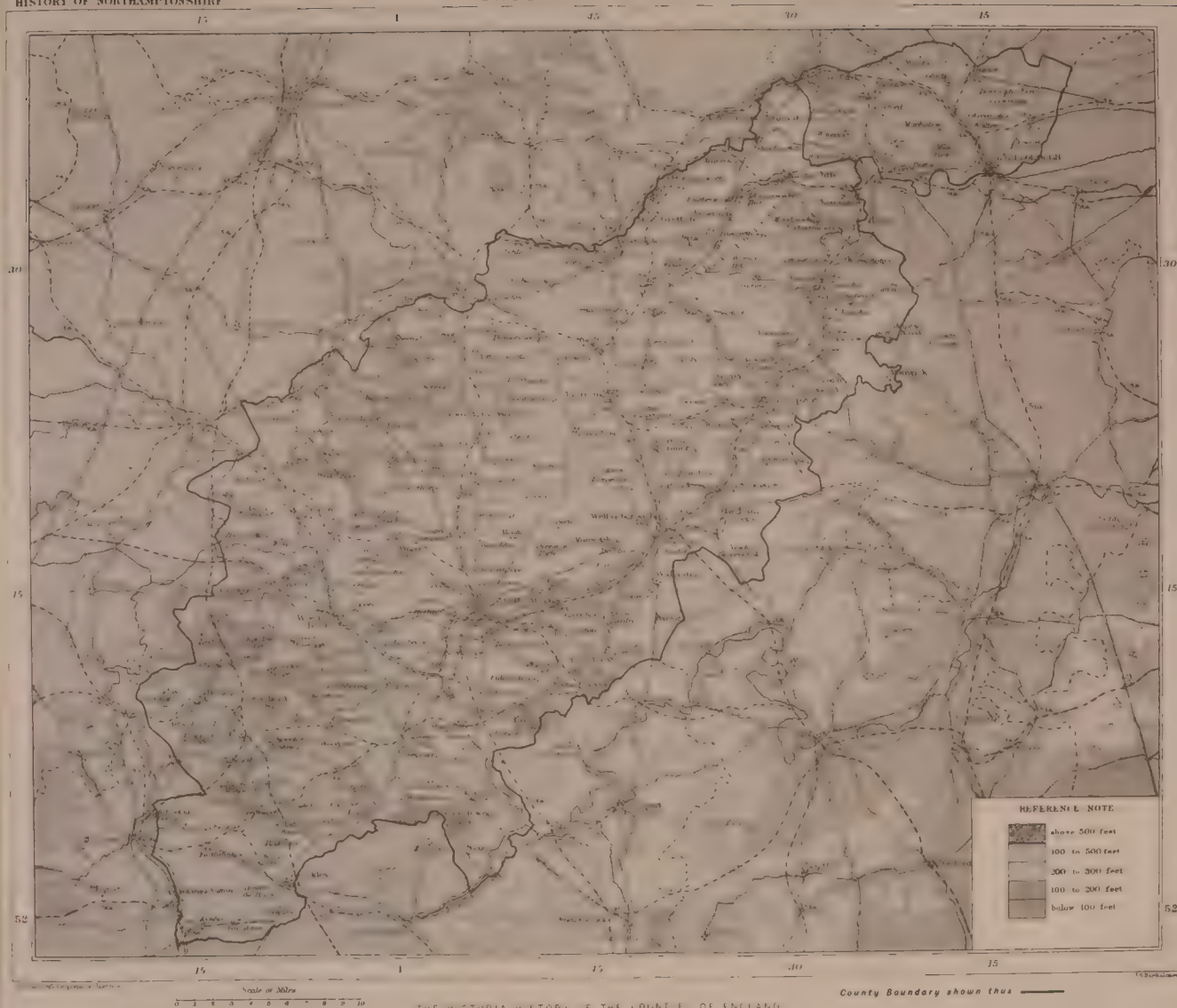
Whatever tends to produce a valley of course tends to leave a hill, which may be isolated by sufficient denudation on all sides. All hills in Northamptonshire are essentially hills of denudation, notwithstanding what was said about the Northampton Heights. Certain features of hill and valley formation referred to below have been very commonly overlooked or misinterpreted.

The Northampton Sand being a water-bearing bed, and the Upper Lias Clay on which it rests impervious, the junction between the two is wet and slippery ; so the upper bed, especially if sandy, tends to slide downwards on a hill-side. It is not uncommon to find Northampton Sand covering the entire slope of a hill through a vertical range of 100 to 120 feet, although the actual thickness of the bed in the district is only 30 feet. Such slips, to distinguish them from others of a different nature, may be called *high-level slips*. The Northampton Sand thus commonly forms a kind of saddle to the Upper Lias hills, and springs may be met with at various heights.² Instead of, or in addition to the Northampton Sand sliding over the clay slope, the clay itself may give way at a low level, owing to saturation with water, and denudation having produced a steeper incline than wet clay can maintain, thus great landslips—*low-level slips*—occur, carrying down Lias Clay, Northampton Sand, and even higher beds, *en masse*, shattered somewhat, and tilted at a high angle to their original position. Numerous examples occur along the Nene valley and elsewhere.

As the general dip of the strata in Northamptonshire is from north-west to south-east, it will be obvious that slipping in general and high-level slipping in particular will most easily take place towards the south-east, along the *dip-slope* as it is called, and in this direction, or the one most nearly approaching to it, the hill-slope is generally longer than in any other. In the western parts of the county, where conspicuous isolated

¹ Beeby Thompson, 'The Junction Beds of the Upper Lias and Inferior Oolite in Northamptonshire,' *Journ. North. Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ix. pp. 131-149. ² *Ibid.*





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hills permit of its observation better, the dip-slope is from two to three times longer, and proportionately less steep than the slope facing north-west, or *scarp-slope* as it is called ; also the long slope is often hummocky from the presence of still undenuded slipped matter, which acts as a buttress to prevent further slipping for a time.

The steep slopes of hills facing points of the compass opposite, or approximately so, to that of the direction of dip of the beds, and therefore exposing the edges of the constituent rocks, are called *escarpments*. Naturally high-level slips do not readily occur on these steep slopes, because the beds dip and the water flows the opposite way ; low-level slips however are more likely to occur, because of the higher gradient, but since the material of such slips is carried to a lower level at first, and there left in a more shattered condition for denuding agents to act upon, these scarp-slopes are generally more regular in appearance. A very irregular scarp-slope may be taken as an indication of comparatively recent slipping. Perhaps the roughest steep slope to be found in Northamptonshire occurs between Rockingham and Gretton, facing the Welland valley, and its present instability is shown by periodical damage to buildings on it at Gretton.¹

ANTICLINES, SYNCLINES, FAULTS

Quite independently of the general dip of strata on a large scale, and of the contour of the ground, it is common to find local folding on a small scale. The upward curve of a fold is called an *anticline* and the downward one a *syncline*. In some places the fluctuations are so gentle as to suggest that they are the result of deep-seated stresses ; such have been detected at Finedon and elsewhere.

It is at first sight most singular frequently to observe, when a good hill is cut into, that the strata dip into it, and rise towards the adjacent valley, that is to say hills cover synclines and valleys occur over anticlines.

If we can believe that the enormous pressure of a great thickness of ice caused depression of the whole land in glacial times, and that the land rose again when the pressure was taken off, then can we understand how wet plastic clay will bulge upwards as the load above it is removed in the cutting out of a valley, and that the adjacent hills which supply the pressure will sink to a proportionate amount.

It is exceedingly common to find, on digging into the ground, that a slip has occurred, so that the ends of originally continuous beds are met with at different levels. These so-called *faults* are far too numerous and complicated, and often too insignificant, to have had a specific deep-seated origin. All that have been detected are newer than the latest regular local rock, but older than the Glacial period. On the 1-inch maps of the Geological Survey all important faults known at the time of the survey are marked in white lines, but of course others have been discovered since.

¹ John W. Judd, 'The Geology of Rutland, etc.' *Memoirs of the Geological Survey*, p. 261.

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The most extensive fault, longitudinally, is perhaps the Great Nene Fault, which appears to follow the river's course for some 11 miles, that is from west of Weedon to east of Northampton. At Northampton the dislocation, or throw as it is called, is about 70 feet, the northern side being the lower. This fault has had an important beneficial influence on the deep-seated water-supply of the town. Both folds and faults are important when considering the possible water-supply of places.

SCENERY AS DEPENDENT ON ROCK STRUCTURE

The various denuding agents which, acting on rocks of unequal hardness and different chemical constitution, produced hills and valleys, left exposed to the atmosphere characteristic land surfaces, on which soils were gradually formed varying in composition and suitability for different forms of plant life. The soils will be treated of elsewhere in this book, but of the land surfaces a few remarks may here be made.

The thicker clay beds of the Lower and Upper Lias and Oxford Clay, when not capped by other formations, present very similar features—a gently undulating country, or regular and well-rounded hills.

The Middle Lias, owing to alternations of hard and soft beds in it, and particularly the thick rock-bed at its top, forms rather flat lands, but the sandy micaceous clays between the hard beds, having a higher coefficient of friction than any other clays of the district, form steeper slopes into intersecting valleys.

The Northampton Sand in the western and northern parts of the county mostly forms a cap to the hills, and where it does so the hill has a flatter top than clay alone would assume. On the scarp-slope of such a hill the junction of the Northampton Sand with the Upper Lias Clay below can generally be detected at a distance by a pretty sudden increase of slope, from 10° or 12° to 15° has been observed at several places about Preston Capes, Everdon, etc. Where the formation occupies an extended area, rather flat land results, because the rainfall sinks in instead of running over the surface.

The limestones of the Lincolnshire Oolite, Great Oolite, and Cornbrash, where fairly thick, form on the whole wide-spreading plains, or flat lands not much divided into hills and valleys.

The thin beds of the Great Oolite Clay, and the Upper and Lower Estuarine series have no extended influence on the scenery, but on a slope may produce a step-like arrangement by giving a steep dip between harder beds, the Cornbrash and Great Oolite for instance.

FENLAND

The district of the Fens deserves special notice for several reasons. Owing to the fact that Northamptonshire does not reach the sea, there is a comparatively small amount of fenland within its borders, some 10,000 acres only, embracing Peterborough Flag-Fen, Newborough Fen, and Borough Fen. The land is mostly below high-water mark, and would be covered by the sea at high spring-tides but for the various

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artificial arrangements adopted to prevent it. It is also liable to inundation from fresh water flowing from the higher ground adjacent, and water discharging from more distant sources through the river valleys. To intercept and direct the former, catch-water drains are constructed. One of these, the Carr Dyke, is the old boundary between High-land and Fen-land.

The Fenland consists of a variable accumulation of gravels, sands, silts, and clays, with intercalated layers of peat. The gravels, sands, and clays are mostly marine deposits, and are very irregular in disposition, but they constitute the sites of the villages. The upper peat is usually a few feet thick only, and where it prevails at the surface the ground is uneven, and mostly devoid of villages or even hedges. The more elevated spots are principally in grass, and are called 'islands' or 'high-lands.'

From the time when the Romans first attempted to reclaim the Fens to the present day, a fairly constant struggle has been going on between man and nature for the mastery of the district.

PRE-GLACIAL AND INTER-GLACIAL FLORA AND FAUNA

No attempt has been made to give a list of the fossil plants and animals of the various geological formations otherwise dealt with ; only a few leading forms have been mentioned, and these were necessarily nearly all marine. As we approach recent times, remains of freshwater and terrestrial life increase in interest to the historian, hence the following notes.

Owing probably to the shorter length of time between the Pre-glacial and Inter-glacial periods, and the more limited extension therein of complete glaciation southwards, not much variation in the animals and plants occurred, indeed it is doubtful whether any plant or animal (man excepted) occurring in this district could be quoted as conclusive evidence of the earlier or later of these two periods. Still the order of superposition of the deposits and their mode of occurrence can be used with considerable confidence in most cases.

In some places in the Fens two distinct beds of peat occur, with the lower one resting on Oxford Clay. This lower peat bed is probably a submerged forest of Pre-glacial age ; it contains remains of oak, birch, beech, hazel and yew, in the form of large prostrate trunks. The following land and freshwater mollusca were found in patches of clay in some redeposited shelly Oolitic Lincolnshire Oolite, under Boulder Clay, near to Brigstock Mill.¹ *Succinea putris*, *Cochlicopa lubrica*, *Pupa muscorum*, *Valonia pulchella*, *Helix nemoralis* or *Helicigona arbustorum*, *Pisidium pusillum*, also comminuted shell fragments were found in the gravel. It may be observed that all of these are species now living in the county, but since they

¹ Beeby Thompson, 'Peculiar Occurrence of Land and Freshwater Shells in the Lincolnshire Oolite,' *Geol. Mag.*, decade iv., vol. ii. No. 371, May, 1895 ; see also *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, vol. xiv. pt. iii. (July, 1895).

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occur under the ordinary Boulder Clay of the district, in a gravel resting on undisturbed Lincolnshire Limestone, the inference is obvious that they were derived from a Pre-glacial land surface.

The probably abundant flora and fauna of the Inter-glacial period has mostly been swept away, but traces of the larger animals, and man, were preserved (see p. 29).

POST-GLACIAL FLORA

On the passing away of the last phase of the Glacial period, the recently ice-covered ground slowly became coated with vegetation suited to it and the climate, in an order dependent upon the facilities for seed-dispersion possessed by the various plants. Amongst the larger plants, presumably alder and birch would earliest find a footing, as suited to a cold climate, but certainly oak and hazel predominated later on; the ash, maple, hornbeam, yew, beech and pine, etc., followed, the elm being probably a late arrival, because so seldom propagated by seed. Thus very much of the county became covered with forest, but not all. The higher ground to the west and north-west of the county was never, as far as we know, covered with forest; the larger valleys and the fens were kept free from forest growth by recurrent floods and incursions of the sea. Even some parts not so situated probably never encouraged or even permitted the growth of large trees, but rather ling, furze, broom, wild thyme and bracken, with a thin grass; these were the heaths now mostly under cultivation. These heaths, in the eastern part of the county, Wittering, Easton, Thornhaugh, etc., were mostly on the stony arenaceous soils of the Lincolnshire Oolite; those in more central Northamptonshire, Harlestone, Dallington, and many others, on the sandy beds of the Northampton Sand. Further particulars as to the ancient forests will be found in another part of this history.

SETTLEMENT OF THE COUNTY

One characteristic of modern scenery is the town or village, directly due to man, but indirectly, in its situation and architecture, to local geological structure. When man had arrived at a state of civilization sufficient to appreciate a fixed abode, he had also no doubt perceived the desirability of a dry site for a dwelling, equally with the nearness of water, which led to the selection of spots on porous soils near to springs. This, and the possibility of getting water by means of shallow wells in such situations, no doubt, more than anything else, ultimately fixed the site of the little group of dwellings which afterwards grew into a village or town. The way in which successive ridges of Northampton Sand are occupied by towns and villages along the Nene from Northampton to Wellingborough, and then along the Ise from Wellingborough to Desborough (see map), is most suggestive in this connection.

Below is given a tabulated list of the number of villages in Northamptonshire on the various geological formations, taken from the 1-inch map of the Geological Survey.

GEOLOGY

	Impervious	Pervious
Oxford Clay	14	—
Cornbrash	—	8
Great Oolite	—	79
Upper Estuarine Beds (none on this alone?) . . .	7	—
Lincolnshire Oolite	—	27
Northampton Sand	—	102
Upper Lias	21	—
Middle Lias	—	49
Lower Lias	11	—
	53	265

The significance of these figures will be better appreciated by looking at the areas covered with each formation on the map. Some villages occupy parts of two or more formations, such are classed as on pervious; others may be on Drift yielding water although classed as on impervious, for they all get water somehow; and of course different observers might arrive at slightly different results from these causes.

Other results naturally followed the selection of dry sites on pervious beds. These water-bearing beds furnish the only ready-made building material in the county, and if we eliminate the newer brick buildings of villages and towns, the districts covered by the thicker pervious rocks—Great Oolite to Middle Lias—show the fact in their buildings.

WATER SUPPLY

As villages grow into towns the individual provision of water by contiguous springs or local wells tends to give place to public works on an extensive scale. The first device that suggests itself, and one that has been carried out in a number of cases, is to tap one of the water-bearing beds at a considerable depth by digging or boring through the superincumbent rocks in the direction of dip of the beds. The water so tapped is likely to be very pure organically, because it has passed through such a mass of filtering material from the place where it got in, often many miles away. For the same reason it is equable in temperature, does not fluctuate with the seasons, and providing no more is pumped out than gets in naturally over the catchment area by percolation, is permanent.

The water tapped in a porous bed between two impervious ones is a *transtratic spring*, and as it usually rises considerably in the bore-hole or well, this is called an *artesian well*. Where such a method is impracticable, or where the yield by it is insufficient, as has occurred at Northampton, Kettering, etc., reservoirs have been constructed to catch, not far from their source, a number of springs draining a considerable area, by throwing a dam across the valley where the resultant stream seeks to discharge.

The Trias furnishes the deepest source of water so far tapped within the county. The water is very salt, containing from 1,200 to 1,500

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grains of solid matter per gallon, also it is very moderate in quantity, 100,000 to 200,000 gallons per day from a single well or boring. The water rises 535 feet from a depth of 436 feet below sea-level, taking an average of the four places where it has been encountered.

The Middle Lias may yield water from any of its hard beds, as already pointed out. In the western parts of the county, at and around Catesby, No. 7, typical section, yielded much water when cut through in making Catesby tunnel of the G. C. Railway, but is the only place to be quoted. Bed 5 is generally reliable in the western parts of the county, and supplies numerous springs ; it yields water as far eastward as Northampton. By far the most reliable source of water is the rock-bed, No. 1, this supplied Northampton with water, by an artesian well, for forty years ; it has been tapped as far eastward as Kettering and Finedon, but all deep borings into it southward and eastward of the Nene have been failures.

The Upper Lias must be classed as impervious, though the lower beds, 6 to 11 (typical section) may yield a little water, as also No. 3.

The Northampton Sand yields abundance of good water from hundreds of springs and wells, but superficiality and consequent weathering of the rock seem to be necessities for quantity and good quality. As a deep-seated source of water it is decidedly a failure, for in easterly districts where it has been pierced at a good depth, water is absent or small in quantity (Peterborough), or highly sulphurous, emitting an offensive odour of sulphuretted hydrogen (Raunds, etc.). The Lower Estuarine Beds and Variable Beds (3 and 4 of typical section) may be regarded as feeders of the lower bed generally, but the upper one, 3, does sometimes appear to be an independent source (Hardwick). The Lincolnshire Oolite may be classed as a fairly good water-bearing formation, but unless its junction with the less permeable beds beneath is lower than adjacent valleys, it is liable to run itself dry like the Great Oolite Limestone.

The Great Oolite formation may yield water at three separate horizons (see typical section, p. 9), the thick limestone bed being the chief source, but as this is not sufficiently porous throughout to retain the water, but only holds it in quantity in the joints and fissures, it is most unreliable for a public supply ; great springs issue from it soon after heavy rainfall which in the summer may cease entirely. In favourable situations with respect to adjacent valleys it will yield a permanent supply. The Cornbrash yields fairly good water, but the rock is too thin to have any extended catchment area or storage capacity.

The Drift Gravels and Sands are very porous, they absorb water freely and discharge it freely, and so easily run dry, except in a valley or depression in other rocks ; still many places utilize the water from these beds.

The River Gravel holds a vast quantity of water, and but for its usually polluted condition, partly because stagnant as an underground lake, and partly from particular pollution from various sewage farms along the Nene valley, would be a valuable source of water.

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The rivers are of course sustained by permanent springs, but owing to pollution from ditches, land drains, crude sewage from villages, or the effluents of sewage farms, the water is entirely unfit for domestic use.

Reservoirs for the supply of canals are situated at Byfield, Braunston, Daventry, Welford and Naseby ; these are fed chiefly by the Marlstone, though Drift beds contribute. The reservoir for supplying Northampton is situated in the valley between Ravensthorpe and Teeton, it is fed by springs from the Northampton Sand, drains about 3,000 acres, and covers about 400 acres when full. Kettering reservoir is situated in a valley near to Thorpe Malsor ; it is fed chiefly by Northampton Sand springs.

The majority of the waters are rather hard, hence so-called *petrifying springs* are fairly numerous. Chalybeate waters occur too at a number of places, no doubt due to the presence of ferrous sulphate as a product of the decomposition of iron pyrites. A red deposit around a spring may be quite local in origin (see p. 31) the main body of water feeding the spring being practically free from dissolved iron.

MINERALS

Besides the essential minerals of the clays, sands and limestones of the various rocks already considered, certain other minerals, or modifications of the essential ones, occur ; these are briefly referred to below.

Brown Hæmatite, Limonite, or Hydrated Ferric Oxide is the chief form of iron-ore, whether from the Northampton Sand or the Marlstone, etc.

Carbonate of Iron is the mineral constituting the green or grey rock, or cores of some brown rock, in the Northampton Sand.

Silicate of Iron only occurs as a colouring matter to the green and blue varieties of ironstone.

Phosphate of Iron occurs as a colouring matter in the ironstones, and as a bright blue incrustation, *vivianite*, on objects in the River Alluvium.

Specular Iron, a form of hæmatite, is found occasionally as dark lustrous crystals in some Lias nodules, or even in fossils.

Iron Pyrites occurs in a variety of forms—small *moss-like masses* in the Armatus zone of the Lower Lias ; small *rods* in the Pettos zone ; characteristic *cubes* in the Middle Lias, upper part of Upper Lias, and lower part of the Northampton Sand (Raunds) ; large *irregular lumps* in the upper part of the Upper Lias (Paulerspury, Grafton Regis, etc.) ; *radiated pyrites* in the Northampton Sand (Wellingborough).

Manganese Protoxide occurs to a small extent in most ironstones.

Calcium Carbonate is found in many forms—as *nail-head spar* (cone-in-cone), chiefly in the middle beds of the Upper Lias, where very large nodules occur, the entire outer part of which is this mineral ; *dog-tooth spar* in cavities of limestone rock, and very commonly where coral has been ; *lenticular crystals* occasionally ; *fibrous calcite* (beef, so-called)

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in long thin beds in the Estuarines and Forest Marble ; masses of *radiated spar* in the Northampton Sand (Northampton) ; *aragonite* in the Northampton Sand more rarely ; and *stalactitic limestone* in joints and crevices of limestone rock.

Calcium Sulphate occurs as *gypsum* or *selenite*, hydrous calcium sulphate, in the characteristic transparent crystals, and in larger elongated masses traversed by a central vein of dirt (twin crystals). The Upper Lias in particular contains this mineral.

Allophane, or a mineral nearly allied to it in composition, has been found in crevices of the Northampton Sand at Northampton.¹

¹ Samuel Sharp, 'The Oolites of Northamptonshire,' pt. i., *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* (Aug. 1870), p. 354.

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AS regards vertebrate fossils Northamptonshire occupies a somewhat anomalous position ; an enormous series of remains of extinct reptiles and fishes having been obtained from pits worked in the Oxford Clay near Peterborough, which are for the most part situated within the borders of the adjacent county of Huntingdon. There are, however, a few pits in the same deposit worked in Northamptonshire, from which have been collected remains of a certain number of the animals in question ; and, if the excavations in the Northamptonshire Oxford Clay were more extensive and collecting were carefully conducted, there is little doubt that many more, if not all, of the species discovered in Huntingdonshire would be found to occur in the adjacent county. Under these circumstances it seems advisable to make brief mention of the commoner and more important types of these remains, with a fuller notice of those which have been actually discovered within the limits of the county under consideration. In this connection it may be well to observe that a fossil reptilian jaw described under the name of *Regnosaurus northamptoni* might well be presumed to be a product of the county ; but, as a matter of fact, the specimen in question was obtained from the Wealden of Sussex, and named in honour of the Marquis of Northampton.

In respect to mammals of prehistoric and Pleistocene age, the county does not appear to be rich. From a clay bed in the valley of the Nen, not far from Duston, Mr. S. Sharp¹ has recorded remains of the aurochs or wild ox (*Bos taurus primigenius*), red deer (*Cervus elaphus*), wild horse (*Equus caballus fossilis*), and wild swine (*Sus scrofa*) ; and in an underlying bed of sandy gravel molars of the mammoth (*Elephas primigenius*), the straight-tusked elephant (*E. antiquus*), the hippopotamus (*H. amphibius*), and the woolly rhinoceros (*R. antiquitatis*). The Northamptonshire specimens in the British Museum include a humerus and a metatarsus of the aurochs, purchased in 1846 ; teeth and a phalangeal bone of the horse from Oundle, presented in 1867 ; the afore-said molars of the woolly rhinoceros collected by Mr. Sharp, together with a single upper molar from Wellingborough ; molars of *Elephas antiquitatis* from Mr. Sharp's collection, two others from Oundle, and two vertebræ from near Peterborough ; while of the mammoth it possesses a molar from Kettering, collected by Mr. Sharp, and another from Northampton, obtained in 1842. It may be added that at Elton, just

¹ *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.*, vol. xxvi. p. 376 (1870) ; see also Etheridge, *ibid.*, vol. xxxviii. *Proc.*, p. 61 (1882).

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within the Huntingdon border, mammoth teeth have been collected in considerable numbers.

Turning to the reptiles of the Oxford Clay, which is the highest member of the Jurassic series met with in the county, these belong for the most part to the marine fish-lizards or Ichthyopterygia, and long-necked saurians or Sauropterygia; but a few remains of the terrestrial dinosaurs have been met with in Huntingdon. The fish-lizards of the Oxford Clay are mostly referable to the genus *Ophthalmosaurus*, which differs from the typical *Ichthyosaurus* by the presence of an additional bone in the paddles; and of *O. icenicus* remains have been obtained within the county limits at Eye and Dogsthorpe. The British Museum also possesses an ichthyosaurian vertebra from Scend Hill, said to be from the Kimeridge, but more probably from the Oxford Clay. Of the long-necked saurians, a lower jaw of *Peloneustes philarchus*—in which the two branches have a longer union than in *Pliosaurus*—was obtained in the county near Peterborough. A pliosaurian vertebra from Rode, four miles south of Northampton, is recorded in Phillips's *Geology of Oxford*; and it is probable that *Pliosaurus evansi* and *P. ferox*, which are common in Huntingdon, likewise occur in Northampton. Of the true plesiosaurs, which have much longer necks than the pliosaurs, it must suffice to say that remains of the species known as *Cryptoclidus oxoniensis*, *C. eurymerus*, and *Muraenosaurus plicatus*, which are so common in the Oxford Clay of Huntingdonshire, must almost certainly occur in the corresponding beds of Northamptonshire. Less common in the Oxford Clay of the former county are the remains of huge terrestrial dinosaurian reptiles known as *Stegosaurus*¹ *durobrivensis* and *Pelorosaurus*² *leedsii*, and from their rarity in Huntingdon it is quite probable that these gigantic reptiles may be unrepresented in the Northamptonshire Oxfordian. Crocodiles belonging to the extinct genera *Suchodus*, *Steneosaurus*, and *Metriorhynchus* (the latter remarkable for the absence of the usual pitted external bony plates) are, however, comparatively abundant in the Oxford Clay of Huntingdonshire, so that their remains may confidently be expected to occur in the same formation across the border.

Recognizable remains of fishes appear to be rare in the Oxfordian of the county, but those of the ganoid *Eurycormus egertoni* have been recorded, as well as certain bones of the chimæroid *Ischyodus egertoni*. Several other types of extinct fishes have been met with in the corresponding deposits of Huntingdonshire, but these may be passed over with the bare mention that the two respectively designated *Leedsia problematica* and *Hypsicormus leedsii* are among the most remarkable, the former being of gigantic dimensions. Both were named in honour of Mr. A. N. Leeds, of Eyebury, the energetic collector of the Oxford Clay vertebrates of the Peterborough neighbourhood; and their remains doubtless occur within the borders of Northamptonshire.

¹ Synonym, *Omosaurus*.

² Synonym, *Ornithopsis*.

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Passing on to the consideration of reptiles from formations older than the Oxford Clay, we find remains of the long-snouted crocodile known as *Steneosaurus brevidens* occurring not uncommonly in the Great Oolite of the county ; teeth referable to some species of the same genus have been found in the Cornbrash near Peterborough ; while bones and teeth assigned to *S. chapmani* have been recorded from the Upper Lias of Green's Norton, near Towcester, and those of *S. latifrons* from the same formation near Northampton. These and other crocodiles from the Oolitic deposits differ from the existing members of the group in that both the terminal articular faces of their vertebræ are concave, instead of alternately convex and concave. From the Great Oolite of Blisworth the British Museum possesses two caudal vertebræ of a dinosaur which has been named *Cetiosaurus oxoniensis*, but whose proper title is apparently *Cardiodon oxoniensis*. In the same collection are two other caudal vertebræ from the Forest Marble of Cogenhoe which have been assigned to *C. glymptonensis*. Teeth of the great carnivorous dinosaur *Megalosaurus bucklandi*, now in the British Museum, were discovered by Mr. Sharp in the Inferior Oolite of Duston. A vertebra of *Ichthyosaurus* was obtained so long ago as 1837 from the Upper Lias of Blisworth, while a humerus of the same genus is recorded from the Lias of Bugbrook. The Lower Jurassic strata of Higham Ferrers have also yielded a vertebra of *Pliosaurus*, and remains of the allied genus *Thaumatosauros* occur in the Upper Lias of Kingsthorpe and Crick, as well as in the Marlstone, or Middle Lias, of Bugbrook ; the species from the two last-named localities being *Th. propinquus*. Plesiosaurian vertebræ likewise occur in the Cornbrash of Rushden.

Fish remains, at all events in a determinable condition, do not appear to be very abundant in the Lower Oolites of the county. The pavement-toothed sharks (*Cestraciontidae*), now surviving in the form of the Port Jackson species, are represented by palates of *Asteracanthus acutus* and *Strophodus magnus* from the Cornbrash, and by the last-named species and *S. tenuis* from the Great Oolite of the county. Another genus of ganoid fishes, the well-known *Lepidotus*, with spherical button-like palatal teeth and shining rhomboidal scales, is represented in the Middle Lias of the county by *L. elvensis*, and in the Great Oolite by *L. tuberculatus*. A ganoid at present peculiar to the Inferior Oolite of Northamptonshire is *Ophiopsis flesheri*, of which the type specimen was obtained from the railway tunnel near Blisworth. The pycnodont ganoids, which have numerous crushing teeth, frequently showing a sculptured pattern on the palate, are represented in the county by two species of the genus *Mesodon* (*M. rugulosus* and *M. bucklandi*) from the Great Oolite.

The invertebrate fossils of the Northamptonshire Oolites were worked out in great detail about thirty years ago by Mr. S. Sharp, and the results published in the *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*¹ for

¹ Vols. xxvi. p. 354, and xxix. p. 225.

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1870 and 1873. Full lists of all the fossils then known from each formation are there given; and those desirous of taking up the subject in earnest should refer to these papers. For the benefit of those who have but little acquaintance with geology it may be mentioned that the abundance of ammonites and belemnites in the Northamptonshire rocks at once indicates that they belong to the Secondary or Mesozoic period, while the prevalence of the bivalved mollusc *Trigonia*, together with other characteristic forms, indicate that they pertain to the Oolitic or Jurassic, rather than to the Cretaceous system.

Among the characteristic fossils of the Oxford Clay may be noted the great hemispherical oyster known as *Gryphæa dilatata*, which in this county seems to be confined to the lower and middle beds of the formation. In the same beds occurs *Belemnites oweni*, which is the largest species of its kind; while higher up in the series this is replaced by the smaller *B. bastatus*. The topmost clays abound in *Ammonites cordatus* and *A. ornatus*; each of which is, however, confined to a separate zone. Their shells, when first exposed to the air, have a brilliant golden lustre, from the presence of pyrites; but the action of the oxygen on this mineral causes them quickly to perish and disintegrate. A mussel-like shell (*Avicula inæquivalvis*), in which one valve is smaller than the other, is very characteristic of the lowest beds of the Oxford Clay, which are more or less sandy.

In the Cornbrash at Rushden, south of Higham Ferrers, the fossil collector will find a 'happy hunting-ground.' The place of *Gryphæa dilatata* is taken by the large furbellated *Ostrea marshi*, which is a true oyster of easy recognition. More characteristic is, however, the large bivalve *Pholadomya bucardium*; other bivalves found in this formation being *Avicula echinata*, *Gresslya peregrina*, and *Myacites securiformis* and *decurtatus*. Brachiopods are represented by *Terebratula obovata*, *T. lagenalis*, and *Rhynchonella concinna*; while the small sea-urchin known as *Echinobrissus clunicularis* is a common fossil of the Cornbrash.

Fossils are rare in the clays of the Great Oolite, the most characteristic being the oyster-like *Placunopsis socialis*. On the other hand, the limestones of the same series are highly fossiliferous, and, as is generally the case, contain a large proportion of gastropod molluscs, although these are less numerous than at Minchinhampton. The gastropods include representatives of the extinct genera *Alaria*, *Amberleya*, *Nerinæa*, *Chemnitzia*, and *Trochotoma*, together with species of the still existing *Natica*, *Phasianella*, and *Pleurotomaria*. Cephalopods are less common, but include *Ammonites gracilis* and *macrocephalus*, *Nautilus baberi*, and a belemnite. Among the more characteristic bivalves may be mentioned a scallop, *Pecten lens*, the cockle *Cardium stricklandi*, the Arca-like *Cuculæa concinna* and *Macrodon kirsonensis*, several species of the common Oolitic genus *Pholadomya*, such as *Pb. acuticostata* and *deltoidea*, together with *Trigonia costata* and *moretoni*. With the exception of *Macrodon*, which is very close to *Cuculæa*, all the above-mentioned genera of bivalves have living representatives; but the Great Oolite of the

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county likewise includes many extinct generic types of the class, such as *Ceromya*, *Cypricardia*, *Gresslya*, *Homomya*, and *Unicardium*. The brachiopods comprise *Rhynchonella concinna*, and several species of *Terebratula*, among the latter being *T. digona* and *obovata*. The sea-urchins are represented, among other types, by the small *Echinobrissus clunicularis*, the large *Clypeus muelleri* and *plottii*, and three species of the large-spined genus *Acrosalenia*. Among plant remains, mention may be made of the fruits described as *Carpolithes* and *Caidacarpum ooliticum*. Taken altogether the fauna of the Great Oolite presents a distinctly sub-tropical aspect, the molluscan genus *Trigonia* now surviving only in Australian waters, while *Pleurotomaria* is known only by a few specimens dredged now and again from the warmer seas.

The lists of fossils given by Mr. Sharp from the Lincolnshire Limestone, Collyweston Slate, and Northampton Sand (mainly representing the Inferior Oolite, although the upper portion of the latter, together with the overlying Upper Estuarine Group, is usually classed with the Great Oolite) are even larger than those of the Great Oolite. Mr. R. Etheridge, who, in his Presidential Address to the Geological Society in 1882,¹ gives eleven localities in the county where the fossils of the Lincolnshire Limestone are most common, states that 'only four species of ammonites are known, *A. murchisonæ*, *A. subradiatus*, *A. blagdeni*, and an undescribed form from Duston. *Nautilus* is represented by two species only, *N. obesus* and *N. polygonalis*; the Crustacea by two species; the Asteroidea [star-fishes] only by *Astropecten cottswoldiæ stamfordensis*. On the other hand, the Mollusca proper, in all three groups, show a large fauna; the species of Gastropoda obtained from the Barnak Rag number 66 and illustrate 17 genera; from the well-known cutting at Ponton 20 genera and 64 species are recorded. The Gastropoda through the 11 localities number 75 genera and 218 species; the Lamellibranchiata Monomyaria [single-muscled bivalves] 63 genera and 133 species; the Dimyaria [double-muscled bivalves] 112 genera and 211 species. The Brachiopoda have little specific value; in no instance have more than eight species occurred in one locality. . . . The slates of Collyweston succeed the Lower Estuarine Group [Northampton Sand]; the twelve or fourteen recognized beds hold well-defined species, among them being *Natica cincta*, *Unicardium impressum*, *Cardium buckmani*, the highly characteristic *Pteroceras bentleyi*, *Trigonia compta*, *Homomya unioniformis*, and *Astropecten cottswoldiæ stamfordensis*. *Pecopteris polypodioides* [a fern], with its fronds in fructification, is abundant in the uppermost beds.' With such a multitude of forms to deal with, it would be little use quoting the names of other species from these formations, but it may be added that while the Northampton Sand includes *Ammonites murchisonæ* of the Lincolnshire Limestone, it likewise contains the Upper Liassic *A. bifrons*.

The fossils of the Northamptonshire Lias are of a less distinctly

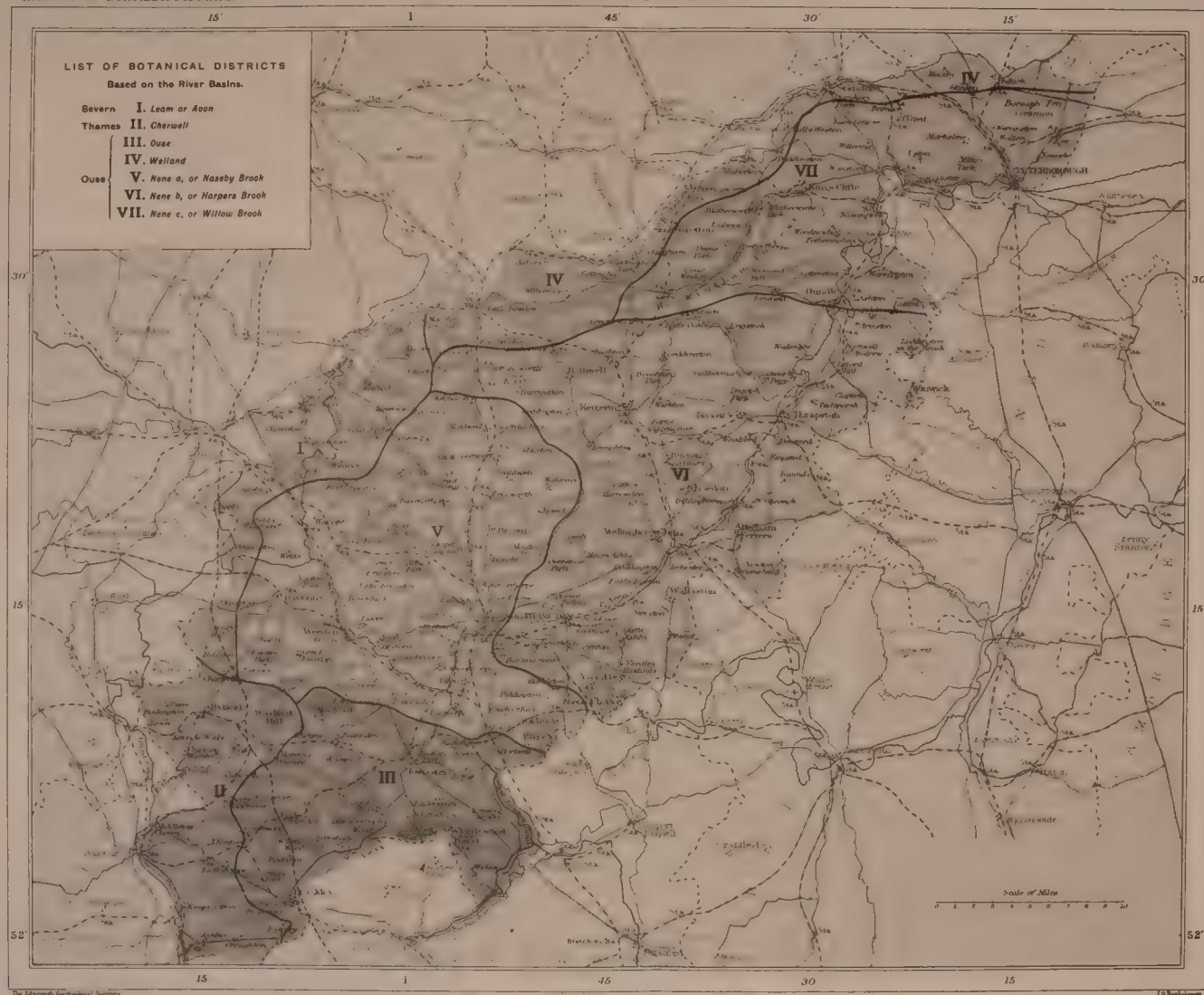
¹ *Proc. Geol. Soc.*, 1882, p. 65.

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local type than those of the formations last mentioned, being in fact those common to the English Lias generally. Of the topmost beds of the Upper Lias¹ *Ammonites communis* is a characteristic shell, while lower down it is replaced by *A. serpentinus*, and still lower (in the transition beds to the Marlstone) by *A. acutus*. The so-called 'fish and insect bed' at the base of the Upper Lias takes its name from the remains of the two groups of animals which form its special feature. In the topmost beds of the Middle Lias, or Marlstone, *Ammonites acutus* and *A. holandrei* are characteristic fossils; below the true rocky bed of the Marlstone *A. spinatus* occurs in the softer beds; while below these latter the zone of *A. margaritatus* is reached. It has been observed that the last-named zone is noteworthy for its numerous bivalves, while that of *A. spinatus* abounds in brachiopods, the topmost transition beds containing an equally noticeable percentage of gastropod molluscs.

The Lower Lias has been divided into a number of zones, each represented by distinctive species of ammonites; but these are too numerous to mention on the present occasion. In addition to these ammonites and several kinds of belemnites, the Lower Lias is especially characterized by several peculiar bivalves, such as the Lias oyster, *Ostrea liassica*, the curved gryphite, *Gryphæa incurva* (the 'devil's toe-nail' of the quarrymen), the great *Lima gigantea*, the massive *Hippopodium ponderosum*, the swan's-foot mussel, *Avicula cygnipes*, and *Cardinia listeri* and other species of the same genus. Very interesting, too, is *Spirifer walcotti*, the last survivor of a group of Palæozoic brachiopods. Finally, the crinoids, or stone-lilies, are represented by *Pentacrinus tuberculatus*, the detached joints of the stems of which are familiar to quarrymen as 'star-stones.'

¹ See B. Thompson, *Midland Naturalist*, vol. x. p. 121.



BOTANY

THE object in the following pages is to give a general idea of what species form the native vegetation of the county, what species have been introduced through the agency of man or animals, the essential differences existing between the flora of Northamptonshire and some of the bordering counties, to describe briefly the districts based on the river drainage, into which the county has been divided for botanical purposes, and to make some reference to the botanists who have worked at the county flora, and to whose exertions so much of our knowledge of it is due.

The following tables show the number of species which have been reported on good authority to have been seen growing in a wild state in the counties surrounding Northamptonshire, as well as those compiled for our county by myself.

Northamptonshire	Warwickshire	Leicestershire	Bucks	Oxfordshire
Native plants . . 765	817	756	810	847
Denizens . . . 28	42	26	25	49
Colonists . . . 37	46	29	34	43
830	905	811	869	939

If we follow fairly closely the specific limitations adopted in the ninth edition of the *London Catalogue of British Plants*,¹ which puts the total number of British plants at 1,958, and make allowance for the species added since that date, we may roughly say that the British flora contains about 2,000 plants, but of these nearly 250 are not native species, 144 are confined to the neighbourhood of the sea, while at least 200 are species, either of northern latitudes, or are not found so far south as Northamptonshire except in mountainous situations; 17 species are confined to Ireland, about 20 to the Channel Isles, and 2 are extinct, namely *Carex Davalliana* and *Eriophorum alpinum*.

After making these deductions about 1,350 species are left which might occur in Northamptonshire, yet we find from the above table such is not the case. It is true that this county is by no means completely investigated, and it is quite certain in respect of micro-species

¹ Geo. Bell & Sons, price 6d., 1895.

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such as those into which the brambles have been recently divided, that persevering collecting would probably be rewarded by nearly twenty additions to our list ; while it is not unlikely that an additional twenty species of plants may in the not far distant future also be added to the plants of the county.

An advance in our knowledge of the distribution of plants through Great Britain was marked by Mr. Hewett Cottrell Watson in his *Cybele Britannica* and in his *Topographical Botany*, ed. 1, 1874, and ed. 2, 1883, the latter edited by Baker and Newbould.¹ For the purpose of tracing plant distribution through Great Britain Mr. Watson divided the counties of Britain into 112 vice-counties, of which England had 59, Wales 12, and Scotland 41, this number being made by dividing some of the larger counties, such as York, Devon, Lancashire, Hants and Inverness into two or more vice-counties, but with the exception of Lincolnshire all the counties bordering on Northamptonshire remain undivided, while Rutland is included by Mr. Watson with Leicestershire. If we look closely into the distribution of the British flora we shall find that no fewer than 100 species are found in every Watsonian vice-county, that two are known to occur in 111 vice-counties, and about 180 more in upwards of 100 vice-counties ; so that out of the 1,750 native British species over 300 are so widely distributed as to be found in 100 or upwards of these vice-counties of Britain. Of these almost ubiquitous species all but one have been recorded for Northamptonshire, the absentee being the marsh violet (*Viola palustris*). The round-leaved sundew (*Drosera rotundifolia*), that interesting carnivorous plant, is, it is to be feared, now extinct, although there is no doubt it formerly occurred on Dallington Heath.

Of the plants which occur in no fewer than 80, or are at present recorded for not more than 100 vice-counties, several with this wide range of distribution have not been recorded for Northamptonshire. These absentees include the climbing heath fumitory (*Corydalis claviculata*—*Capnoides claviculata*, Druce), which may possibly yet be found, as it occurs locally in Bucks, Oxford, Beds, Warwick, Lincoln and Leicester ; the water avens (*Geum rivale*), which occurs in Beds, Cambridge, Lincoln, Leicester, Warwick and Oxford, and in the latter county very near to the Northants boundary ; the poisonous water dropwort (*Ænanthe crocata*), which, although found in Oxford, Bucks, Warwick and Lincoln, is absent from several of the eastern counties ; the blaeberry (*Vaccinium Myrtillus*), which is locally abundant in Bucks and Beds, and is found also in Leicester, Warwick, and very rarely in Oxfordshire ; the creeping forget-me-not (*Myosotis repens*), found in Bucks, Lincoln, Leicester and Warwick : the shore-grass (*Littorella juncea*), which is found in Oxford, Bucks, Lincoln, Leicester and Warwick on the muddy margins of ponds, often completely submerged, is another plant we may hope to add to our list. The following plants are also absent from Northamptonshire : the sweet gale (*Myrica Gale*), recorded for Lincoln, Cambridge, Hunts, no doubt in former times occurred in our area, but with fen

¹ London : Bernard Quaritch, 1883.

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reclamation has disappeared from our county as it apparently has from Bucks ; the buck's-horn plantain (*Plantago Coronopus*) has not been recently found, but is recorded for all the bordering counties except Hunts ; the Lancashire asphodel (*Narthecium ossifragum*), an inhabitant of peaty bogs, has never been recorded for Northants, Oxford or Leicester ; the sea club-rush (*Scirpus maritimus*), as its name implies, is usually found near the coast, but it has also been found in ditches of brackish water in Warwickshire, Hunts and Cambridge ; the deer's grass (*S. cæspitosus*), a native of peaty moors, very rare in Warwick, but is recorded for Beds, Cambridge, Lincoln and Leicester, though probably now extinct in the latter county ; the hare's-tail cotton grass (*Eriophorum vaginatum*), a native of boggy heathland, recorded for Lincoln, Leicester and Warwick ; the brittle bladder-fern (*Cystopteris fragilis*) does not appear to be native to Northants, Oxford or Warwick, but is possibly so in Leicester ; and the fir club-moss (*Lycopodium Selago*), found in Bucks, Oxford and Leicester, but said to be extinct in Warwick.

Of the native plants of Britain other than purely maritime, which are recorded for not fewer than sixty or more than eighty Watsonian vice-counties, several are absent, but of the absentees only the hairy buttercup (*Ranunculus sardous*), reported from Hunts, Cambridge, Lincoln, Leicester and Warwick ; the pearlwort (*Sagina subulata*), found in Bucks ; the bloody cranesbill (*Geranium sanguineum*), a doubtful native to Beds ; the tiny all-seed (*Millegrana Radiola*), found in Bucks, Warwick, Lincoln, Leicester and Oxford ; the small trefoil (*Trifolium filiforme*), found in all the bordering counties except Lincoln ; the golden saxifrage (*Chrysosplenium alternifolium*), recorded from Warwick, Lincoln and Leicester ; the Alexanders (*Smyrnum Olusatrum*), usually an alien inland ; the marsh hawk's-beard (*Crepis paludosa*), essentially a northern plant which does not extend further south than Warwick and Leicester ; the cranberry (*Oxycoccus quadripetala*), found in Lincoln, Warwick and Hunts, but is extinct in Cambridgeshire ; the cowberry, a northern plant, extends into Warwickshire ; the winter-green (*Pyrola minor*), recorded for all the bordering counties except Hunts, Leicester and Cambridge ; the chaff-weed (*Centunculus minimus*), not recorded for Hunts, Lincoln or Leicester ; the small periwinkle (*Vinca minor*), not native to Northants ; the small bladderwort (*Utricularia minor*), reported from Beds, Hunts, Cambridge and Warwick ; the small skull-cap (*Scutellaria minor*) occurs in Oxford, Bucks, Lincoln, Leicester and Warwick ; the crowberry (*Empetrum nigrum*), formerly in Charnwood Forest, Leicester, and still in Warwickshire ; the pondweed (*Potamogeton gramineus* or *heterophyllus*) is recorded for Hunts, Cambridge, Lincoln and Leicester, and may reward the searcher in some of our fen dykes ; the sedge (*Carex lævigata*) occurs in Leicester and Warwick ; the grey sedge (*C. canescens*) recorded for Warwick, Cambridge, Bucks and Leicester, but not recently found in the two latter counties ; the oak fern (*Phegopteris Dryopteris*), found locally in Bucks and Oxford, are the species which have been reported for the counties which border Northamptonshire.

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Of the plants found in between forty and sixty Watsonian vice-counties, besides the maritime and mountain species which are necessarily absent, we lack many, the most noticeable of which omissions, from their occurrence in one or more of the bordering counties, we will now consider. The white-flowered buttercup (*Ranunculus Lenormandi*), a peat-loving species, occurs in Leicester and Warwick; the Deptford pink (*Dianthus Armeria*), found in Oxford, Bucks and Warwick; the maiden pink (*D. deltoides*) occurs in Beds, Hunts, Cambs, Lincoln, Leicester and Oxford, but possibly introduced to the latter county; the small vetch (*Vicia lathyroides*) very likely occurs, as it is recorded for all the bordering counties; the small gorse (*Ulex Gallii*), found in Warwick, commonly about Charnwood in Leicestershire, and rarely in Oxford; the mountain cranesbill (*Geranium sylvaticum*), reported formerly from Warwick; the long-leaved sundew (*Drosera longifolia* or *intermedia*), known in peat bogs in Bucks, Beds, Hunts and Lincoln, and formerly in Cambridge; the celery (*Apium graveolens*), a semi-maritime species found occasionally native inland as in Oxford, Beds, Bucks and Cambridge; the chamomile (*Anthemis nobilis*) frequents moist heathy places, and is native to Bucks, Oxford (very rarely), Warwick (very local), Leicester, Beds and Cambridge; the sedge (*Carex diandra* or *teretiuscula*), a native of peaty pools, recorded as a very local plant in Warwick, Cambridge and Leicester; the club-moss (*Lycopodium inundatum*), found on black peaty places, and recorded for all the bordering counties with the exception of Oxford; the alpine club-moss (*L. alpinum*) formerly grew near the sea-level in north Lincolnshire; and *Selaginella selaginoides* formerly occurred in the same county.

There are many causes which prevent the flora of Northamptonshire from being a rich one, one of the chief of these being the great extent of the county which is under cultivation. Probably no other county except Middlesex, with its enormous growth of houses, has so small an acreage of commons or waste ground. The enclosure of the commons, those happy hunting grounds for the naturalist, is nearly complete, and in almost all cases except Dallington Heath and Harleston Firs the condition of vegetation has been very greatly changed. The woodlands are now said to cover 25,000 acres, but this is small as compared with what the great forests of Whittlebury, Salcey, Yardley Chase, Rockingham, Brigstock, Morehay and Bedford Purlieus once were. Not only is the acreage of these woods much diminished, but the character of the woodland has been changed. A great portion now consists only of blackthorn thickets, or plantations of small trees, and of larch, which make excellent game and fox coverts, but have a singularly unvarying lower vegetation, and it is chiefly with nettles, herb mercury or the creeping dog rose that so much of the ground in these thickets is now covered. It is only in the remains of the older woods, as in Whittlebury, Bedford Purlieus, Geddington or Yardley Chase that any great variety of woodland plants is to be found.

The absence of heaths is almost complete, and where they exist it

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is only as patches ; in fact, one of the types of heath vegetation, the blaeberry, or as it is called in the adjoining county of Buckingham, the huckleberry, is entirely absent, nor is there a winter green (*Pyrola*) recorded, and the small cudweed (*Filago minima*) is extremely rare, while the wood sage (*Teucrium Scorodonia*), which is one of the commonest plants over large areas of Devon and other counties, is one of our rarest species. The heaths (*Calluna Erica*, *Erica cinerea* and *E. Tetralix*) are extremely local, and indeed are absent from the greater portion of the county. Another heath-loving species, the golden rod (*Solidago Virgaurea*), which is quite a feature in many of the western counties, with us is limited to two or three localities, and the buck's-horn plantain (*Plantago Coronopus*), one of the commonest plants on the sandy heaths and roadsides in some parts of Berks and Hants, I have not been able to find in the county, although there is good evidence that at one time it existed on the Billing Lings. This species is also very rare in Oxfordshire and north Bucks. The common chamomile (*Anthemis nobilis*) appears to be absent as a native plant, and the cudweeds (*Filago germanica* and *F. spathulata*) have not been recorded.

Peat is now almost absent from the county, and we lack those deposits of it which in conjuncture with springs give sphagnum bogs, which uliginous plants delight in, and consequently many of these, as we have seen, are absent ; as examples we may mention the common small skull-cap (*Scutellaria minor*), the chaff-weed (*Centunculus minimus*), the all-seed (*Millegrana Radiola*), the sedges (*Carex diandra* or *teretiuscula*, *C. canescens* or *curta* and *C. elongata*), the sundews (*Drosera rotundifolia* and *D. longifolia*), the Lancashire asphodel (*Narthecium ossifragum*), the sweet gale (*Myrica Gale*), the creeping willow (*Salix repens*), which are plants frequently met with in many counties on peaty soils, while such widely distributed and common plants as the sedges (*Carex echinata* and *C. rostrata*) are very rare with us, and the butterwort (*Pinguicula vulgaris*), which we know from the *Phytologia* of Wm. How, published in 1650, was once common in the county, is now limited to a very few localities, and the same remark may be also used to describe the occurrence of the bog pimpernel (*Anagallis tenella*) and the grasses (*Sieglingia decumbens* and *Molinia varia*). Other plants which also delight in peat are absent, or are not recorded on satisfactory authority for the county. These include the poisonous water dropwort (*Oenanthe crocata*) mentioned in Goodyer's MS. of 1650 as being seen in the ditches near Peterborough, the water avens (*Geum rivale*), the creeping water forget-me-not (*Myosotis repens*), and the sedge (*Carex filiformis*).

Again, many lacustrine species are lacking, as we possess no large natural piece of water such as the broads of East Anglia, the llynys of Wales, the Scottish lochs, or the Salopian meres. It may be urged that in the reservoirs of Daventry, Byfield and Naseby we have such large expanses of water, but these are of recent origin, much too recent to yield a large number of species, although doubtless in time to these places will be brought by birds and other agencies additional plants.

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Our streams too are small and sluggish, and too heavily-laden with lime to afford any great variety of waterweeds.

The chalk-hills of Oxford, Bucks and Beds do not enter into our county, nor is there any great extent of aboriginal turf, such as clothes the Cotswolds, on the limestone formation of Northamptonshire, so those typical gypsophiles or calcipetes, as species loving lime or chalk have been termed, the chalk milkwort (*Polygala calcarea*), the box (*Buxus sempervirens*), the large earth-nut (*Carum Bulbocastanum*), the gentian (*Gentiana germanica*), the musk orchis (*Herminium Monorchis*), the military orchis (*Orchis militaris*), the monkey orchis (*O. Simia*), are absent, as are the fumitories (*F. parviflora*, *F. Vaillantii* and *F. densiflora*) and the candytuft (*Iberis amara*), which are found in arable fields on the chalk formations in the bordering counties.

The enclosing of the grassy borders of the roads, and the greater attention to cutting and trimming of the hedgerows, has robbed us of the plant which was formerly the pride of botanists of the county, namely the prickly eryngo (*Eryngium campestre*), which formerly grew by the old Watling Street near Brockhall. The perennial flax (*Linum perenne*) has met with a similar fate it is to be feared in the east of the county, and the star-thistle (*Centaurea Calcitrapa*) has not recently been found.

Again we lack the presence of the older rocks, such as are to be seen in Charnwood Forest in Leicestershire, where the New Red Sandstone and syenitic rocks come to the surface, and give a home for heath, bog and forest plants, where a few species occur, or did until recently occur, which are absent from our area; these include the bell-flower (*Campanula patula*), the crowberry (*Empetrum nigrum*), the cotton grass (*Eriophorum vaginatum*), the small furze (*Ulex Gallii*), and the sedges (*Carex filiformis* and *C. diandra* or *teretiuscula*).

The inland position of the county necessarily shuts out a large number of littoral species, but it is somewhat singular that the celery (*Apium graveolens*) should really be absent from our fen ditches which appear so suitable for it, and we appear to have no brackish springs such as are found in Warwickshire and Berkshire, which are likewise inland counties, and there give a home for *Scirpus maritimus* and *S. Tabernæmontani*. Perhaps these plants, with the horned pondweed (*Zannickellia pedunculata*), may hereafter be found.

At one time the extensive quarries of stone, which in places had become grass-covered, yielded many botanical treasures, and some of these—notably those of Barnack and Colleyweston—are still the most interesting localities for plants in the county. In the course of time, however, the soil on them accumulates, and gradually from decaying vegetation the surface soil becomes richer, and on this strong grasses, such as *Poa pratensis* and *Dactylis* or *Arrhenatherum*, get introduced and gradually push out the sheep's fescue (*Festuca ovina*) and *Kæhleria*, while they prove most obnoxious to the orchids and other limestone-loving species. The taller growth and richer herbage of the species alluded to also overshadow and reduce the sun temperature which Composites such

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as the field ragwort or mountain fleawort (*Senecio campestris*) and the cat's-foot (*Antennaria dioica*) require. The process appears to be complete so far as exterminating the former is concerned, while the latter, with the spotted cat's-ear (*Hypochaeris maculata*), only linger in a solitary locality. It must also be borne in mind that with the growth of the richer herbage of the grasses I have named, there is a greater attraction held out for sheep and cattle to come to these once arid places. They assist the process by trampling down to a dead uniformity both the vegetation and the soil, while with their advent a new factor is introduced, namely the nitrates which result from the ammonia excreted by them, which foster the growth of the *Poa* and *Dactylis*, but are inimical to the older and rarer species. Nor must the influence of the atmosphere be forgotten. With the streaming rain and gentle dew a continual dissolving away and washing down of the original rock is taking place, and brought by the driving wind, particles of soil of a different character from the bed-rock are deposited. Before such agents as these the reprehensible maraudings of the too greedy botanical collector sink comparatively to nothing. Change of this kind is slowly taking place everywhere in Britain, but much more rapidly with us, since our rocks are all soluble, and the process is necessarily much more rapid than it is with the igneous rocks, which weather but slowly, and especially when the other factors of high cultivation, and a more densely populated area also are to be found.

A similar process goes on in our small heathlands, and the introduction or the increase of rabbits largely assists in it, since they nibble off very closely all the aboriginal vegetation, so that the annuals such as the bird's-foot trefoil (*Ornithopus*), the buck's-horn plantain (*Plantago coronopus*), the small trefoil (*Trifolium filiforme*)—the latter not yet recorded for Northants—have a very bad time, and only such hardy species as the ragwort (*Senecio Jacobæa*) appear to be able to hold their own; while their rapid movements tend to distribute the nettles, the seeds of which get scattered from their furry coats. The stone quarries near Weedon, at Cosgrove, and heathy roadsides and heathlands of Holdenby, Haddon, etc., are now much poorer than they were even in my recollection, and the mountain fern (*Lastrea Oreopteris* or *Dryopteris montana*) has been eradicated. The broom (*Sarothamnus scoparius*) is now much scarcer, and its interesting parasite, the broom-rape (*Orobanche Rapum-genistæ*) is now almost extinct.

The replacement of stone buildings with those made of brick has caused a diminution in the number of mural plants. We read in Ray's *Itineraries* that he found on the walls of Northampton several interesting plants, and we know that the drawing of the wall pennywort or navelwort (*Cotyledon Umbilicus*) in the first edition of *English Botany* was made by Sowerby from plants gathered on the walls of Peterborough Cathedral, but now few plants of any kind are found on the less congenial brick walls of Northampton, and the better state of repair in which the walls of Peterborough Cathedral are kept yield little space for the *Cotyledon*, which it is to be feared has been quite exterminated there. Doubt-

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less the substitution of coal for wood as a fuel has also had influence in diminishing the number of mural plants in towns. With the destruction of the Old Castle at Northampton disappeared in its only known locality in the county the wall rocket (*Diplotaxis tenuifolia*), and with it also went from that locality several interesting species including *Galium erectum*. The Northampton racecourse which within the last fifty years had rough banks and hollows on it, and yielded the garlic (*Allium vineale*), meadow saxifrage (*Saxifraga granulata*) and other plants, has but few and those the commonest species now.

Although the changes hitherto mentioned in the character of the vegetation of the county have been all for the worse, yet it must be acknowledged that perhaps in the number of species the nineteenth may compare quite favourably with the ninth century. The large extent of country under the cultivation of corn has brought in, although doubtless a very long time ago, a considerable number of agrestal species which are probably not indigenous to Britain. Among these plants, which we call colonists, are the poppies (*Papaver Rhæas*, *P. dubium*, and *P. Argyreum*), the fumitory (*Fumaria officinalis*), the white mustard (*Brassica alba*), the shepherd's needle (*Scandix Pecten-veneris*), the hare's ear (*Bupleurum rotundifolium*), the corn marigold (*Chrysanthemum segetum*), the corn buttercup (*Ranunculus arvensis*), the corn cockle (*Lychnis Githago*), the St. Barnaby's thistle (*Centaurea Solstitialis*), the blue cornflower (*Centaurea Cyanus*), the Venus' looking-glass (*Specularia perfoliata*), the field bugloss (*Anchusa arvensis*), the corn gromwell (*Lithospermum arvense*), the small toad-flax (*Linaria minor* or *viscida*), the calf's snout (*Antirrhinum Orontium*), the grey speedwell (*Veronica didyma* or *polita*), and other species; the upright ground ivy (*Stachys arvensis*), the hemp nettle (*Galeopsis speciosa* or *versicolor*), the red cut-leaved archangel (*Lamium hybridum*), several of the goosefoots (*Chenopodium*), the corn bindweed (*Polygonum Convolvulus*), the sun spurge (*Euphorbia helioscopia*), the petty spurge (*E. Peplus*), the corn spurge (*E. platyphylla*), and several species of grass such as *Avena strigosa* and *fatua*, *Bromus secalinus*, and the darnel (*Lolium temulentum*).

But in addition to these we have plants introduced to our cultivated areas in more recent times; among them the blue-flowered *Veronica Tournefortii*, or as it has also been called *V. Buxbaumii*, which was not known to occur in this country in the eighteenth century, but is now very widely distributed. The clover dodder (*Cuscuta trifolii*) and the hoary cress (*Lepidium Draba*) also were unknown in Britain before the nineteenth century. There is more doubt as to the date of the introduction of the two hawkweeds, *Crepis biennis* and *C. taraxacifolia*, and many botanists believe them to be indigenous in the eastern counties, and that they belong to the Germanic type of distribution. This may possibly be a correct view, but the extraordinary manner in which they have increased in recent years is evidence to me that in a large number of instances these plants, especially the latter species, are colonists rather than indigenous. Within my recollection these plants have been intro-

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duced into Berks, Middlesex and Bucks, and are now a conspicuous feature in the clover and corn fields, and by the roads and railways, their feathered fruits being carried by the wind over ever-widening areas, and thus yearly make a westerly advance into fresh country.

The hoary cress first appeared in our county on the rubbish heaps at the sewage works. At that time some portion of the dried refuse was sold for manure, and in this way the cress has been carried to widely separated stations. The plant is supposed to have been introduced to Britain with the fodder brought by the vessels which conveyed the unfortunate Walcheren expedition, and is now a pest to the agriculturist in the Isle of Thanet. A semi-maritime species of grass, *Glyceria* or *Panicularia distans*, was also very common about the sewage works in 1879, but I cannot learn that it has spread to other situations. The washing of skins in our streams by fellmongers, etc., has led to the introduction of several foreign species. The seeds which had become entangled in the wool of foreign animals, in the washing have been separated and sunk into the mud. When the river Nene was dredged, the surface of the mud scattered on the adjoining meadow showed several foreign species which flourished for a season or so, but partly from the cold season, and I think chiefly from the stress of the keen competition for the soil by the strong native species of grass, these outlanders soon disappeared. About our corn mills a few foreign casuals may be seen: these include *Couringia orientalis*, *Plantago arenaria*, *Santia (Polypogon) monspeliensis*.

Another factor in the introduction of foreign casuals must receive brief notice, as it is quite conceivable that some of the plants thus introduced may become permanent features in our flora. I refer to our railways. At the present time no inconsiderable acreage of Northamptonshire is taken up with the sidings, embankments, and cuttings of the various railway systems which traverse the county. The railway banks often give one a better idea of the native flora than the surrounding ground which is under cultivation, as our competing grasses and other strong species have not had time to exert their overcrowding properties, while the drainage and the sunny exposure often give plants which are fond of an open situation facilities which the more uniform, sheltered, shaded, and highly cultivated arable or pasture country no longer affords; hence we see the hare's-foot clover (*Trifolium arvense*), the mouse-ear hawkweed (*Hieracium Pilosella*), the field scorpion grass (*Myosotis versicolor*), doing extremely well on railway banks. Moreover when a cutting has been made through clay, the moist surface acts as a sticky fly-paper does, and light seeds which are borne by the wind become attached, and in a short time the clay is covered with vegetation which is in many instances foreign to the district round. These clay cuttings afford us the bee orchis (*Ophrys apifera*), the melilot (*Melilotus officinalis*), the rose bay willow herb (*Epilobium angustifolium*), and the *Crepis taraxacifolia* already referred to, while the abundance of coltsfoot and thistles show what an advantage the feathery pappus-borne fruits have over the more heavy ones which are dependent upon other means

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for distribution. But we also owe many foreigners to the forage which is carried along the line in trucks, from which seeds are spilled, and in this way the small toadflax (*Linaria viscida*) has come, no long distance of railways in Britain being without it. The wall rocket (*Diplotaxis muralis*) is another species which has been introduced in a similar way, and a grass (*Setaria viridis*), although much less common, is also frequently to be found along the permanent way. Between Roade and Wolverton a very large number of foreign species occur, and the yellow chamomile (*Anthemis tinctoria*) and the gold of pleasure (*Camelina sativa*) promise to become permanently established. Just outside our area, in the parish of Hanslope, two foreign species of *Hieracium* with *Anthemis tinctoria* cover a considerable extent of the embankment for some distance.

Two species of ferns have been introduced to our county quite recently, one the limestone polypody (*Phegopteris calcarea* or *Robertiana*) which Mr. Dixon found on the stone banks of the Roade railway cutting, and the brittle bladder fern (*Cystopteris fragilis*). Probably the wind (a little helped possibly by the draught made by rapid trains) has been the agent in these cases, as certainly they were not there formerly, and the spores of the limestone polypody may have been carried by the westerly wind from Cheddar where the plant is frequent. It also exists in Wychwood Forest, Oxfordshire. By the means of railways the Oxford ragwort (*Senecio squalidus*), which previously to their formation was limited in England to Bideford and Oxford, has now been conveyed from the latter place, and especially in recent years, along the Great Western line to Reading and Maidenhead, to Hayes in Middlesex, and to Swindon in Wiltshire; and on the London and North-Western Railway to Verney Junction in Bucks; and it is quite probable before the next twenty years are passed it will have extended along the main line through our county. The striped toadflax (*Linaria repens*) also, which before the advent of railways was not found north of the chalk area in Oxfordshire and Berkshire, has been carried by trains into our county near Aynhoe, and I have seen it also near Banbury. A great quantity of it was brought to Oxford with railway ballast, and for some years it flourished in great luxuriance, and formed with the yellow toadflax (*L. vulgaris*) an immense number of most interesting hybrids.¹ The seeds of the rose bay willow herb (*Epilobium angustifolium*) may have been partly carried by the wind of passing trains to several places on the sides of the railway.

The Canadian water thyme (*Elodea canadensis*), which was first recorded from Foxton reservoir in Leicestershire, near Market Harborough, in 1847, and of which a specimen gathered in 1849 from Northamptonshire is contained in the Edinburgh Herbarium, was brought into our area by the Grand Junction Canal, and quickly spread over the county, until in the seventies it was a pest, but since that time it has become less frequent. The same thing has occurred generally over England, waterways having been a principal means by which this rapid spreading of the species has taken place; but birds

¹ See the *Flora of Berkshire*, pp. 292, 293.

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must in the great majority of cases have been the means of introducing it to numerous isolated pieces of water.

Spores of ferns are also carried by water, for I have seen seedling species of the bracken (*Pteris aquilina*) which have been brought down from Harleston, growing on the flood-mark on the brick walls of wharves in the southern part of Northampton. The sweet flag (*Acorus Calamus*) has spread by the agency of streams along the larger rivers of eastern and southern England, but in this instance it is to portions of the creeping rhizome being carried down by the stream to some other anchorage, that its dispersal over a wide area is probably due. It occurs by the Ouse at Stony Stratford on both sides of the stream, and has the appearance of being native. The yellow monkey flower (*Mimulus Langsdorffii*) so frequent in some of the Buckinghamshire streams, does not yet appear to be established with us.

THE BOTANICAL DISTRICTS

Following the example which has been set by the large proportion of modern local floras, I have based the divisions of the county for botanical purposes upon the river drainage, and by doing so have brought the flora of Northamptonshire into harmony with that of the neighbouring counties in which a similar plan has been adopted. Those botanists who are interested in plant distribution through the smaller river districts of England, may thus have less trouble in tracing the constituents of each river-flora than would be the case if an artificial or geological basis of division had been followed. Unlike some counties, such as Berkshire, which happen to be wholly in the drainage basin of one large river, Northamptonshire has a more composite system. Owing to the great length of the county, which from Crowland to Aynhoe is seventy miles, and from its ranges of hills, it has been the boast of the county that we send streams to all the neighbouring counties but receive none in return, and we have the water-parting of three different and important river systems all starting within our area, the outlets of which into the sea are very widely separated. They are the Severn, the Thames, and the Ouse. The first is represented by two streams, the Leam and the Avon, which are separate and distinct in our county, but unite in Warwickshire, while the united stream, still bearing the classic name of Avon, itself unites near Tewkesbury with the Severn, whose outfall is into the Bristol Channel. The second consists of the Cherwell, and is an important feeder of the Thames, which falls into the North Sea near the English Channel. The third, the Ouse, which in our area is drained by the Ouse, the Nene and the Welland, each distinct streams, and flowing into the Wash in the German Ocean by different outlets. As the portion of our county drained by the Ouse is large I have thought it well to separate it into five subdivisions.

The names and limitations therefore of the seven botanical districts are as follows :—

1. THE AVON OR LEAM

This district occupies a narrow strip on the north-western side of the county, and is bordered by the counties of Leicester and Warwick, and corresponds with District 2 of the *Flora of Leicestershire*, and with Districts 4 and 5 of Bagnall's *Flora of Warwickshire*, where the drainage of these two streams forms two districts. It may be well hereafter when the knowledge of the flora of this part is more complete than it is at present to follow Mr. Bagnall's plan of keeping the two river drainages separate. The boundary of the Avon district, from the district of the Cherwell, Nene, and Welland is as follows; but it must be borne in mind that in some cases, from various causes, the boundary is not precise. From the Warwickshire border near Marston Hill, the turnpike road from Priors Marston to Charwelton is followed. Then the boundary line is carried northwards to Arbury Hill (734 feet), capped with Northampton sands, which forms the culminating point of the county, and which is therefore in two different drainage systems. From Arbury the high ground to Staverton marks the limit, and from Staverton the turnpike road, the highest point of which is 590 feet, to Daventry forms the boundary as far as to Drayton Lodge, then the line is traced across country by Drayton Grange to Ashby Grange, leaving Drayton reservoir (in the Nene district) on the east, and Bragbrough House on the west. At this point the turnpike road to Barby marks the boundary

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as far as to the Ridgeway road (552 feet), and then the latter is followed to Kilsby. The area within the boundaries described is drained by the Leam, and at Kilsby begins the area drained by the Avon, the boundary from Kilsby being the water-parting of the high ground on the south of Crick, and a little north of West Haddon (577 feet), then to the south of Winwick Warren (648 feet), by Cold Ashby (654 feet), to Naseby, where the elevation at the base of the monument is 648 feet above sea-level. The boundary line is then drawn in a northerly direction to Sibbertoft (600 feet) and thence to the Leicestershire border of the county.

The source of the Avon is in a group of springs issuing from the escarpment at the base of the layer of Northampton sands, between Naseby and Welford; but the chief source of the classic river has usually been connected with a spring rising from historic Naseby, at an elevation of 622 feet above sea-level, whence it flows in a westerly direction through Stanford Park and then separates us from Leicestershire; another feeder passes near Yelvertoft and by Clay Coton to Lilbourne,

‘Where ever-gliding Avon’s limpid wave Thwarts the long course of dusty Watling Street.’

From the high ground overlooking the valley of the Avon very extensive and pleasing views may be obtained over a country which it is true is singularly deficient in woodland, but yet from its bushy hedgerows, its immemorial elms, and its extensive pastures and gently undulating cornfields, offers a charming landscape, and one especially dear to the fox-hunter. Honey Hill, near Elkington, offers in a special degree an extensive view which includes the spires of Coventry, and under favourable conditions the Malvern Hills.

The Leam rises from the slopes of the high ground in the vicinity of Arbury Hill and Staverton and Marston Hill, and forms the county boundary of Warwickshire from Shuckburgh Mill to Braunston, and then passes into that county, where it gives its name to Leamington.

This portion drained by the Leam is very pleasant country, and it contains Arbury Hill, which is the highest portion of the county, namely 734 feet above sea-level. There is considerable diversity of soil and elevation in the district, and the light sandy ground near Staverton ought to yield several species not at present recorded. The high ground near Barby, and that near West Haddon and the western side of Sibbertoft would well repay working. The large reservoir to the west of Naseby which supplies the canal, the hills and hollows near Elkington, the Grand Junction Canal, and the Oxford and Birmingham Canal, need further exploration. As I have already said, the extent of woodland is extremely small, and heathlands and bogs are practically absent. This is also the character of the Avon and Leam districts in Warwickshire, which have a much larger acreage, but which are remarkable for the absence of bog and heath plants. The Warwickshire districts are however much richer in interesting species than our own, but systematic work would well repay the botanist, as it is certainly the least explored of any of our districts, but the geological formations are not favourable for a rich flora, for notwithstanding the presence of the Northampton sands which cap the higher hills, a very considerable proportion consists of the Lower Lias clays, which form uninteresting country, especially about Kilsby, Barby, Clay Coton, and the valley of the Avon, which is sparsely inhabited, and chiefly in pasture, with a very limited range of vegetation.

Among the species recorded for the Avon and Leam district are the following :—

Berberis vulgaris, L.
Thlaspi arvense, L.
Montia fontana, L.
Spergula sativa, Boenn.
Cytisus scoparius, Link.
Genista anglica, L. Probably extinct
Melilotus officinalis, Lam.
Lathyrus montanus, Bernh. (*Orobis tuberosus*, L.)
Rubus echinatus, Lindl.
 — *argentatus*, P. J. Muell.
 — *diversifolius*, Lindl.
 [*Sedum album*, L.]
C. intermedia, Hoffm. (*Callitriche hamulata*, Kuetz.)
Adoxa Moschatellina, L.
Galium Cruciatum, Scop.
Chrysanthemum segetum, L.
Pedicularis sylvatica, L.

Lamium Galeobdolon, Crantz.
Mentha longifolia, Huds.
Scleranthus annuus, L.
Chenopodium Bonus-Henricus, L.
Salix rubra, Huds.
 — *Smithiana*, Willd.
Populus alba, L.
Potamogeton alpinus, Balb.
Triglochin palustre, L.
Fritillaria Meleagris, L. Not recently recorded
Sparganium neglectum, Beeby
Carex paniculata, L.
Festuca Myurus, L.
Phyllitis Scolopendrium.
Polystichum aculeatum, Roth.
Ophioglossum vulgatum, L.
Chara hispida, L.
Tolypella prolifera, Leonh.

BOTANY

2. THE CHERWELL DISTRICT

The boundaries of this district are as follows: From Charwelton to the Warwickshire border near Marston Hill it is bounded by the Avon district as already described; from this point near Marston Hill to the Three-shire Stone, near Wormleighton reservoir, its western limit is the county boundary of Warwickshire. At the Three Mile Stone Oxfordshire takes the place of Warwickshire, and the county boundary limits our district on the west as far south as Aynhoe. It then also forms our boundary on the south along a line which may be traced across country to the Cottisford racecourse on the Brackley turnpike road, and then follows that road to the 'Barley Mow' Inn, where it touches the water-parting of the Ouse. From the 'Barley Mow,' near Evenley, our separating line is drawn along the Brackley road to Evenley, and then along the road to King Sutton as far as to Rowler Farm, when a northerly direction is taken towards Farthinghoe, leaving Hinton-in-the-Hedges in the Ouse district to the east, and then taking in Farthinghoe, it passes between Marston St. Lawrence and Gretworth, the latter being in the Ouse district. As we proceed northwards the boundary line is traced along the high ground to the east of Thorpe Mandeville, Culworth and Moreton Pinkney to Adston, Preston Field, Preston Capes, and Charwelton. From Preston Capes to Charwelton the Nene district forms its northern boundary.

The Cherwell issues from a spring rising in the cellar of Charwell House from an elevated table-land of Lias capped here and there by outliers of Oolite at an altitude of over 500 feet above the level of the sea, and from this table-land springs send their waters respectively to the German Ocean and the Bristol Channel. At Charwelton, on the Marlstone, the infant Cherwell is crossed by a picturesque and interesting stone horse-bridge. Then it flows by Woodford and Edgcott and the ancient battlefield of Danesmoor, near which at Ayles Mill it enters Oxfordshire. A few miles south of this at Chacombe the Cherwell divides the counties of Oxford and Northampton as far south as to Aynhoe, flowing through alluvial meadows resting on the Lower Lias clay. Above Chacombe comes in the Warwickshire branch of the river, and other feeders from both sides of the valley, which has hitherto consisted of a broadly undulating tract, but now assumes a more contracted character, and the river cuts through ridges of more unequal elevation. It passes Banbury (where the datum mark is about 300 feet above sea-level) and the river, which has cut its way down to the Liassic rocks, passes King Sutton and the well wooded park of the Cartwrights near Aynhoe, where a small brook, which rises near Evenley Castle and passes by Croughton, and the southern part of Aynhoe Park, forms the county boundary. The Cherwell now becomes wholly an Oxfordshire stream, and at Oxford merges with the Thames at a spot where the river is about 190 feet above sea-level. The catchment basin of the whole of the Cherwell valley is estimated as about 500 square miles. The Cherwell district has its counterpart in Warwickshire, and Mr. Bagnall has made the portion drained by this stream District 10 of his *Flora of Warwickshire*; the highest ground in the district in that county being a portion of Edgehill, 766 feet above the sea-level. Mr. Bagnall complains that his district is rather poor in interesting species, but he records a willow-herb (*Epilobium roseum*) which at present is not known in this county, although very likely to be found. The Cherwell district corresponds also to the districts called the Swere or Upper Cherwell and the Ray or Lower Cherwell of my *Flora of Oxfordshire*, but these are much larger than the Northamptonshire district and contain several species not recorded for our county. One of these, the water avens (*Geum rivale*), so far as Oxfordshire is concerned, practically confined to the Cherwell basin, being rather frequent by the river only a short distance from the Northamptonshire boundary, and I do not yet despair of adding it to our county list. Among the other plants found in Oxfordshire which we lack are *Rosa agrestis* (*R. sepium*), *R. systyla*, *Pulicaria vulgaris*, *Juniperus communis*, *Anthemis nobilis*, *Arabis perfoliata*, *Viola palustris*, *Vicia lathyroides*, and *Carex axillaris*.

Notwithstanding the absence of these species, this district is quite an interesting one, as there is considerable variety in the geological formations from the Lower Lias clay to the Marlstone, Upper Lias clay, Northampton sands, and the Great Oolite, and the latter is in places covered with drift. Although there is no great extent of woodland, there are some interesting spinneys, while a few portions of bog still remain. One of these owes its existence to a patch of drift clay overlying the Great Oolite near Evenley. Although this piece of bog is very small, it is remarkable how many species which are absent from the greater portion of the district are still to be found in it. The beautiful grass of Parnassus (*Parnassia palustris*) still lingers there with the marsh helleborine (*Epipactis palustris*), the grass *Molinia varia*, the

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sedges *Carex pulicaris*, *C. flava*, *C. Hornschuchiana*, *C. binervis*, the marsh thistle (*Cnicus pratensis*), the marsh dropwort (*Enanthe Lachenalii*), the butterwort (*Pinguicula vulgaris*), and *Juncus obtusiflorus*. About Aynhoe the wall lettuce (*Lactuca muralis*) is found, and near Croughton *Rubus mucronatus*, *Daphne Mezereum*, *Chara hispida*, *Brachypodium pinnatum*, and *Bromus erectus*.

There are some interesting spinneys and coppices in the neighbourhood of Newbottle, and in one of these the dame's violet (*Hesperis matronalis*) is naturalized. The hedges here have occasionally *Rosa glauca* and *R. coriifolia*, which are especially common in northern Britain, but become rare in the south. *Rubus Radula* is common in the hedgerows, and where the Great Oolite comes to the surface in one or two places we may see the great woolly-headed thistle (*Cnicus eriophorus*), and as also showing the presence of limestone the Canterbury bell (*Campanula glomerata*). Venus' looking-glass (*Specularia hybrida*) is found in the corn-fields, and *Caucalis nodosa* on dry banks. In grassy places *Galium erectum* has been gathered. The village walls of King Sutton and Newbottle have *Poa compressa* and *Sedum album*. The spinneys show the wild cherry (*Prunus avium*), and in one place the ramsons (*Allium ursinum*).

The piece of artificial water at Astrop Park has the mare's-tail (*Hippuris vulgaris*), the milfoil (*Myriophyllum verticillatum*), and the horned milfoil (*Ceratophyllum*). The Cherwell and the canal between Aynhoe and Chacombe have a good many interesting plants, but space will only allow of a few being here given; among these however must be mentioned the rare pondweeds *Potamogeton alpinus* and *P. polygonifolius*, which have been found in a small stream near Banbury, and the butterwort (*Pinguicula vulgaris*) formerly grew near the canal banks. *Carex paniculata* is to be found in luxuriant growth in several places, and the bog lousewort (*Pedicularis palustris*) also occurs. One of the conspicuous species by the canal is the butter-bur (*Petasites vulgaris*). The rose bay willow herb (*Epilobium angustifolium*) is plentiful on the railway banks near Aston. The barberry (*Berberis vulgaris*) is rather frequent about Chacombe and at Canon's Ashby, and the navelwort (*Cotyledon Umbilicus*) grows occasionally on old walls, and especially at the last-named place.

Four Slips Copse near Steane, which is situated on the Northampton sands, shows considerable variety of soil, from light sand to dark peaty earth and clay. On the whole the flora of this place is less interesting than one would at first sight be led to expect. It yields however among other species the hard fern (*Lomaria Spicant*), the lady fern (*Athyrium Filix-fœmina*), the broad shield fern (*Dryopteris dilatata*), the grass of Parnassus (*Parnassia palustris*), the bog bedstraw (*Galium uliginosum*), the marsh valerian (*Valeriana dioica*), the pennywort (*Hydrocotyle vulgaris*), the cherry (*Prunus Avium*), the gooseberry (*Ribes Grossularia*), and the brambles *Rubus dasycarpus*, *R. Radula*, etc.

The rarer plants of the Cherwell district in addition to those in the preceding pages are as follows :—

Ranunculus hederaceus, L.
— *heterophyllus*, Weber
Aquilegia vulgaris, L.
[*Delphinium Consolida*, L.]
Diplotaxis muralis, DC.
Sisymbrium Thalianum, Gay.
Erysimum cheiranthoides, L.
Cardamine amara, L.
— *flexuosa*, With.
Roripa palustris, Bess. (*Nasturtium*)
— *amphibia*, Bess. (*Nasturtium*)
[*Vogelia paniculata*, Medik.]
Lepidium campestre, R. Br.
Polygala vulgaris, L.
Lychnis Githago, Scop.
Sagina apetala, Hard.
Geranium pyrenaicum, Burm. f.
— *lucidum*, L.
Euonymus europæus, L.
Genista tinctoria, L.
Trifolium medium, L.
— *scabrum*, L.
Lotus uliginosus, Schkuhr.

Spiræa Filipendula, L.
Rubus Selmeri, Lindb.
— *pulcherrimus*, Neum.
— *foliosus*, W. and N.
— *Lindleanus*, Lees.
Fragaria muricata, Mill. (*F. elatior*, Ehrh.)
Alchemilla vulgaris, L., var. *filicaulis* (Buser)
Poterium officinale, A. Gray. (*Sanguisorba officinale*, L.)
[*P. polygamum*, W. and K.]
Rosa tomentosa, Sm. (*R. mollissima*, Willd.)
Cratægus oxyacanthoides, Thuill.
Pyrus Aucuparia, E.
Saxifraga granulata, L.
[*Ribes alpinum*, L.]
— *rubrum*, L.
Sedum Telephium, L.
[— *album*, L.]
Myriophyllum spicatum, L.
Callitriche obtusangula, Le Gall.
Epilobium tetragonum, L.
Pimpinella major, Huds.
Sium latifolium, L.

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Bupleurum rotundifolium, L.
Ceanothe fistulosa, L.
 — *Phellandrium*, Lam.
Cerefolium Anthriscus, G. Beck. (*Anthriscus vulgaris*)
Adoxa Moschatellina, L.
Sambucus Ebulus, L.
 [*Lonicera Caprifolium*, L.]
Galium hercynicum, Weig. (*G. saxatile*, L.)
 — *tricornis*, Stokes
Valerianella olitoria, Moench.
 — *dentata*, Poll.
Dipsacus pilosus, Huds.
Erigeron acre, L.
Filago germanica, L.
Inula Conyza, DC.
Chrysanthemum segetum, L.
 — *Parthenium*, Pers.
Artemisia Absinthium, L.
Senecio sylvaticus, L.
 — *squalidus*, L.
Picris Hieracioides, L.
Serratula tinctoria, L.
Lactuca virosa, L.
 [*Crepis setosa*, Haller f.]
Hottonia palustris, L.
Lysimachia vulgaris, L.
 [*Vinca minor*, L.]
Erythræa ramosissima Pers. (*pulchella*).
Gentiana Amarella, L.
Menyanthes trifoliata, L.
Myosotis cespitosa, Schultz.
 — *collina*, Hoffm.
 — *versicolor*, Sm.
Lycopsis arvensis, L.
 [*Cuscuta trifolii*, Bab.]
 [*Linaria repens*, Mill.]
Calamintha arvensis, Lam. (*Clinopodium Acinos*).
Nepeta Cataria, L.
Stachys ambigua, Sm.
 — *arvensis*, L.
Salvia Verbenaca, L.
Chenopodium polyspermum, L.
 — *rubrum*, L.
Atriplex deltoidea, Bab.
Polygonum Hydropiper, L.
 — *maculatum*, Trim. & Dyer. (*P. tomentosum*, Schrank.)

Daphne Mezereum, L.
 — *Laureola*, L.
Carpinus Betulus, L.
Quercus sessiliflora, Salisb.
Populus canescens, Sm.
 — *tremula*, L.
Salix viridis, Fries.
 — *triandra*, L.
 — *purpurea*, L.
 — *Smithiana*, Willd.
Orchis pyramidalis, L.
Habenaria chloroleuca, Ridl.
 — *conopsea*, Benth.
Iris foetidissima, L.
Narcissus Pseudo-narcissus, L.
Potamogeton compressum, L. (*P. zosterifolius*, Schum.)
 — *Friesii*, Rupr.
 — *interruptus*, Kit.
Fritillaria Meleagris, L.
Scirpus setaceus, L.
 — *sylvaticus*, L.
Eriophorum angustifolium, Roth.
Carex disticha, Huds.
 — *divulsa*, Stokes
 — *panicea*, L.
 — *flava*, L.
 — *lepidocarpa*, Tausch.
 — *rostrata*, Stokes
Agrostis nigra, With.
Calamagrostis epigeios, Roth.
Milium effusum, L.
Avena pubescens, Huds.
 — *pratensis*, L.
Sieglingia decumbens, Bernh.
Poa compressa, L.
 — *memoralis*, L.
Festuca sciuroides, Roth.
 — *ovina*, L.
Bromus commutatus, Schrad.
 [— *secalinus*, L.]
Asplenium Trichomanes, L.
 — *Adiantum-nigrum*, L.
Polystichum aculeatum, Roth.
Ceterach officinarum, Willd.
Dryopteris (Lastrea) spinulosa, Kuntze.
 — *dilatata*, A. Gray.
Chara fragilis, Desv.
Nitella opaca, Agardh.

3. THE OUSE DISTRICT

This area is bounded on the western side by the Cherwell district, which reaches from near Evenley to Hinton-in-the-Hedges, by Greatworth to Preston Capes ; and on the north by the Nene district from which it is separated by a line which is traced in an easterly direction to the parishes of Farthingstone and Litchborough (which it leaves to the north), Cold Higham, Tiffeld Cover and Gayton Copse. Leaving Stoke Bruerne to the south, it just takes in the villages of Roade and Hartwell, when it touches the Buckingham border between the latter village and Hanslope. The counties are separated from Grafton Regis to Cosgrove by the Tove, which has cut down to the Upper Lias clay, and from this point along the southern side the county boundary of Buckingham limits the district by Cosgrove, Old Stratford, Passenham, Wicken, Syresham and Brackley. Near this pleasant town it just touches the county boundary of Oxford until it reaches the Evenley road. Strictly speaking this district is composed of the drainage of two streams—one, the Tove, which rises from the high ground in the neighbourhood of Preston Capes, passes by Maidford and Blakesley to Towcester (where it meets another branch

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which springs from the hilly ground of Sulgrave), and on by Weston Bushes, Wappenham, Slapton and Bradden. Near the old Roman town of Towcester, where there are large alluvial meadows, another feeder, which drains some portion of Whittlebury Forest, adds its store of water; shortly afterwards near Alderton another brook comes in which has drained the country about Tiffeld and Hulcote, while from the south still another brings in the water collected from an area in many places covered with blue clay drift about Paulers Pury. There are other small brooks which drain the parishes of Roade, Hartwell and Ashton, which enter the Tove before it reaches Bozenham Mill, from which place it serves to divide the county from that of Buckingham as far as to its junction with the Ouse. The Ouse itself rises from the high ground near Greatworth and Farthingho at Ouse-well Close,¹ and passes by Steane Park to Brackley, where a small stream comes in which has drained the parish of Evenley. From Radston and Whistley Wood another stream forms the county boundary of Buckingham, from near Biddlesden by Whitfield to Brackley. The Ouse then leaves our county for some time, but again touches it near Wicken, and from that place separates it from Bucks all the way to Old Stratford and Cosgrove, when it finally leaves our district on its easterly journey to the German Ocean. This Ouse district has its counterpart, although on a smaller scale, in the District 2 of my *Flora of Oxfordshire* and in the District 1 of my unpublished *Flora of Buckinghamshire*.

On the Ordnance Map of the Geological Survey the greater portion of the district is coloured to show that the Great Oolite is the prevailing surface rock, but in fact a very considerable part is covered with a deposit of drift, which is sufficiently thick to mask the calcareous character of the Oolite. In some places the drift consists of gravel, in others of clay, so that in many places calcareous-loving plants (gypsophiles or calcipetes) are absent, and plants which like an impermeable soil predominate (pelophiles).

Within the area drained by the Ouse and Tove we have some interesting ground. There is much more woodland than in either of the two preceding districts, and although the once great forest of Whittlebury, or Whittlewood, which once extended from Old Stratford to Norton,² has been much enclosed and despoiled, there are still some considerable tracts of sylvan scenery, which however now contain but few trees of conspicuous size. Formerly it possessed two celebrated oaks, one which gave the name to the seat of the Duke of Grafton at Wakefield,³ 'Wake's huge oak,' as the poet Bloomfield called it, which dated back to Saxon times and was a magnificent tree within my recollection, but it was unfortunately burned by a number of mischievous schoolboys about thirty years ago;⁴ the second fortunately survives, and although hollow is still flourishing. It is known as the Queen's Oak,⁵ from the tradition that Elizabeth Woodville met Edward the Fourth under its branches to beg of him the restitution of her children's estates, which their father, Sir John Grey, had forfeited by fighting on the Lancastrian side. This interview resulted in the king himself becoming a suitor for the hand of the lady, and they were married at Grafton Regis on May 1st, 1464. The tree stands at the back of Potter's Pury Lodge between Wakefield and Grafton Regis.

Whittlebury Forest is remarkable from the rarity or absence of the common bracken (*Pteris aquilina*), but this is partly accounted for by the character of the soil, which varies from stiff glacial clay to nearly bare limestone, with arenaceous soil practically absent. Therefore lime-loving plants (calcipetes) are frequent, such as the woolly-headed thistle (*Cnicus eriophorus*), the rock-rose (*Helianthemum Chamæcistus*), the clustered bell-flower (*Campanula glomerata*), the traveller's joy (*Clematis Vitalba*), the gromwell (*Lithospermum officinale*), the spindle tree (*Euonymus europæus*), the columbine (*Aquilegia vulgaris*), the hairy violet (*Viola hirta*), the dove's-foot cranesbill (*Geranium Columbinum*), the spurge laurel (*Daphne Laureola*), and the upright brome grass (*Bromus erectus*). Curiously the marjoram (*Origanum vulgare*) and the lady's fingers (*Anthyllis Vulneraria*) are or appear to be absent, and the fellwort (*Gentiana Amarella*) scarce. Clay-loving species (pelophiles) are represented by the pendulous sedge (*Carex pendula*), the ram-

¹ 'From Brackley breaking forth, through soiles most heavenly sweet,
By Buckingham makes on, and crossing Watling Street
Shee with her lesser Ouse at Newport next doth twin,
Which proud Chilterne neare, comes eas'ly ambling in.'

—Drayton, *Polyolbion*.

² See Baker's *History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton*, part ii. pp. 74–86.

³ The Dukes of Grafton were formerly Hereditary Rangers or Lord Wardens of Whittlebury Forest.

⁴ Figured in Baker's *History*, l.c. p. 230.

⁵ See Baker's *Hist.* l.c. pp. 179–182. A recent photograph is in the vol. i. p. 131, 1880–81, of the *Journal of the Northamptonshire Natural History Society*.

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sons (*Allium ursinum*), the small reed (*Calamagrostis epigeios*), the great horsetail (*Equisetum maximum*), the hemlock (*Conium maculatum*), the teasel (*Dipsacus sylvestris*), and the creeping dog rose (*Rosa arvensis*). Heath plants are practically absent, although a few plants of the hair grass (*Deschampsia flexuosa*) occur on a small gravel-covered spot on Wakefield Lawn. Orchids are rare, but I once found a specimen of the fly orchis (*Ophrys muscifera*) in a coppice now destroyed, and the true butterfly orchis (*Habenaria bifolia*) with the larger species (*H. chloroleuca*) and the purple helleborine (*Epipactis violacea*) occur. The herb Paris (*Paris quadrifolia*), the adder's-tongue fern (*Ophioglossum vulgatum*), the lady's mantle (*Alchemilla vulgaris*, var. *filiaculis*), the melic grass (*Melica uniflora*), the wood poa (*Poa nemoralis*), the upright bedstraw (*Galium erectum*), the violet (*Viola Reichenbachiana*), the eyebright (*Euphrasia nemorosa*) and the great burdock (*Arctium majus*) are to be found; and the hautbois strawberry (*Fragaria muricata*, Miller; *elatior*, Ehrh.) is naturalized.

A coppice near Towcester, which probably at one time was a part of the forest, has the Solomon's seal (*Polygonatum multiflorum*) and the spurge laurel (*Daphne Laureola*). The ornamental water on Wakefield Lawn yields the pondweed (*Potamogeton obtusifolius*), the horned pondweed (*Ceratophyllum demersum*), the cyperus sedge (*Carex Pseudo-cyperus*), the acute sedge (*C. acuta*), the horsetail (*Equisetum limosum*) and other water plants.

Near Brackley, the name of which by some authorities is supposed to have been derived from the bracken or brake fern (*Pteris aquilina*), there is a small heathy tract known as Brackley Gorse where the furze (*Ulex europæus*) is plentiful, but it may have been intentionally planted for cover; here, too, are the willows (*Salix rubra*, *S. triandra* and *S. purpurea*), the hybrid dock (*Rumex acutus*), the small dandelion (*Taraxacum lævigatum*), a variety of the chickweed (*Cerastium viscosum*, var. *apetalum*), the heath stitchwort (*Stellaria graminea*), the marsh lady's fingers (*Lotus uliginosus*), the cudweed (*Filago germanica*), the raspberry (*Rubus idæus*), the scorpion grass (*Myosotis versicolor*) and the hairy sedge (*Carex hirta*), the latter in sandy ground probably where the Lias clay is near to the Northampton sands on which this Brackley Gorse is situated.

Whitley Wood covers a part of the Great Oolite, which is thickly obscured by clay and gravel drift, and shows by its flora the variability of the soil, for there are the small reed (*Calamagrostis epigeios*), the teasel (*Dipsacus sylvestris*), and other species characteristic of clay, and the hawkweeds (*Hieracium boreale* and *H. umbellatum*), the large wood rush (*Juncoides [Luzula] sylvaticum*), the melic grass (*Melica uniflora*), the upright St. John's wort (*Hypericum pulchrum*), and other species which are fond of gravelly soils. Here too occur the bitter-vetch (*Lathyrus montanus*, formerly known as *Orobis tuberosus*), the cow-wheat (*Melampyrum pratense*), the bird's-nest orchis (*Neottia Nidus-avis*), the helleborine (*Epipactis latifolia*), the woodruff (*Asperula odorata*), the great burnet saxifrage (*Pimpinella major*, both as the type, as the variety *dissecta*, and as the form *rosea*), the Canterbury bell (*Campanula Trachelium*), the yellow archangel (*Lamium Galeobdolon*), the agrimony (*Agrimonia odorata*), the brambles (*Rubus Lindleyanus*, *R. dasyphyllus*, *R. Radula*, var. *anglicanus*, and one of the suberect forms not yet identified).

Near Wappenham, where the Great Oolite comes nearer to the surface, the lady's traces (*Gyrostachis [Spiranthes] autumnalis*) has been found associated with the quinancy wort (*Asperula cynanchica*). In the hedgerows near Tiffeld the beautiful throatwort (*Campanula latifolia*) is to be found.

Marshes and bogs are very rare, but near Cosgrove the canal margins have probably some peat deposits, as the tufted sedge (*Carex paniculata*) is plentiful and the marsh stitchwort (*Stellaria palustris*) is conspicuous from its glaucous foliage. In the shallow water grow the mare's-tail (*Hippuris vulgaris*) and the small club-rush (*Eleocharis acicularis*).

The sides of the Grand Junction Canal which traverse the district give a home for some interesting species, among them being the bitter-cress (*Cardamine amara*) and the graceful wood club-rush (*Scirpus sylvaticus*). The pondweeds include *P. compressum* (zosterifolius) *P. Friesii*, and the grass *Panicularia (Glyceria) pedicellata*, which is probably a hybrid of *P. fluitans*, and *P. plicata*, also occur.

The river Ouse near Old Stratford affords the sweet flag (*Acorus Calamus*), the narrow-leaved reed mace (*Typha angustifolia*), both species of water lilies and abundance of the water horse-bane (*Enanthe fluviatilis*), the latter so characteristic of all the Northamptonshire streams. The great spearwort (*Ranunculus Lingua*) formerly grew near Stratford and may yet be refound. The sedge (*Carex acuta*) is luxuriant and very variable, while the meadow cranesbill (*Geranium pratense*) is not rare.

The arable fields, where the Oolite comes near the surface, have plenty of the shepherd's looking-glass (*Specularia [Legousia] hybrida*), the corn gromwell (*Lithospermum arvense*), and occasionally the pale poppy (*Papaver Lecoqii*). Where gravel predominates we may find fluellen

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(*Linaria spuria*) associated with *L. Elatina*, or the blue-flowered pimpernel (*Anagallis femina*). The hedges on the Oolite will show a luxuriant growth of traveller's joy (*Clematis Vitalba*), the buckthorn (*Rhamnus catharticus*), the dog-wood or cornel (*Cornus sanguinea*), the maple (*Acer campestre*), and occasionally the glabrous-fruited form, and the spindle tree (*Euonymus europæus*) will be seen; and the banks will show thyme (*Thymus Serpyllum*), the rock rose (*Helianthemum Chamæcistus*), and here and there the small cranesbill (*Geranium pusillum*), while the blackberries will be represented almost exclusively by *Rubus ulmifolius*, although in woodland tracts *R. Radula* will also be occasionally found.

Where clay predominates the maple and spindle tree is rare and the traveller's joy absent, and the meadow cranesbill (*Geranium pratense*) instead of *G. pusillum* will occur, while *Rubus corylifolius* and *R. cæsius* will supersede but may not entirely replace *R. ulmifolius*. Instead of the grasses *Bromus erectus*, *Avena pubescens* and *Festuca rigida*, which are found on the limestone pastures, their place on the clay is taken by the coarser *Dactylis*, *Alopecurus pratensis* and *A. geniculatus*.

On the steep sides of a cutting of the London and North-Western Railway two ferns, the limestone polypody and the brittle bladder fern, have been introduced probably by spores brought with the air following passing trains, or possibly borne by the wind from the west of England. Here we have also the milkwort (*Polygala vulgaris*).

The spoil banks in the vicinity afford the zigzag clover (*Trifolium medium*), the lady's fingers (*Anthyllis Vulneraria*), which is curiously absent from a large area of the district, white-flowered red clover (*Trifolium pratense*), the rough hawk's-beard (*Picris Hieracioides*), and on limestone soil in the neighbourhood the lady's traces (*Gyrostachis autumnalis*) and fellwort (*Gentiana Amarella*).

By the railway we have a considerable number of adventitious species which include *Camelina foetida*, *Salvia verticillata*, *Caulalis latifolia*, *Melilotus arvensis*, *Setaria viridis*, *Anthemis tinctoria*, *Saponaria Vaccaria*, *Eruca sativa*, *Courtingia orientalis*, *Ammi majus*, *Lepidium sativum*, *Iberis amara*, *Barbarea præcox* and *Calendula*.

On the grass-covered debris of the Cosgrove quarries on the Great Oolite the hound's tongue (*Cynoglossum officinale*) is often to be found in considerable quantity, and the henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger*) and vervain (*Verbena*) occur erratically; but the grasses *Avena pratensis*, *A. pubescens*, *Kæleria cristata*, the cinquefoil (*Potentilla reptans*, var. *microphylla*), the Canterbury bell flower (*Campanula glomerata*), the rock rose (*Helianthemum Chamæcistus*), the knotted parsley (*Caulalis nodosa*), the small cranesbill (*Geranium pusillum*) and other xerophilous species are frequent.

The wild licorice vetch (*Astragalus glycyphyllos*) occurs on the borders of the road in the neighbourhood.

A marsh near Maidford affords the bog-bean (*Menyanthes trifoliata*), and the bladder sedge (*Carex rostrata*) the orpine (*Sedum Telephium*) and the saw wort (*Serratula tinctoria*) are in the woods.

Occasionally in the brickwork of the village wells, as at Yardley Gobion, the hart's-tongue fern (*Phyllitis Scolopendrium*) may be seen.

The most interesting plants of the Ouse district in addition to those already mentioned are as follows:—

Thalictrum flavum, L., var. *riparium* (Jord.).
Ranunculus heterophyllus, Weber
 — *Drouetii*, Schultz
Helleborus viridis, L., var. *occidentalis*, Druce
 — *foetidus*, L.
Papaver Rhœas, L., var. *Pryorii*, Druce
Erophila præcox, DC.
Cerastium semidecandrum, L.
Sagina ciliata, Fries.
Silene Cucubalus, Wibel., var. *puberula* (Jord.).
Arenaria serpyllifolia, L., var. *scabra*, Fenzl.
Hypericum quadrangulum, L.
 [*Linum angustifolium*, Huds.]
 [*Geranium sanguineum*, L.]
Acer campestre, L., var. *leiocarpon*, Wallr.
Trifolium fragiferum, L.
 — *pratense*, L., var. *leucobraceum*, Asch. & Prall.

Lathyrus sylvestris, L.
Spiræa Filipendula, L.
Poterium officinale, A. Gray
Rosa Eglanteria, L. (*rubiginosa*)
Potentilla procumbens, Sibth.
Cratægus oxyacanthoides, Thuill.
 [*Pyrus Aria*, Ehrh.]
Epilobium angustifolium, L.
 — *obscurum*, Schreb.
 — *palustre*, L.
Sedum Telephium, L.
 [— *reflexum*, L.]
Myriophyllum verticillatum, L.
 — *spicatum*, L.
Callitriche intermedia, Hoffm. (*C. hamulata*, Kuetz.)
 — *obtusangula*, Le Gall.
Hydrocotyle vulgaris, L.

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| <p> <i>Apium inundatum</i>, Reichb. f.
 <i>Pimpinella major</i>, Huds., var. <i>dissecta</i>, Druce
 <i>Enanthe fistulosa</i>, L.
 <i>Caucalis daucoides</i>, L.
 <i>Sambucus Ebulus</i>, L.
 <i>Adoxa Moschatellina</i>, L.
 <i>Galium tricornes</i>, Stokes
 — <i>hercynicum</i>, Weig.
 <i>Valeriana dioica</i>, L.
 <i>Carlina vulgaris</i>, L.
 <i>Centaurea Cyanus</i>, L. Rare
 <i>Tanacetum vulgare</i>, L.
 <i>Anthemis arvensis</i>, L.
 <i>Petasites officinalis</i>, Mönch
 <i>Artemisia Absinthium</i>, L.
 <i>Serratula tinctoria</i>, L.
 <i>Erigeron acre</i>, L.
 <i>Bidens cernua</i>, L. Very rare
 <i>Inula Conyza</i>, DC.
 <i>Crepis taraxacifolia</i>, Thuill.
 — <i>fœtida</i>, L. Extinct
 — <i>biennis</i>, L.
 <i>Campanula Trachelium</i>, L.
 <i>Cuscuta europæa</i>, L.
 [— <i>trifolii</i>, Bab.]
 <i>Myosotis cespitosa</i>, Schultz
 <i>Pinguicula vulgaris</i>, L. (Extinct ?)
 <i>Lysimachia nemorum</i>, L.
 — <i>vulgaris</i>, L.
 <i>Pedicularis sylvatica</i>, L.
 <i>Verbena officinalis</i>, L.
 <i>Mentha piperita</i>, Huds.
 — <i>longifolia</i>, Huds.
 <i>Nepeta Cataria</i>, L.
 <i>Salvia pratensis</i>, L.
 <i>Teucrium Scorodonia</i>, L.
 <i>Stachys Betonica</i>, Benth.
 — <i>ambigua</i>, Sm.
 <i>Echium vulgare</i>, L.
 <i>Polygonum Bistorta</i>, L.
 [<i>Chenopodium capitatum</i>, Asch.]
 — <i>rubrum</i>, L.
 <i>Daphne Laureola</i>, L. </p> | <p> <i>Euphorbia platyphyllos</i>, L. (Extinct ?)
 <i>Ulmus stricta</i>, Lindl.
 — <i>glabra</i>, Sm.
 <i>Polygonum maculatum</i>, Trim. & Dyer
 — <i>Bistorta</i>, L.
 <i>Salix viridis</i>, Fries.
 — <i>Smithiana</i>, Willd.
 <i>Carpinus Betulus</i>, L.
 <i>Sparganium neglectum</i>, Beeby
 <i>Zannichellia palustris</i>, L.
 <i>Orchis pyramidalis</i>, L.
 <i>Habenaria conopsea</i>, Benth.
 — <i>chloroleuca</i>, Ridley
 — <i>viridis</i>, R. Br.
 — <i>bifolia</i>, R. Br.
 <i>Ophrys apifera</i>, Huds.
 [<i>Narcissus major</i>, Curtis]
 <i>Allium vineale</i>, L.
 <i>Colchicum autumnale</i>, L.
 <i>Juncus compressus</i>, Jacq.
 <i>Scirpus sylvaticus</i>, L.
 <i>Carex disticha</i>, Huds.
 — <i>divulsa</i>, Stokes
 — <i>leporina</i>, L.
 — <i>remota</i>, L.
 — <i>pallescens</i>, L.
 — <i>Pseudo-cyperus</i>, L.
 <i>Milium effusum</i>, L.
 <i>Aira præcox</i>, L.
 <i>Avena pratensis</i>, L.
 [— <i>strigosa</i>, Schreb.]
 — <i>pubescens</i>, Huds.
 <i>Catabrosa aquatica</i>, Beauv.
 <i>Poa compressa</i>, L.
 <i>Festuca sciurioides</i>, Roth.
 <i>Bromus erectus</i>, Huds.
 [— <i>secalinus</i>, L.]
 — <i>racemosus</i>, L.
 — <i>commutatus</i>, Schrad.
 <i>Arrhenatherum præcatorium</i>, Presl.
 <i>Asplenium Ruta-muraria</i>, L.
 — <i>Trichomanes</i>, L.
 <i>Tolypella glomerata</i>, Leonh. </p> |
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4. THE WELLAND DISTRICT

is a narrow strip of country on the north-eastern side of the county which is bordered by Leicestershire, Rutlandshire and Lincolnshire on the north and east, by the Avon district already described on the west, and by the district drained by the three districts of the Nene on the south and east. Its more precise boundaries are as follows: The Welland rises at Sibbertoft (for some time the residence of the veteran botanist, the Rev. Miles J. Berkeley) from a spring near the vicarage about 600 feet above sea-level, and drains the parishes of Marston Trussell, East Farndon and Braybrooke, and then near Lubbenham separates the counties of Leicester and Northampton from that place to Market Harborough, Welham and Rockingham, the strata being cut down to the Upper Lias. Near this latter place Rutland succeeds Leicestershire, and the Welland, with its extensive alluvial meadows, divides the two counties from Caldecott by Harringworth, Duddington, Wakerley (where it touches the Lincolnshire limestone) nearly to Collyweston, where a fault brings in the Upper Lias clay as far as to Stamford, where the Lincolnshire limestone again borders it, and Rutland is in turn displaced by the county of Lincoln, which the Welland still separates from Northants in its sluggish course by Market Deeping, and at Kennulph's Stone near Croyland it becomes wholly a Lincolnshire stream. The extreme eastern border of the county to Low Borough Fen is formed by an imaginary line. To trace a separating water-parting in the low-level of the

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fens is well-nigh impossible, so the Buke Horn Drove from Powder Hill Farm to Peakirk is used as the limit of the Welland district in this direction. From Peakirk the boundary line takes into the Welland district, Glinton, part of Ufford and Barnack parishes, Burghley Park, Easton-on-the-Hill, the quarries of Collyweston, Fineshade, the parish and wood of Wakerley, and the woods of Laxton, Harringworth and Gretton. Then the line passes over Rockinghamshire to Pipewell Lodge, and to the north of Desborough, Arthingworth and Oxendon to the parish of Sibbertoft.

This narrow strip, drained by the Welland, contains the most interesting botanical ground in the county.

The surface of the greater part of the district is dry, and the gentle slopes of the sides of the valley are almost destitute of marshland. From the summit of the watershed extensive and pleasing views can be obtained over large extents of the counties of Leicester, Rutland, and Lincoln. The low-level of the fens is almost entirely drained, and it is only in a few ditches of the fens that any remains of the old flora are preserved.

In the combs of Sibbertoft the yellow star of Bethlehem (*Gagea fascicularis*) and the everlasting pea (*Lathyrus sylvestris*) have been found.

The columbine (*Aquilegia vulgaris*), the wood barley (*Hordeum sylvaticum*, Huds. *Elymus europæus*, L.), which is so characteristic of calcareous soil, and the bladder sedge (*Carex vesicaria*), have been gathered about Fineshade.

Wakerley woods are very rich, and yield the small-leaved lime (*Tilia ulmifolia*, Scop. *T. parvifolia*, Ehrh.) as a native tree, and also the crested cow-wheat (*Melampyrum cristatum*, L.), the yellow cow-wheat (*M. pratense*), the herb Paris (*Paris quadrifolia*), the hound's tongue (*Cynoglossum officinale*), the deadly nightshade (*Atropa Belladonna*), the wood vetch (*Vicia sylvatica*), the caper spurge (*Euphorbia Lathyris*) as a native I believe, the shepherd's rod (*Dipsacus pilosus*), the yellow archangel (*Lamium Galeobdolon*), the wood-ruff (*Asperula odorata*), the crosswort (*Galium Cruciatum*), the Canterbury bell (*Campanula Trachelium*), the wood gromwell (*Lithospermum officinale*, L.), the orpine (*Sedum Telephium*), the ploughman's spikenard (*Inula Conyza*), the wood spurge (*Euphorbia amygdaloides*), and the brambles *Rubus rhombifolius* and *R. Bellardi*.

Gretton woods, partly on the Northampton sands, also possess the lady's mantle (*Alchemilla vulgaris*, var. *filicaulis*). In the remains of Rockingham Forest the wild service tree (*Pyrus Torminalis*), the mistletoe (*Viscum album*), and the bear's-foot (*Helleborus viridis*, var. *occidentalis*) have been found.

The old quarries in the Lincolnshire limestone of Barnack and Southorpe, where the stone for the erection of Peterborough Cathedral was quarried, and those at Easton-on-the-Hill and Collyweston, where at the base of the limestone are fissile beds which afford the well-known Collyweston slates, now covered to a considerable extent with grass, contain many extremely interesting species, some of which have been known to grow there since 1650. Among these are the pasque flower (*Anemone Pulsatilla*), the base rocket (*Reseda lutea*), the least mouse-ear chickweed (*Cerastium semidecandrum*), the small cranesbill (*Geranium pusillum*), the lady's fingers (*Anthyllis Vulneraria*), the quinancy wort (*Asperula cynanchica*), the hairy tower mustard (*Arabis hirsuta*), the carline thistle (*Carlina vulgaris*), the cat's-foot (*Antennaria dioica*), the ploughman's spikenard (*Inula Conyza*), the spotted cat's-ear (*Hypochaeris maculata*), the marjoram (*Origanum vulgare*), the wild basil thyme (*Calamintha arvensis*), the yellow-wort (*Blackstonia perfoliata*), the fellwort (*Gentiana Amarella*), the man orchis (*Aceras anthropophora*), the pyramidal orchis (*O. pyramidalis*), the frog orchis (*Habenaria viridis*), the spider orchis (*Ophrys aranifera*,) extinct?, and the grasses *Avena pubescens*, *A. pratensis*, *Bromus erectus*, *Brachypodium pinnatum*, and *Festuca ovina*.

The grassy roadsides and pastures in the neighbourhood of Barnack and Wakerley have yielded the hairy bladder campion (*Silene Cucubalus*, var. *puberula*), the meadow saxifrage (*Saxifraga granulata*), the woolly-headed thistle (*Cnicus eriophorus*), the tansy (*Tanacetum vulgare*), the elecampane (*Inula Helenium*), the upright or heath cudweed (*Gnaphalium sylvaticum*), the black mullein (*Verbascum nigrum*), the vervain (*Verbena officinalis*), the hawkweed (*Crepis biennis*), the sulphur-clover (*Trifolium ochroleucon*), the round-leaved horsemint (*Mentha rotundifolia*), the calamint (*Calamintha montana* or *menthifolia*), the basil thyme (*C. arvensis*), the field gentian (*Gentiana campestris*), the blue milk-vetch (*Astragalus danicus*), the horse-shoe vetch (*Hippocrepis comosa*), the field chickweed (*Cerastium arvense*), the dropwort (*Spiraea Filipendula*), the knotted parsley (*Caucalis nodosa*), the wild licorice (*Astragalus glycyphyllos*), the clustered bell-flower (*Campanula glomerata*), and other species.

The downy woundwort (*Stachys germanica*) formerly occurred in some old quarries

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between Fineshade and Wakerley, and the Nottingham catchfly (*Silene nutans*) was recorded by Morton as growing in the corn, between Wakerley and Harringworth, but it is not unlikely that he mistook the night-flowering catchfly (*S. noctiflora*) for it, and he also records the fine-leaved sandwort (*Arenaria tenuifolia*) from between Fineshade and Duddington. On the old common of Rockingham the penny royal (*Mentha Pulegium*) formerly grew, and the broom-rape (*Orobanche elatior*), the *O. major* of Linnæus according to some authors, the Rev. M. J. Berkeley gathered at Easton-on-the-Hill.

The district is one in which porous soil is widely represented, so that few marshes are contained in it, but at one time before the drainage of the fens, bogs and marsh occupied considerable areas of what are now dry and sunny cornfields.

The arable fields have yielded the ground pine (*Ajuga Chamaepitys*), the night-flowering campion (*Silene noctiflora*), the upright ground ivy (*Stachys arvensis*), the thorough-wax (*Bupleurum rotundifolium*), the calf's snout (*Antirrhinum Orontium*), the fluellen (*Linaria spuria*), the small toad-flax (*L. viscida*), the blue pimpernel (*Anagallis femina* or *cærulea*), the field chickweed (*Cerastium arvense*), the lamb's lettuce (*Valerianella dentata*), and the all-seed (*Chenopodium polyspermum*).

Wothorp Grove has some interesting species, and its flora is very varied since it possesses several kinds of soil, as dry calcareous marl, sandy loam and clay; the ash trees are particularly fine, and some good beech are also present, while the box tree (*Buxus sempervirens*) is naturalized. The small-leaved lime (*Tilia parvifolia*) is rather frequent. The pyramidal orchis (*Orchis pyramidalis*), the viper's bugloss (*Echium vulgare*), the gromwell (*Lithospermum officinale*), the grasses *Avena pratensis*, *Bromus erectus* and *Brachypodium pinnatum*, are examples of lime-loving species. The wood poa (*Poa nemoralis*), the melic-grass (*Melica uniflora*), the hawkweed (*Hieracium boreale*), are instances of sand-loving species. Clay-loving plants are represented by the small teasel (*Dipsacus pilosus*), the dog couch grass (*Agropyron caninum*), the meadow cranesbill (*Geranium pratense*), and the butterfly orchis (*Habenaria chloroleuca*).

Stamford racecourse is probably drained to a considerable extent by the Welland. It is remarkable for the luxuriant growth of the dyer's weed (*Genista tinctoria*), the horse-shoe vetch (*Hippocrepis comosa*), and the grasses *Bromus erectus*, *Brachypodium pinnatum* and *Avena pratensis*, while the marjoram (*Origanum vulgare*), the common basil thyme (*Calamintha arvensis*), the rock-rose (*Helianthemum Chamaecistus*), and the pyramidal orchis are also common. The blue milk vetch (*Astragalus danicus*) is more luxuriant than I have seen it elsewhere.

The Welland district is represented in the flora of Leicestershire by No. 11 the Market Harborough district and by No. 12 the Medbourne district.

In addition to the plants already mentioned the Welland district has the following interesting species :—

Geranium lucidum, L.
Cerastium Anthriscus, Beck.
Adoxa Moschatellina, L.
Caucalis nodosa, Scop.
Centaurea Cyanus, L.
Tanacetum vulgare, L.
Erigeron acre, L.
Hieracium vulgatum, Fries.
Erica cinerea, L.
Solanum nigrum, L.
Hyoscyamus niger, L.
Digitalis purpurea, L.
Verbascum nigrum, L.
Mentha rotundifolia, Huds.
Symphytum tuberosum, L., very doubtfully
 wild
Hottonia palustris, L.

Samolus Valerandi, L.
Rumex maritimus, L.
Polygonum Hydropiper, L.
Daphne Laureola, L.
Parietaria ramiflora, Mœnch. (*P. officinalis*,
 auct. var. not L.)
Lemna polyrrhiza, L.
Ophrys apifera, Huds.
O. muscifera, Huds.
Orchis ustulata, L.
Gyrostachis autumnalis, Dumort. (*Spiranthes*
autumnalis.)
Narcissus Pseudo-narcissus, L.
Allium oleraceum, L.
Aira caryophyllea, L.
Festuca rigida, Kunth.
Tolypella prolifera, Leonh.

THE NENE DRAINAGE

For the sake of convenience, and in order to make the divisions of the county more uniform, I have divided the district which is drained by the Nene into three, as from the great length of the course of the main stream in the county it would otherwise have been very unwieldy. The first of the three divisions is therefore called—

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5. NENE A. OR NASEBY DISTRICT

This is bounded on the south by the Cherwell and Ouse districts, as already described, as far as to Hartwell, when the county boundary of Buckingham borders it to Laythick Copse. From this point to Northampton the water-parting separates it from Nene B. district. The parishes of Horton, Hackleton, Preston Deanery and Wootton being put into the Naseby portion, while Hardingstone is put to Nene B., or Harper's Brook. From Northampton to Harrington the two districts are separated by the water-parting which lies between Weston Favell and Boughton, between Sywell and Holcot, between Pytchley and Faxton, and between Harrington and Kelmash. Near this place it touches the Avon district, which thereafter bounds it on the north-west as far south as the Cherwell district near Hellidon.

The Naseby district is drained by two streams, one, the chief supply, rising at Naseby, at nearly 600 feet above sea-level, called the Northern Water, which cuts its way down to the Upper Lias clay, and flows by Cottesbrooke, Lamport, Brixworth and Kingsthorpe to Northampton. On its course it receives near Spratton a small stream, rising from the hills at West Haddon, which has drained part of the parishes of Guilsborough, Hollowell, Holdenby and East Haddon, the higher portions being capped with Northamptonshire sands, while another feeder, the Stowe brook, coming from Thornby Grange, has taken the water from the northern side of Guilsborough and Hollowell, and the western side of Creaton and Spratton parishes, which are extensively covered with chalk and flint drift, and then is received by the West Haddon brook near Teeton. Near the Kingsthorpe meadows, where Gerard noticed the autumn crocus or meadow saffron prior to 1597, another stream is added to the Naseby brook, which has come from Brington and drained the rich oasis of Harleston Firs and Althorp Park. Near Pitsford a small tributary joins the Naseby brook, which has drained the north-eastern part of the district of Old Scaldwell, Holcot and Walgrave, and this area includes a small but very rich piece of bog-land, known as Fox Hall bog, but the riches will probably ere long be lost, as willows have been planted in it which will probably destroy the marsh plants which made it so interesting a feature in our too well drained county.

The second branch of the Nene main stream has three heads, one rising from the Marlstone on Arbury Hill, the highest eminence in the county, which is the water-parting of the Avon and the Nene systems, and from the summit of which a very extensive view can be obtained, which embraces such distant objects as Wendover Hill south of Aylesbury, Brill Hill, in Bucks, and Coventry spires. A second branch comes from Studborough Hill (603 feet) and the third from the western slopes of West Haddon (587 feet). All these eminences are capped with Northampton sands through which the rainfall percolates till thrown out by the impervious layer at their base. The first passes through the picturesque park of Fawsley, hence it is sometimes called the Fawsley water, and then passes by Everdon to Upper Weedon, cutting through to the Lower Lias clay, which forms its bed as far east as to Kislingbury. The second drains the eastern side of Staverton, which like Daventry is on the Marlstone, Badby and Newnham, till near Upper Weedon it is joined by the Fawsley water. The third with its numerous ramifications drains the country in which are situated Drayton (437 feet) and Daventry reservoirs, Watford, Long Buckby, and Whilton, much of the country being on the Marlstone, and joins at Weedon the brook which results from the junction of the Fawsley water with the Badby stream. Between Weedon and Northampton the Nene, as the stream is now known, receives several tributaries, including the Floore brook and some small ones from the neighbourhood of Harpole from the north, and from the south a more important feeder called the Horstone brook, which comes from Farthingstone, passes by Bugbrooke, which is on the Marlstone, Lower Heyford and Kislingbury to the base of Hunsbury Hill, where it meets with a stream which in one of its branches drains Blisworth, Gayton and Rothersthorpe, the latter being also on the Marlstone. Another drains Plain Woods and Milton, and the third flowing in a trough of the Upper Lias clay having drained part of Salcey Forest, Horton, Piddington, Preston Deanery and Wootton, turns in a westerly direction round Hunsbury Hill to meet the main stream of the Nene near Upton Mill; soon after which the Naseby brook joins it at Northampton, where the surface of the stream is about 198 feet above sea-level. This large area has a very considerable diversity of soil, varying from the porous sands of Borough Hill, Staverton, Harleston, and Hollowell, to stiff clay such as is seen on the liassic meadows about Kislingbury, and in the Nene valley for a considerable distance westwards.

Badby Woods, on the ferruginous layer of the Northampton sands, offer a very pleasing

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contrast to those which are situated on drift or liassic clay, for on the clay formation the vegetation has a dull uniformity, while in these rather picturesque woods of Badby there is a pleasing variety of plants, many of which are rare in other parts of the county : for instance we have the blinks (*Montia fontana*), the sweet briar (*Rosa Eglanteria* or *rubiginosa*), the water purslane (*Peplis Portula*), the bog chickweed (*Stellaria uliginosa*), the brambles *Rubus Bellardi* and *R. hirtus*, the golden rod (*Solidago Virgaurea*), the foxglove (*Digitalis purpurea*), the ling and heather (*Calluna Erica* and *Erica cinerea*), the wood pimpernel (*Lysimachia nemorum*), the rampions (*Campanula Rapunculus*), the bell flower (*C. Trachelium*), the lousewort (*Pedicularis sylvatica*), the ramsons (*Allium ursinum*), the great wood rush (*Juncoides [Luzula] sylvaticum*), the pale sedge (*Carex pallescens*), the wood millet grass (*Milium effusum*), the melic grass (*Melica uniflora*), the floating club-rush (*Scirpus fluitans*), the hard fern (*Lomaria Spicant*), the prickly shield ferns (*Polystichum aculeatum* and *P. angulare*), the sweet-scented mountain fern (*Dryopteris montana* or *Lastrea Oreopteris*), the wood horsetail (*Equisetum sylvaticum*), the butterfly orchis (*Habenaria chloroleuca*), the heath speedwell (*Veronica officinalis*), the orpine (*Sedum Telephium*), the heath cudweed (*Gnaphalium sylvaticum*), the raspberry (*Rubus idæus*), the creeping and upright St. John's worts (*Hypericum humifusum* and *pulchrum*), and many other species.

In this district we have the highest ground in the county on Arbury Hill (734 feet). This and the neighbouring hill of Staverton, also capped with Northampton sands, are the home of many species of brambles, including *Rubus pyramidalis*, *R. dasyphyllus*, *R. thyrsoideus*, *R. argentatus*, *R. rosaceus*, *R. erythrinus*, and *R. radula*, with luxuriant specimens of the fern *Dryopteris dilatata*, the hair grass (*Deschampsia flexuosa*), and *Viola agrestis*.

The ancient camp of Borough Hill (655 feet above sea-level), which like the other eminences is capped with Northampton sands, is also in this district, and its flora, though less interesting than formerly from the encroaching hand of cultivation, has still many local species.

The sheep's bit scabious (*Fasione montana*), the English catchfly (*Silene anglica*), have been gathered on it, and also the burnet rose (*Rosa pimpinellifolia* or *R. spinosissima*), the downy rose (*R. mollissima*, Willd. = *R. tomentosa*, Sm.), the hawkweeds (*Hieracium boreale* and *H. umbellatum*), also *Rosa glauca*, and var. *implexa*, and the brambles *Rubus pyramidalis*, *R. Selmeri*, *R. Marshalli*, *R. carpinifolius*, *R. pulcherrimus*, *R. Lindleianus*, *R. echinatus*, *R. macrophyllus*, and *R. dumetorum*, the golden rod (*Solidago Virgaurea*), the sticky heath groundsel (*Senecio sylvaticus*), the corn flower (*Centaurea Cyanus*), the calamint (*Calamintha montana* or *officinalis*), the field woundwort (*Stachys arvensis*), the small scorpion grass (*Myosotis versicolor*), the corn marigold (*Chrysanthemum segetum*) and other species.

Farthingstone Castle Dykes, another ancient camp, has had recorded for it the orpine (*Sedum Telephium*), the daffodil (*Narcissus Pseudo-narcissus*), the bell-flower (*Campanula patula*) (but this I have not been able to discover), the St. John's wort (*Hypericum pulchrum*), the Dane wort (*Sambucus Ebulus*), the sweet chestnut (*Castanea sativa*), the bramble (*Rubus Bellardi*), and in a wet place the golden saxifrage (*Chrysosplenium oppositifolium*), the marsh penny wort (*Hydrocotyle*) and the willow herb (*Epilobium obscurum*). On the heathy ground between the Dykes and Stowe Wood the heath cudweed (*Gnaphalium sylvaticum*), the heath speedwell (*Veronica officinalis*), the St. John's worts (*Hypericum humifusum* and *H. pulchrum*), the heath bedstraw (*Galium hercynicum*), the heath and marsh stitchworts (*Stellaria graminea* and *S. uliginosa*), the lousewort (*Pedicularis sylvatica*), and the grasses (*Deschampsia flexuosa* and *Agrostis canina*) have been gathered.

Stowe Wood has a very local species in the beautiful wood vetch (*Vicia sylvatica*), the daffodil (*Narcissus Pseudo-narcissus*), the wood millet grass (*Milium effusum*), the hawkweed (*Hieracium boreale*), the golden saxifrage, and in clayey places the great horsetail (*Equisetum maximum*), besides some of the plants mentioned above.

Dallington Heath, with Harleston Firs, which are situated on the Northampton sands, have a very variable soil, so that in addition to the light sand and clays we have some peaty deposits which make it almost unique as a piece of botanizing ground in the county. Facility in exploring it is given to students of natural history by the kindness of Earl Spencer. Among the plants which have been found are the upright pearlwort (*Cerastium quaternellum*, formerly known as *Moenchia*), the sandwort (*Buda rubra* or *Arenaria rubra*), the rose of Sharon (*Hypericum calycinum*), the St. John's worts (*Hypericum pulchrum* and *H. humifusum*), the holly (*Ilex Aquifolium*), the hemlock-leaved stork's-bill (*Erodium cicutarium*), the needle furze (*Genista anglica*), the bird's-foot trefoil (*Ornithopus perpusillus*), the small furze (*Ulex minor* or *U. nanus*), the hare's-foot trefoil (*Trifolium arvense*), *Lotus uliginosus*, the cherries (*Prunus Cerasus* and *P. avium*), the burnet rose (*Rosa spinosissima*), the mountain ash (*Pyrus Aucuparia*), the brambles (*Rubus rhamnifolius*, *R. dasyphyllus*, *R. macrophyllus* and var. *amplificatus*, *R. echinatus*, *R. Radula*),

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the willow herb (*Epilobium angustifolium*), the heath bedstraw (*Galium hercynicum*), the pennywort (*Hydrocotyle vulgaris*), the thistle (*Carduus tenuiflorus*), now probably extinct, the cudweeds (*Gnaphalium germanicum* and *G. sylvaticum*), the blue fleabane (*Erigeron acre*), the heath groundsel (*Senecio sylvaticus*), the woolly-headed thistle (*Cnicus eriophorus*), the cotton thistle (*Onopordon Acanthium*), the *Leontodon hirtum*, the heaths (*Calluna Erica*, *Erica cinerea* and *E. Tetralix*), the viper's bugloss (*Echium vulgare*), the scorpion grasses (*Myosotis cespitosa*, *M. versicolor*, and *M. collina*), the heath dodder (*Cuscuta Epithymum*), the foxglove (*Digitalis purpurea*), the mulleins (*Verbascum virgatum* and *V. Thapsus*), the speedwell (*Veronica officinalis*), the wood sage (*Teucrium Scorodonia*), the pennyroyal (*Mentha Pulegium*), the bog pimpernel (*Anagallis tenella*), the birch (*Betula alba*), the Scotch fir (*Pinus sylvestris*) [planted], the rushes (*Juncus squarrosus* and *J. bulbosus* or *J. supinus*), the sedges (*Carex pilulifera*, *C. leporina* and *C. panicea*), the grasses (*Anthoxanthum aristatum* var. *Puelii*, *Agrostis pumila*, *A. canina*, *Deschampsia flexuosa*, *Aira præcox*, *A. caryophyllæa*, *Sieglingia decumbens*, *Festuca Myurus*, *F. sciuroides*, *F. ovina*), and the ferns (*Lomaria Spicant*, *Athyrium Filix-fœmina*, *Polystichum aculeatum*, *Dryopteris (Lastrea) spinulosa* and *D. dilatata*, *Ophioglossum vulgatum*, *Phyllitis Scolopendrium*, *Asplenium Adiantum-nigrum*), the moon wort (*Botrychium Lunaria*), and the field club-moss (*Lycopodium clavatum*), besides other interesting species.

Hunsbury Hill, capped with Northampton sands, although now under cultivation, affords or has afforded the mousetail (*Myosurus minimus*), the Dane wort (*Sambucus Ebulus*), the darnel (*Lolium temulentum*), and the sheep's fescue (*Festuca ovina*), but the ironstone quarries have much diminished the best botanizing ground. The red mint (*Mentha rubra*), and the marsh stitchwort (*Stellaria palustris*) have been found in wet ground at the base.

The reservoir near Drayton has the rushes (*Juncus obtusiflorus* and *J. compressus*), the water chickweed (*Cerastium aquaticum*), the cress (*Roripa [Nasturtium] palustris*), the marsh bedstraw (*Galium uliginosum*), the pondweeds (*Potamogeton natans* and *P. polygonifolius*), and other species.

Daventry reservoir is bordered with a local grass (*Alopecurus fulvus*); the marsh orchis (*Ophrys latifolia*), the narrow-leaved reed mace (*Typha angustifolia*), the water milfoil (*Myriophyllum spicatum*), the pondweed (*Potamogeton decipiens*, and *P. lucens* var. *acuminatus*) have also been gathered there.

Plain Woods, near Blisworth, afford the true downy rose (*Rosa villosa* or *R. mollis*), the saw wort (*Serratula tinctoria*), the cow wheat (*Melampyrum pratense*), the columbine (*Aquilegia vulgaris*) and the autumnal gentian (*Gentiana Amarella*), and the hedges near have *Rosa glauca* Vill., *R. cæsia*, Sm. (*R. coriifolia*, Fries.), *R. mollissima*, Willd. (*R. tomentosa*, Sm.), with the varieties *scabriuscula* (Sm.) and *sylvestris* (Lindl.).

Salcey Forest and the neighbourhood of Quinton and Courteenhall yield that graceful pendulous sedge (*Carex pendula*), the yellow star of Bethlehem (*Gagea fascicularis*), the bell flowers (*Campanula Trachelium* and *C. glomerata*), the spurge laurel (*Daphne Laureola*), the leopard's bane (*Doronicum Pardalianches*) but not native, the fly orchis (*Ophrys muscifera*), the wild tulip (*Tulipa sylvestris*), the cinquefoil (*Potentilla sylvestris*), and the great burnet saxifrage (*Pimpinella major*).

A pond in a quarry near Northampton has the great spearwort (*Ranunculus Lingua*), and that beautiful sedge (*Carex Pseudo-cyperus*), and the ditches near yield the peppermint (*Mentha piperita*), and the grey sedge (*Carex divulsa*). The river side and meadows near Northampton and Kingsthorpe are or were the place of growth of the snake's head (*Fritillaria Meleagris*), the meadow saffron (*Colchicum autumnale*), the dropwort (*Ænanthe fistulosa*), the marsh stitchwort (*Stellaria palustris*), *Samolus Valerandi* and *Scirpus sylvaticus*, and of the meadow cranesbill (*Geranium pratense*), and the bur marigolds (*Bidens cernua* and *B. tripartita*).

Some of the walls near Brampton have the navel wort (*Cotyledon Umbilicus*), the white stonecrop (*Sedum album*), and the hedge banks have the round-leaved cranesbill (*Geranium rotundifolium*). The neighbourhood also affords the white-flowered helleborine (*Cephalanthera pallens*), the meadow dropwort (*Spiræa Filipendula*), and the grass (*Holcus mollis*).

The ironstone quarries have several species more or less native, these include the wormwood (*Artemisia Absinthium*), the white mignonette (*Reseda alba*), the poppy (*Papaver somniferum*), the parsley (*Petroselinum sativum*), the feverfew (*Chrysanthemum Parthenium*), the cotton thistle (*Onopordon Acanthium*), the vervain (*Verbena officinalis*), and the narrow-leaved vetch (*Vicia angustifolia*).

Among the adventitious species introduced either by wool-washing or from the winnowings of corn are *Medicago arabica*, *M. denticulata*, *Trifolium resupinatum*, *Courtingia orientalis*, and *Erodium moschatum*.

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The cornfields near Northampton occasionally show St. Barnaby's thistle (*Centaurea Solstitialis*) and the hemp nettle (*Galeopsis speciosa*).

Fox Hall Bog, on the Upper Lias clay, has yielded the butter wort (*Pinguicula vulgaris*), the grass of Parnassus (*Parnassia palustris*), the pennywort (*Hydrocotyle vulgaris*), the marsh thistle (*Cnicus palustris*), the marsh valerian (*Valeriana dioica*), the bog pimpernel (*Anagallis tenella*), the marsh bedstraw (*Galium uliginosum*), the marsh speedwell (*Veronica scutellata*), the marsh lousewort (*Pedicularis palustris*), the marsh arrowhead grass (*Triglochin palustre*), the marsh orchis (*Orchis latifolia*), the fragrant orchis (*Habenaria conopsea* or *H. Gymnadenia*), the cotton grass (*Eriophorum angustifolium*), the compressed club-rush (*Scirpus caricis*, formerly known as *Blysmus compressus*), the heath rush (*Juncoides* [*Luzula*] *multiflorum*), the sedges (*Carex pulicaris*, *C. flava*, *C. Hornschuchiana*, *C. paniculata* and *C. echinata*), and the grasses (*Molinia varia* and *Sieglingia decumbens*), while *Rosa mollissima* Willd. (*R. tomentosa* Sm.) is in the vicinity.

Near Holdenby the marjoram (*Origanum vulgare*) occurs. This plant is remarkably absent from a considerable area of the Great Oolite in the county; probably its presence here is determined by the occurrence of the drift which here obscures the Northampton sands. This drift contains chalk and flints, and *Origanum* is especially fond of chalk or limestone soils.

Among the interesting species not previously mentioned as occurring in the district are :

[*Cammarum hyemale*, Greene (*Eranthis*, *Salisb.*)]
Lepidium heterophyllum, Benth.

var. *crinigerum*, Gren. & Godr. A form with yellow anthers was found by the railway near Kingsthorpe

[*Lepidium Draba*, L.]

Diplotaxis tenuifolia, DC. Now extinct

Sisymbrium Sophia, L.

[*Alyssum Alyssoides*, Jacq.]

Cardamine amara, L.

Teesdalia nudicaulis, R. Br. Probably extinct

[*Barbarea præcox*, R. Br.]

Papaver Lecoqii, Lam.

? *Capnoides claviculata*, Druce. (*Corydalis*, DC.) Not confirmed

[— *lutea*, Gaertn. (*Corydalis* DC.)]

Viola sylvestris, Lam. (*Reichenbachiana*, Bor.)

— *permixta*, Jord. (*V. odorata* × *hirta*)

Drosera rotundifolia, L. Extinct

Saponaria officinalis, L. (*Gerard's Gentiana concava*). Extinct

Cerastium arvense, L.

Sagina ciliata, Fries.

[*Claytonia perfoliata*, Don.]

Geranium lucidum, L.

Medicago Falcata, L. Doubtfully wild

Trifolium medium, L.

— *striatum*, L.

Astragalus glycyphyllos, L.

[*Trifolium agrarium*, L.]

[*Lathyrus latifolius*, L.]

Lotus tenuis, W. & K.

Poterium officinale, A. Gray

Rubus diversifolius, Lindl.

Pyrus communis, L.

Epilobium tetragonum, L. (*E. adnatum*, Gmel.)

Hippuris vulgaris, L.

Ribes rubrum, L.

— *nigrum*, L.

[*Sedum dasyphyllum*, L.]

Saxifraga granulata, L.

Petroselinum segetum, L.

Caucalis nodosa, Scop.

Adoxa Moschatellina, L.

Galium erectum, Huds.

Dipsacus pilosus, L.

Arnoseris pusilla, Gaertn.

[*Petasites fragrans*, Presl.]

Hopochæris glabra, L. Extinct

Crepis taraxacifolia, Thuill.

— *biennis*, L.

Antennaria dioica, Gaertn. Extinct

Tanacetum vulgare, L.

Filago minima, Fries. (Hollowell, possibly extinct)

Lactuca muralis, Fres.

[*Vinca major*, L.]

Menyanthes trifoliata, L.

Cuscuta europæa, L.

[— *trifolii*, Bab.]

Hyoscyamus niger, L.

Linaria Elatina, Mill.

— *spuria*, Mill.

— *viscida*, Mœench.

Limosella aquatica*, L. (Extinct ?)

Mentha longifolia, Huds.

— *rotundifolia*, Huds.

Salvia Verbenaca, L.

Stachys ambigua, Sm.

[*Lamium maculatum*, L.]

Cynoglossum officinale, L.

Lithospermum officinale, L.

[*Chenopodium capitatum*, Asch.]

Rumex pulcher, L.

Polygonum Bistorta, L.

Euphorbia amygdaloides, L.

— *platyphyllos*, L. Query extinct

Ceratophyllum demersum, L.

Salix pentandra, L. Probably planted

— *purpurea*, L.

[*Acorus Calamus*, L.]

Potamogeton prælongus, Wulf.

— *compressum*, L.

— *Friesii*, Rupr.

Zannichellia palustris, L.

Aceras anthropophora, R. Br.

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Habenaria viridis, R. Br.
Epipactis violacea, Bor.
Gyrostachis autumnalis, Dumort
Paris quadrifolia, L.
Polygonatum multiflorum, All.
[*Ornithogalum nutans*, L.]
Allium vineale, L.
Scirpus setaceus, L.

Carex pendula, Huds.
Catabrosa aquatica, Beauv.
[*Bromus secalinus*, L.]
Cystopteris fragilis, Bernh. Extinct
Asplenium Trichomanes, L.
Equisetum sylvaticum, L.
Osmunda regalis, L. Extinct
Chara hispida, L.

6. NENE B. OR HARPERS BROOK DISTRICT

occupies that part of the county which is bordered on the west by the Naseby or Nene A. district already described, from the Buckinghamshire border near Salcey Forest northwards to the Naseby watershed, when the Avon district bounds it for a short space to Sibbertoft. Then the Welland district limits it as far as Brampton Ash. From this point a nearly straight line across the county to Lutton on the Huntingdonshire border, separates it from the third division of the Nene district. This line passes by Pipewell, Great Oakley, Stanion and Benefield, and just west of Oundle. From Lutton southwards to Hargrave the county boundary of Huntingdon limits it, and from that place to Bozeat Wood Bedford county boundary acts in a similar manner. From Bozeat Wood to Laythick Copse near Salcey Forest Buckinghamshire is the boundary. Strictly speaking it is possible that some small portion of this district drains into the Ouse.

The Nene B. district is drained by the main stream of the Nene between Northampton and Oundle, and has a considerable extent of alluvial meadows, which are especially represented near Oundle, but the trough of the river is in the Upper Lias clay, while the eminences such as Great Billing and Great Houghton are capped with Northampton sands. In its course the Nene receives from the southern side some small brooks which come from Whiston, Castle Ashby and Wollaston, Yardley Chase being on the Great Oolite, which however in many cases has a thick deposit of drift clay with chalk. From Titchmarsh and Barnwell Wolds come in other brooks, and the latter, which was formerly so renowned as an entomological hunting-ground, is on the Oxford clay, which spreads out over the great part of the neighbouring county of Huntingdon.

The drainage of the northern part of the district into the Nene is chiefly performed by two feeders—the Ise and the Harpers Brook. The Ise flows from near Desborough, Rushton and Geddington in a fairly straight line to that village, when it turns off at nearly right angles to Kettering and Wellingborough, where it joins the Nene. In its course it has cut down to the Upper Lias clay and received several small brooks from the western portion of the district, as from Loddington, Pytchley, Orlingbury and Wilby. Wellingborough was formerly visited by Royalty for its ferrugineous water which rose from the Red Well. Near this well Goodyer a celebrated botanist, a friend of Johnson, who edited the second edition of *Gerard's Herball*, discovered in 1626 *Sagina nodosa* as a British plant, which he thus describes: '*Alsine palustris foliis tenuissimis: sive Saxifraga palustris alsine folia.*' (See *Gerard's Herball*, p. 568, 1634.)

The Harpers Brook takes its rise from some springs north of Desborough, and pursues an easterly course nearly parallel with and not very distant from that of the Ise Brook, but the Harpers Brook keeps north of Geddington, so as to drain the greater part of Geddington Chase, which is on the Oxford clay, and passes by Brigstock, where Farming Woods are also on the same formation, into the Nene near Aldwinkle.

There is a considerable extent of woodland in the district, and 'that regular and delightful Chase of Yardley,' as Morton describes it, which contains some fine oaks, of which Gog and Magog have been figured in the *Journal of the Northamptonshire Natural History Society*. Here also the hornbeam (*Carpinus Betulus*) is probably native. Among the other plants found in and about the Chase are the columbine (*Aquilegia vulgaris*), the dropwort (*Spiræa Filipendula*), the beam tree (*Pyrus Aria*), the mountain ash (*P. Aucuparia*), the hemlock (*Conium maculatum*), the great burnet saxifrage (*Pimpinella major*), the Danewort (*Sambucus Ebulus*), the fly honeysuckle (*Lonicera Xylosteum*), the woodruff (*Asperula odorata*), the shepherd's rod (*Dipsacus pilosus*), the tansy (*Tanacetum vulgare*), the Canterbury bell (*Campanula Trachelium*), the yellow bird's-nest (*Hypopitys Monotropa*), the yellow-wort (*Blackstonia* or *Chlora perfoliata*), the periwinkle (*Vinca minor*), the henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger*), the speedwell (*Veronica officinalis*), the cow-wheat (*Melampyrum pratense*), the lousewort (*Pedicularis sylvatica*), the white-flowered bugle (*Ajuga reptans f. alba*), the gromwell (*Lithospermum officinale*), the

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spurge laurel (*Daphne Laureola*), the purple willow (*Salix purpurea*), the frog-bit (*Hydrocharis morsus-ranæ*), the lesser water plantain (*Echinodorus ranunculoides*), the snowdrop (*Galanthus nivalis*), the ramsons (*Allium ursinum*), the marsh orchis (*Orchis latifolia*), the fragrant orchis (*Habenaria conopsea* or *H. Gymnadenia*), the bird's-nest orchis (*Neottia Nidus-avis*), the wood rush (*Juncoides* or *Luzula multiflorum*), the wood club-rush (*Scirpus sylvaticus*), the sedges (*Carex paniculata*, *C. pallescens*, and possibly *C. strigosa*), the wood millet grass (*Milium effusum*), the wood small reed (*Calamagrostis epigeios*), the heath hair grass (*Deschampsia flexuosa*), the melic grass (*Melica uniflora*), also *Poa compressa*, *Agropyron caninum*, the large horsetail (*Equisetum maximum*), the ferns *Dryopteris* (or *Lastrea*) *dilatata*, *D. spinulosa*, and many other species.

Geddington Chase, near which is one of the crosses erected to the memory of Queen Eleanor, is on the Oxford clay, and has no very special plants recorded except the woolly-headed thistle (*Cnicus eriophorus*), the sweet chestnut (*Castanea sativa*), the daffodil (*Narcissus pseudo-narcissus*), the drooping star of Bethlehem (*Ornithogalum nutans*), and the wood hound's-tongue (*Cynoglossum montanum*).

Sywell or Seywell Wood and Gibb Wood (425 feet above sea-level), Pytchley and Orlingbury afford the wild everlasting pea (*Lathyrus sylvestris*), the saw-wort (*Serratula tinctoria*), the giant throat-wort (*Campanula latifolia*), the wood pimpernel (*Lysimachia nemorum*), the pyramidal orchis (*O. pyramidalis*), the cotton-grass (*Eriophorum angustifolium*), and the adder's-tongue fern (*Ophioglossum vulgatum*).

Some coppices on the borders of Buckinghamshire near Easton, Grendon and Bozeat yield the columbine (*Aquilegia vulgaris*), the zigzag clover (*Trifolium medium*), the lady's mantle (*Alchemilla vulgaris*), the brambles (*Rubus dasycarpus*, *R. Radula* and *R. echinatus*), the orpine (*Sedum Telephium*), the great burnet saxifrage (*Pimpinella major*), the shepherd's rod (*Dipsacus pilosus*), the heath groundsel (*Senecio sylvaticus*), the saw-wort (*Serratula tinctoria*), the fellwort (*Gentiana Amarella*), the herb Paris (*Paris quadrifolia*), and the small reed grass (*Calamagrostis epigeios*).

There are considerable woodlands in the neighbourhood of Brigstock, where the stinking hellebore (*Helleborus fœtidus*), the golden rod (*Solidago Virgaurea*), the wall lettuce (*Lactuca muralis*), the hound's-tongue (*Cynoglossum officinale*), the toothwort (*Lathraea Squamaria*), and the fly honeysuckle (*Lonicera Xylosteum*) have been gathered.

There is very little heathland left in the district, but a few furze commons now enclosed retain traces of their former vegetation. Billing Lings, as its name denotes, formerly had ling (*Calluna*) and heather (*Erica cinerea*), and traces are possibly left. The buck's-horn plantain (*Plantago Coronopus*) existed till the 'thirties,' and may perhaps not be wholly extirpated. This neighbourhood with that of Overstone, which are on the Northampton sands, yield the field chickweed (*Cerastium arvense*), the rose-bay willow herb (*Epilobium angustifolium*), the tuberous moschatel (*Adoxa Moschatellina*), the heath bedstraw (*Galium hercynicum*), the small valerian (*V. dioica*), the hawkweed (*Hieracium umbellatum*), the viper's bugloss (*Echium vulgare*), the birch (*Betula alba*), the white-flowered helleborine (*Cephalanthera pallens*), the heath grass (*Aira præcox*), and the lady fern (*Athyrium Filix-fœmina*), but the marsh fern (*Dryopteris Thelypteris*) is now extinct.

Kettering Links and some heathy ground near Thorpe Malsor are now greatly diminished in extent and altered in character to what they were in the time when Morton wrote his Natural History, when the upright pearlwort (*Cerastium quaternellum*), the heath cudweed (*Gnaphalium sylvaticum*), the field gentian (*Gentiana campestris*) if that was really the plant meant, the garlic (*Allium vineale*), the heath rush (*Juncus squarrosus*), and the perfoliate yellow-wort (*Blackstonia perfoliata*) occurred there. Some of them may still linger with the St. John's worts (*Hypericum pulchrum* and *H. humifusum*) and the blue fleabane (*Erigeron acris*). The capon's tail-grass (*Festuca Myurus*) has also been recorded from the vicinity.

The adventitious flora of the district is rather large, as many foreign and a few native species are found about the sewage works and some few near the corn mills, e.g. *Sisymbrium Sophia*, *Lepidium Draba*, *Lythrum acutangulum*, *Verbascum virgatum*, *Melilotus alba*, *Courtingia orientalis*, *Tragopogon porrifolius*, *Mariana lactea*, *Datura Stramonium*, *Chenopodium Pulvaria*, *C. hybridum*, *Anthoxanthum Puelii*, *Santia (Polypogon) monspeliensis*, *Panicularia (Glyceria) distans*, *Phalaris canariensis*, *Panicum miliaceum*, *Setaria viridis*, *S. glauca* and *Lepidium sativum*. In addition the Cheddar pink (*Dianthus cæsius* or *gratianopolitanus*) is naturalized on a wall near Rush Mills, and the evergreen alkanet (*Anchusa sempervirens*), the dame's violet (*Hesperis matronalis*), the periwinkle (*Vinca minor*), the snowdrop (*Galanthus nivalis*), the tuberous comfrey (*Symphytum tuberosum*), the star of Bethlehem (*Ornithogalum umbellatum*), the fly

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honeysuckle (*Lonicera Xylosteum*), the daffodil (*Narcissus major*) and other species are planted or semi-wild about Castle Ashby.

Rare or local plants in addition to those already mentioned which are recorded for the District 6, Harpers Brook or Nene B.

Myosurus minimus, L.		Calamintha arvensis, Lam.
Ranunculus Lingua, L.		— montana, Lam. (C. mentifolia, Host.)
— parviflorus, L.		[Melissa officinalis, L.]
Erophila præcox, DC.		Salvia Verbenaca, L.
[Camelina sativa, Cr.]		Marrubium vulgare, L.
Cerastium arvense, L.		Lamium hybridum, Vill.
Geranium pyrenaicum, Burm. f.		[— maculatum, L.]
Impatiens Noli-tangere, L.		Cynoglossum officinale, L.
Medicago Falcata, L. ? native		Galeopsis speciosa, Miller
Melilotus officinalis, Lam.		Rumex sanguineus, L.
Trifolium arvense, L.		— pulcher, L.
Astragalus glycyphyllos, L.		Ceratophyllum demersum, L.
Prunus Padus, L. Irchester. Doubtfully wild		Euphorbia Esula, L.
[Sedum album, L.]		Salix rubra, L.
[— dasyphyllum, L.]		— Smithiana, Willd.
Hippuris vulgaris, L.		Typha angustifolia, L.
Parnassia palustris, L.		Potamogeton Friesii, Rupr.
Apium inundatum, Reichb. f.		Zannichellia palustris, L.
Oenanthe fistulosa, L.		Ophrys apifera, Huds.
[Carum Carui, L.]		— muscifera, Huds.
— segetum, Benth. & Hook.		Gyrostachis autumnalis, Dum. (Spiranthes)
Cerefolium Anthriscus, G. Beck (Anthriscus vulgaris, Pers.)		Epipactis palustris, Crantz.
Valerianella rimosa, Bast.		Polygonatum multiflorum, All.
Onopordon Acanthium, L.		Gagea fascicularis, Salisb.
[Doronicum plantagineum, L.]		Colchicum autumnale, L.
Inula Helenium, L.		Juncus compressus, Jacq.
Lactuca virosa, L.		Scirpus sylvaticus, L.
— muralis, Fresen.		Carex Pseudo-cyperus, L.
Erigeron acre, L.		— remota, L.
Artemisia Absinthium, L.		Kœleria cristata, Pers.
[Vinca major, L.]		Bromus racemosus, L.
Menyanthes trifoliata, L.		[— secalinus, L.]
Echium vulgare, L.		— commutatus, Schrad.
Cuscuta Epithymum, Murr.		— erectus, L.
— europæa, L.		[— arvensis, L.]
Solanum nigrum, L.		Brachypodium pinnatum, Beauv.
Veronica montana, L.		[Lolium temulentum, L., and var. arvense (With.)]
Verbascum nigrum, L.		Phyllitis Scolopendrium
Linaria Elatina, Mill.		Asplenium Trichomanes, L.
— spuria, Mill.		— Adiantum-nigrum, L.
[Scrophularia vernalis, L.]		Botrychium Lunaria, L.
Verbena officinalis, L.		Chara hispida, L.
Mentha rotundifolia, Huds.		— fragilis, Desv.
		var. Hedwigii, H. & J. Groves

7. NENE C. OR THE WILLOW BROOK DISTRICT

This is bounded on the north-east by the Welland district; on the south it is bordered by the Nene B. or Harpers Brook district, the limits of which have already been given. From Low Borough Fen in the north-east to Standground near Peterborough, it is bordered by the county of Cambridge. The counties are separated for the greater part of the distance by the Cat-water, which was formerly a branch of the Nene, and which traverses the flat expanse of fen-land which has been reclaimed from the floods which formerly covered it for long periods. From Peterborough to Elton the Nene separates the counties of Northampton and Huntingdon, but from the latter village to Oundle the Nene is wholly in Northamptonshire, and an artificial boundary is substituted to separate the counties as far west as to Lutton where the Harpers Brook district is again touched.

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This district of the Willow Brook is therefore drained by the main stream of the Nene from Oundle to its leaving the county near Peterborough, and passes through wide alluvial meadows bordered by Upper Estuarine clays and capped with cornbrash and Oxford clay.

The Willow Brook takes its rise from the old forest of Rockingham, a narrow strip of elevated ground alone forming the watershed of this and the Harpers Brook, but the former takes a more easterly direction and drains the woods of Corby and Gretton, and the parks of Deene and Blatherwyck and portions of the Walks of Morehay and Sulehay. It then passes by Kings Cliffe, Apethorpe and Wood Newton, and falls into the Nene opposite to the village of Elton. In this almost semicircular course the Willow Brook has enclosed a portion of the county which itself gives rise to some small tributaries of the Nene, and these drain Morehay, Southwick, Benefield and part of Brigstock Woods. Further to the east a small brook which originates from marshy ground near Stamford drains part of the rich woods of the Bedford Purlieu, and becoming the White Water drains Wittering Heath and Southorpe Bog, now the richest botanizing locality in the county, and passing through Sutton Heath joins the Nene near Wansford Station. Shortly before being absorbed by the Nene, the Whitewater itself receives a brook which has drained the rich woods called the Bedford Purlieu and the interesting country about Thornhaugh. The handsome park of Milton, the seat of the Fitzwilliams, is drained by the main stream of the Nene. East of the Great Northern Railway the fen-land is intersected with numerous dykes in which the water movement is so slow, the level of the country being so nearly uniform, that any further details of its drainage will be unnecessary. Here and there some small eminence rises above the dead level of the Fens and this will be the site of some village. But the country which was at one time either marsh or fen with its rich sedge and reed vegetation, or of bog-land over which the cotton grass waved its plumes, is now a vast extent of cornfields with their rippling waves of wheat, and the deposits of peat which then accumulated have now been mingled with agrestal soil; while the atmosphere itself has changed, and what was once a malarious humid air is now dry and bracing.

The Willow Brook district has the woodland species excellently represented, and much work is needed before the treasures of this part of the county can be said to be sufficiently ascertained. I need only enumerate the names of the woods of Corby, Gretton, Laxton, Bulwick, Harringworth, Morehay, Sulehay, Brigstock, Cotterstock, Wood Newton, Westhay, Easton, and Bedford Purlieu to show what an extensive portion of the district is occupied by them.

The flora of the latter wood is particularly attractive: in places it is blue with columbines (*Aquilegia vulgaris*), in others it is fragrant with masses of the lily of the valley (*Convallaria majalis*), and it has a most interesting and beautiful species of melic grass (*Melica nutans*), which has its extreme southern limit in this situation, as it is a species which has its head-centre in the limestone woods of northern Britain. Here too is the deadly nightshade (*Atropa Belladonna*), and the small-leaved lime (*Tilia parvifolia*) is indubitably a native species. The recorded species include the milkwort (*Polygala vulgaris*), the field cress (*Lepidium campestre*), the wild pea (*Lathyrus sylvestris*), the broom (*Cytisus scoparius*), the greater burnet saxifrage (*Pimpinella major*), the brambles (*Rubus Schlechtendalii*, Weihe; *R. Bellardi*, W. & N.), the woodruff (*Asperula odorata*), the crosswort (*Galium Cruciata*), the woolly-headed thistle (*Cnicus eriophorus*), the saw-wort (*Serratula tinctoria*), the ploughman's spikenard (*Inula Conyza*), the hawkweed (*Hieracium boreale*), the great burdock (*Arctium majus*), the ling (*Calluna Erica*), the small centaury (*Erythraea ramosissima* or *pulchella*), the wood pimpernel (*Lysimachia nemorum*), the speedwell (*Veronica montana*), the cow-wheat (*Melampyrum pratense*), the tooth wort (*Lathraea Squamaria*), the mulleins (*Verbascum Thapsus* and *nigrum*), the gromwell (*Lithospermum officinale*), the wood spurge (*Euphorbia amygdaloides*), the caper spurge (*E. Lathyris*), the aspen (*Populus tremula*), the birch (*Betula alba*), the pyramidal orchis (*O. pyramidalis*), the fragrant orchis (*Habenaria conopsea*), the butterfly orchids (*H. bifolia* and *chloroleuca*), the helleborine (*Epipactis violacea*), the fly orchis (*Ophrys muscifera*), the herb Paris (*Paris quadrifolia*), the ramsons (*Allium ursinum*), the great wood rush (*Juncoides* [*Luzula*] *sylvaticum*), the melic grass (*Melica uniflora*), the wood poa (*P. nemoralis*), the small wood reed (*Calamagrostis epigeios*), and the hard fern (*Lomaria Spicant*).

The Lincolnshire Limestone and the Great Oolite are frequently only covered with a slight layer of earth, so that on the grassy borders of the road sides especially in those bordering on Bedford Purlieu many typical calcipetes are to be found. The grass *Brachypodium pinnatum*, so frequent on the oolitic tracts of Oxford and Berks is here also plentiful, and sometimes is to be seen in the midst of a calcareous marsh occupying some slightly elevated and drier position than the uliginous plants which grow around. The golden blossoms of the horseshoe

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vetch (*Hippocrepis comosa*) are conspicuous by the side of the road, and very locally they may mingle with the purple flowers of the milk vetch (*Astragalus danicus*). In rather bushy places, so as to be partly sheltered, may be seen the wild licorice vetch (*Astragalus glycyphyllos*). Here and there may be found the bright rosy-pink spikes of the *Orchis pyramidalis* and the more purplish-pink flowers of the fragrant orchis (*Habenaria conopsea*). Half hidden in the short turf the squinancy wort (*Asperula cynanchica*) may occasionally be found, whereas on the chalk downs of the Chilterns it occurs in great profusion. Besides these we have the feathery flowers of the dropwort (*Spiræa Filipendula*), the blue flowers of the clustered bell-flower (*Campanula glomerata*), the dull purple of the autumnal gentian (*G. Amarella*), and very rarely the blue flowers of the field gentian (*G. campestris*), the lady's fingers (*Anthyllis Vulneraria*) with its pale yellow flowers is rather frequent, while the Labiates are represented by the aromatic marjoram (*Origanum vulgare*), the basil thyme (*Calamintha arvensis*), and the wild thyme (*Thymus Serpyllum*). Here too are the hairy tower mustard (*Arabis hirsuta*), the field chickweed (*Cerastium arvense*) with its pure white blossoms, the ploughman's spikenard (*Inula Conyza*), the spindle tree (*Euonymus europæus*), the traveller's joy (*Clematis Vitalba*) and the dog-wood (*Cornus sanguinea*).

On porous limestone soil near Wittering there was a small area of wild uncultivated ground now almost entirely enclosed, where the field ragwort (*Senecio campestris*), the perennial flax (*Linum perenne*), and the cat's-foot (*Antennaria dioica*) formerly occurred.

The woods and open country in the neighbourhood of King's Cliffe have also many species which are either rare or local over the greater part of the county, but space will not allow of all of these being enumerated, as some of them have already been mentioned. Reference however may be made to the handsome tutsan (*Hypericum Androsæmum*), the orpine (*Sedum Telephium*), the service tree (*Pyrus Torminalis*), the elecampane (*Inula Helenium*), the dodder (*Cuscuta europæa*), the wood hound's-tongue (*Cynoglossum montanum*), the spider orchis (*Opbrys aranifera*), the small reed grass (*Calamagrostis lanceolata*), the latter growing in marshy woods, the pale flowered clover (*Trifolium ochroleucon*), and the fly honeysuckle (*Lonicera Xylosteum*).

If the Bedford Purlieus can lay claim to be considered the richest sylvan flora in the county, Southorpe Bog on the Upper Lias clay can with equal justice assert its right to be considered the home of more bog species than any other locality in the county.

The bog rush (*Schænus nigricans*) is abundant and apparently confined to this particular watershed, and we have no other recorded locality for the sedge (*Carex dioica*). Within the area are also the local sedge (*Carex elata (stricta)*) and the bay-leaved willow (*Salix pentandra*), which are unknown elsewhere wild in the county. In addition there are the marsh thistle (*Cnicus pratensis*), the butter-wort (*Pinguicula vulgaris*), the fragrant orchis (*Habenaria conopsea* or *H. Gymnadenia*), the marsh orchises (*O. incarnata* and *O. latifolia*), the marsh helleborine (*Epipactis palustris*), the great spearwort (*Ranunculus Lingua*), the bog dropwort (*Ænanthe Lachenalii*), the bog-bean (*Menyanthes trifoliata*), the sedges (*Carex pulicaris*, *C. echinata*, *C. paniculata*, *C. flava*, *C. Hornschuchiana*, *C. rostrata*, and *C. panicea*), the alder buckthorn (*Rhamnus Frangula*), the marsh willow-herb (*Epilobium palustre*), the mare's-tail (*Hippuris vulgaris*), the grass of Parnassus (*Parnassia palustris*), the water pennywort (*Hydrocotyle vulgaris*), the marsh bedstraw (*Galium uliginosum*), the cotton grasses (*Eriophorum angustifolium* and *E. latifolium*), the marsh valerian (*Valeriana dioica*), the marsh speedwell (*Veronica scutellata*), the marsh lousewort (*Pedicularis palustris*), the bog pimpernel (*Anagallis tenella*), the round-leaved water pimpernel (*Samolus Valerandi*), the marsh arrow-grass (*Triglochin palustre*), the rushes (*Juncus obtusiflorus* and *J. bulbosus* or *supinus*), the club-rushes (*Scirpus pauciflorus* and *S. setaceus*), the grasses (*Sieglingia decumbens*, *Calamagrostis lanceolata*, *Molinia varia*, *Agrostis alba* var. *coarctata*), and the ferns (*Dryopteris dilatata* and *D. spinulosa*).

The fen ditches often show immense quantities of the water violet (*Hottonia palustris*), and the celery-leaved buttercup (*Ranunculus sceleratus*) is very abundant, so much so as once to give me some disappointment, for I saw one of the dykes below Peterborough covered for many yards with a vegetable growth which I at first hoped might be the rare little duckweed (*Wolffia Michelii* or *Horkelia arrhiza*), but closer examination showed that the apparent duckweed was really nothing more than countless numbers of the fruits of this plant which had been slowly carried along by the sluggish current to a point where a plank placed across the dyke obstructed the surface water. In these ditches the water soldier (*Stratiotes Aloides*) formerly grew, but whether actually within the confines of Northamptonshire is open to considerable doubt. Here also grow the golden dock (*Rumex maritimus*), besides the water horsebane (*Ænanthe Phellandrium*) in plenty, and the water dropwort (*Ænanthe fistulosa*), the marsh willow

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herb (*Epilobium tetragonum*), the frog-bit (*Hydrocharis Morsus-ranæ*), the duckweeds (*Lemna trisulca*, *L. polyrhiza*, *L. gibba*), the opposite-leaved pondweed (*Potamogeton densus*) in enormous quantities, the crisped water caltrops (*P. crispum*), the water buttercup (*Ranunculus Drouetii*), the horned pondweed (*Zannichellia palustris*), the cyperus sedge (*Carex Pseudo-cyperus*), the marsh stitchwort (*Stellaria palustris*), the bladder-wort (*Utricularia vulgaris*), several species of knot-grass namely (*Polygonum mite*, *P. minus*, *P. Hydropiper*, *P. maculatum* and *P. lapathifolium*), the grass *Panicularia* (*Glyceria*) *plicata*, and *Chara contraria* and *C. fragilis*.

Oxney Lode has also the very local grass *Alopecurus fulvus*, the rare water starwort (*Callitriche vernalis*, Kuetz. = *C. verna*, L.), and the tiny club-rush (*Eleocharis acicularis*).

By the sides of these drains especially by the old county boundary of the Cat Water I have gathered the willows (*Salix acuminata*, *S. purpurea*, *S. Smithiana*, *S. fragilis*, *S. viminalis* × *aurita* and *S. Hoffmanniana*), the wild rose (*Rosa mollissima*) and the spurge laurel (*Daphne Laureola*).

One of the most abundant species in the reclaimed fen district is the hemlock (*Conium maculatum*) which grows in great abundance along the fen dykes, and the heath groundsel (*Senecio sylvaticus*) is also very common. The knot-grass (*Polygonum aviculare*) occurs in vast profusion on the grassy roads. Both species of the pale poppy (*Papaver Lecoqii* and *P. Lamottei*) are common, while on sunny banks the knotted parsley (*Caucalis nodosa*) is very frequent. Other conspicuous plants are the hemp nettle (*Galeopsis Tetrabit*) and the black poplar (*Populus nigra*), but the latter and the wych elm (*Ulmus campestris*, L.) and the common elm (*U. sativa*, Miller) have been planted. The arable fields are singularly free from weeds, and the pastures show few species and those chiefly the commonest grasses; in many of them such plants as the eyebright, the milkwort, the green-veined orchis, the meadow dropwort and even the yellow rattle appear to be absent.

Milton Woods which are on the cornbrash are said to yield the juniper (*Juniperus communis*), and the spurge laurel (*Daphne Laureola*), the dropwort (*Spiræa Filipendula*), the ramsons (*Allium ursinum*), the hawthorn (*Cratægus oxyacanthoides*), the knotted parsley (*Caucalis nodosa*) and the upright brome grass (*Bromus erectus*) are found either in the woods or in the adjoining grassy country.

In the extensive alluvial meadows bordering the Nene and on its banks have been noticed the handsome water parsnep (*Sium latifolium*), the yellow loosestrife (*Lysimachia vulgaris*), the wood club-rush *Scirpus sylvaticus* with its graceful inflorescence, the white-flowered round-leaved *Samolus Valerandi*, the narrow-leaved reed mace (*Typha angustifolia*), the great burnet (*Poterium officinale*), the yellow cresses (*Roripa* [*Nasturtium*] *amphibia*, *R. sylvestris* and *R. palustris*), the grasses (*Bromus commutatus*, *B. racemosus* and *B. erectus*), the rush (*Juncus compressus*), the hawkweed (*Crepis biennis*), the latter abundant near Wansford, the willows (*Salix purpurea*, *S. triandra* and *S. Smithiana*), and in the water may be seen both the yellow and white water lilies, the pondweeds (*Potamogeton interruptus*, *P. Friesii*, *P. lucens* and *P. densus*), the dropworts (*Eranthe fistulosa*, *Æ. Phellandrium* and *Æ. fluviatilis*), the horned pondweed (*Zannichellia palustris*), the stinking *Chara fragilis* var. *Hedwigii* and *C. contraria*, and profusion of the arrow-head (*Sagittaria*) and the flowering rush (*Butomus umbellatus*).

In a small marsh on the Upper Lias clay near Biggin the Rev. M. J. Berkeley found the marsh cinquefoil (*Potentilla palustris*), but there is no recent record for this widely distributed British species whose occurrence assumes the presence of peat.

The walls of Peterborough Cathedral formerly had the pennywort; indeed the figure in Sowerby's *English Botany* was drawn from a plant gathered from this place. It is now extinct but the red valerian (*Centranthus ruber*), the white stonecrop (*Sedum album*), the great snapdragon (*Antirrhinum majus*), the wall-flower (*Cheiranthus Cheiri*), the male fern (*Dryopteris Filix-mas*), the grass (*Poa compressa*) and the ivy-leaved snapdragon (*Linaria Cymbalaria*), are still to be found thereon.

By the railway the wall rocket (*Diplotaxis muralis*) is frequent.

In the vicinity of the ruins of Fotheringay Castle the local small-flowered buttercup (*Ranunculus parviflorus*) grows wild, and as relics probably of the Castle gardens the cotton thistle (*Onopordon Acanthium*) which the village people still call Queen Mary's thistle, and the pale-flowered jonquil (*Narcissus biflorus*) have been noticed. The pastures have afforded the burnt orchis (*O. ustulata*), but that has been apparently limited to the area where chalk drift occurs, and the perfoliate yellow-wort (*Blackstonia perfoliata*) also shows a preference for a similar soil. In rich ground full of nitrates in the neighbourhood of Peterborough the annual mercury (*Mercurialis annua*), the white-flowered nightshade (*Solanum nigrum*), and the oak-leaved goosefoot (*Chenopodium ficifolium*) have been found.

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The Willow Brook or Nene C. district also contains among others the following interesting plants :—

Helleborus foetidus, L.
 — *viridis*, L., var. *occidentalis*, Druce
Papaver hybridum, L.
 — *Rhœas*, L., var. *Pryorii*, Druce
Roripa amphibia, Bess., var. *variifolia*, Druce, and
 var. *indivisa*, Beck
Barbarea vulgaris, Br., var. *decipiens*, Druce
Erysimum cheiranthoides, L.
Thlaspi arvense, L.
Lepidium campestre, L.
Reseda lutea, L.
R. Luteola, L.
Viola hirta, L.
Stellaria aquatica, Scop.
Arenaria leptoclados, Guss.
Sagina apetala, Hard.
Malva moschata, L., var. *heterophylla*, Lej.
Erodium moschatum, L'Her.
Geranium pratense, L.
Trifolium striatum, L.
 — *arvense*, L.
Lathyrus Nissolia, L.
Alchemilla vulgaris, var. *filicaulis* (Buser)
Pyrus communis, L.
 — *Aria*, Ehrh.
Rubus rhombifolius, Weihe
Rosa Eglanteria, L. (*rubiginosa*)
 — *mollissima*, Willd., var. *subglobosa* (Sm.)
 Druce
Myriophyllum verticillatum, L.
 — *spicatum*, L.
Hippuris vulgaris, L.
Callitriche stagnalis, Scop.
 — *intermedia*, Hoffm. (*C. hamulata*, Kuetz.)
Ribes Grossularia, L.
Lythrum Hyssopifolia, L.
Bupleurum rotundifolium, L.
Silene flavescent, Bess.
Cicuta virosa, L. Extinct
Caucalis daucoides, L.
 — *arvensis*, Huds.
Ceanothe crocata, L., Beck. Extinct
Cerefolium Anthriscus, Beck
Sium erectum, Huds.
Viburnum Opulus, L.
Galium tricornis, Stokes
 [*Petasites fragrans*, Presl.]
Chrysanthemum segetum, L.
Erigeron acre, L.
Anthemis arvensis, L.
Bidens tripartita, L.
Centaurea Calcitrapa, L.
Centaurea Cyanus, L.

Cichorium Intybus, L.
Lactuca muralis, Fresen.
Leontodon hirtum, L.
Legousia (Specularia) hybrida, Del.
 [*Vinca minor*, L.]
 — *major*, L.]
Erythraea Centaurium, Pers. and var. *alba*
Limnanthemum peltatum, Gmel. (? in Northants)
 [*Verbascum Blattaria*, L.]
Antirrhinum Orontium, L.
Melampyrum cristatum, L.
Euphrasia nemorosa, Pers.
Orobanche majus, L. (O. *elatior*, Sutt.)
Verbena officinalis, L.
Calamintha montana, Lam. (*menthifolia*, Host.)
Nepeta Cataria, L.
Salvia Verbenaca, L.
Stachys arvensis, L.
 — *ambigua*, Sm.
Marrubium vulgare, L.
Teucrium Scordium, L. Extinct
Hyoscyamus niger, L.
Lithospermum arvense, L.
Myosotis cespitosa, Schultz.
 — *versicolor*, Sm.
 — *collina*, Reichb.
 [*Borago officinalis*, L.]
Cynoglossum officinale, L.
Anagallis femina, Miller (*cœrulea*)
Chenopodium polyspermum, L.
 — *rubrum*, L.
 — *Bonus-Henricus*, L.
Atriplex deltoidea, Bab.
Rumex pulcher, L.
 — *acutus*, L.
Polygonum Bistorta, L.
Euphorbia platyphyllos, L.
Stratiotes Aloides, L. Extinct
Habenaria viridis, R. Br.
Narcissus Pseudo-Narcissus, L.
Allium oleraceum, L. ?
Carex vulpina, L., var. *nemorosa*, Rebert.
 — *pendula*, L.
 — *vesicaria*, L.
Festuca rigida, Kunth.
 — *ovina*, L., var. *paludosa*, Gaud.
Poa pratensis, L., var. *subcœrulea* (Sm.).
Hordeum nodosum, L. (*pratense*)
Phyllitis Scolopendrium
Ceterach officinarum, Willd.
Ophioglossum vulgatum, L.
Pilularia globulifera, L. Extinct
Nitella opaca, Ag.

In this district I have recently gathered a species of grass which I had the pleasure of discovering some years ago in Oxfordshire. It was then considered to be a variety of the common soft brome grass (*Bromus hordeaceus*, or as it is more commonly called *Bromus mollis*), but subsequent cultivation and more complete examination showed it to be a distinct species, which differs from all other British grasses by having the inner palea split to the base instead of being entire. As I have found it in many counties of Britain, including Buckinghamshire and Lincolnshire, we well might expect it to occur in our area. The locality I found it in

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was between Marholm and Walton, but it will be doubtless found in other situations if looked for.

Hitherto I have not seen a specimen from any other country, but from the plant occurring almost exclusively in arable fields and especially in crops of seeds and sainfoin, we might expect the plant to be of foreign origin; but Professor Hackel of S. Poelton, the greatest living authority on grasses, tells me he has not yet seen any besides English specimens. I may add that I named the plant *Bromus interruptus*, and the specific name was adopted because of the interrupted character of the inflorescence, which is very different from the panicle of the soft brome grass to which in other characters it is allied. Notwithstanding the opinions expressed by some of the botanists of the British Museum, Professor Hackel, C. B. Clarke the President of the Linnean Society, and other eminent botanists agree with me in describing it as a distinct species, differing as it does from the soft brome in several important characters, which are retained unchanged in cultivation.

For further details see a paper by me which appeared in the *Journal of the Linnean Society*, vol. xxxii. pp. 426-430 (1896), and in my *Flora of Berkshire*, pp. 598-595.

In the same locality I also met with a variety of the wild oat (*Avena fatua*) which I had previously gathered near Slough in Buckinghamshire, which is at once seen to differ from the type in possessing only one awn. Professor Hackel tells me he has never before seen this form, and he names it var. *uniaristata*, and gives this diagnosis: 'Spiculæ bifloræ cum rudimento pedicelliforme floris tertii, flore inferiore aristato, superiore mutico, quam inferiore $\frac{3}{4}$ brevior, utroque glaberrimo vel inferiore pilis paucis obsito.'

The species which have become extinct or so scarce as to have evaded my observation in the county include the following:—

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| <p>Hairy Buttercup. <i>Ranunculus sardous</i>, Crantz; <i>R. hirsutus</i>, Curt. Frequently confused by botanists with hairy forms of the common buttercup</p> <p>Wall Rocket. <i>Diplotaxis tenuifolia</i>, DC. Formerly on Northampton Castle</p> <p>Cress. <i>Teesdalia nudicaulis</i>, R. Br.</p> <p><i>Saponaria officinalis</i>, L.; var. <i>concaua</i>. A monstrosity observed by Gerard in a spinney near Litchborough prior to 1597</p> <p>Sundew. <i>Drosera rotundifolia</i>, L. In Harleston up to 1836</p> <p>Nottingham Catchfly. <i>Silene nutans</i>, L. Recorded by Morton from the neighbourhood of Harringworth, but here I think <i>S. noctiflora</i> was mistaken for it</p> <p>Pearlwort. <i>Sagina subulata</i>, Presl. Recorded probably in error from Borough Hill in Baker's History</p> <p>Marsh Cinquefoil. <i>Potentilla palustris</i>, Scop.; <i>Comarum palustre</i>, L. Biggin</p> <p>Field Eryngo. <i>Eryngium campestre</i>, L. Formerly near Brockhall</p> <p>Sweet Cicely. <i>Myrrhis Odorata</i>, Scop. Only of casual occurrence</p> <p>Slender-headed Thistle. <i>Carduus pycnocephalus</i>, L.; var. <i>tenuiflorus</i> (Curt.)</p> <p>Field Ragwort. <i>Senecio campestris</i>, DC. Wittering Heath</p> <p>Prickly-headed Knapweed or Star Thistle. <i>Centaurea Cakitrapa</i>, L.</p> <p>Swine's Succory. <i>Arnoseris pusilla</i>, Gaertn. Formerly near Creaton</p> <p>Smooth Cat's-ear. <i>Hypochaeris glabra</i>, L. Destroyed by ironstone excavations</p> | <p>Stinking Hawk's-beard. <i>Crepis fætida</i>, L. Supposed to have been gathered by Bobart near Whittlebury Forest prior to 1712</p> <p>Rampion. <i>Campanula Rapunculus</i>, L.</p> <p>Bell-flower. <i>Campanula rapunculoïdes</i>, L.</p> <p>Spreading Bell-flower. <i>Campanula patula</i>, L. Possibly erroneously recorded</p> <p>Fringed Water-lily. <i>Limnanthemum peltatum</i>, Gmel. Formerly at Peterborough, but perhaps not within the limits of our county</p> <p>Mudwort. <i>Limosella aquatica</i>, L. Near Kelmarsh; Morton, 1712</p> <p>Water Germander. <i>Teucrium Scordium</i>, L. Ditches in the Fen; Morton, 1712</p> <p>Ground Pine. <i>Ajuga Chamæpitys</i>, Schreb.</p> <p>Downy Woundwort. <i>Stachys germanica</i>, L. Formerly in quarries near Fineshade</p> <p>Small Bladderwort. <i>Utricularia minor</i> is included in <i>Topographical Botany</i>, but on whose authority I have been unable to ascertain</p> <p>Buck's-horn Plantain. <i>Plantago Coronopus</i>, L.</p> <p>Billing Lings.</p> <p>Garlic. <i>Allium oleraceum</i>, L.</p> <p>Spider Orchis. <i>Ophrys aranifera</i>, Huds. Southorpe, etc.</p> <p>Tall Sedge. <i>Cladium jamaicense</i>, Crantz; <i>C. Mariscus</i>, R. Br. Probably originally confused with <i>Scirpus sylvaticus</i>, and certainly not recently observed</p> <p>Marsh Fern. <i>Dryopteris Thelypteris</i>, A. Gray. (<i>Lastrea Thelypteris</i>, Presl.)</p> <p>Sweet-scented Mountain Fern. <i>Dryopteris montana</i>, Kuntze. (<i>Lastrea Oreopteris</i>, Presl.)</p> <p>Royal Fern. <i>Osmunda regalis</i>, L. Moulton</p> <p>Pillwort. <i>Pilularia globulifera</i>, L. Borough Fen</p> |
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Several species have been erroneously recorded by various observers, and probably the following belong to the category; in a few cases the plant may have been really noticed in one of the bordering counties and not within our boundary.

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Ranunculus hirsutus, Curt., *R. sardous*, already noticed among the extinct species was possibly a misnomer

Barbarea stricta, Andrj. *B. vulgaris* was mistaken for it by Mr. Borrer near Weedon

Scleranthus perennis, L. Mistaken for the biennial form of *S. annuus*

Sagina subulata, Presl. A very doubtful record

Genista pilosa, L. Harlestone

Potentilla argentea, L. The locality is probably in Hunts

Myriophyllum alterniflorum, DC. Possibly correct, but requires confirmation

Cicuta virosa, L. Ditches near Peterborough; never confirmed

Hieraceum tridentatum, Fries. Possibly a form of *H. rigidum*

Herminium Monorchis, R. Br. Recorded from boggy ground, a very unlikely locality for this gypsophilous species

Arenaria verna, L.; *Stellaria nemorum*, L.; *Asplenium marinum*, *Veronica hybrida*, and *V. spicata* and others are certainly errors

We have a few species which, though very common with us, are local in many English counties. Among these are the buckthorn (*Rhamnus catharticus*), the spindle tree (*Euonymus europæus*), the water horsebane (*Ænanthe fluviatilis*), the pepper saxifrage (*Silene flavescent*), the stone parsley (*Sison Amomum*), the parsnep (*Peucedanum sativum*), the small corn parsley (*Caucalis arvensis*), the knotted parsley (*C. nodosa*), the hemlock (*Conium maculatum*), the cornel or dogwood (*Cornus sanguinea*), the wayfaring tree (*Viburnum Lantana*), the chicory (*Cichorium Intybus*), the ragwort (*Senecio erucifolius*), the Venus' looking-glass (*Specularia* or *Legousia hybrida*), the good King Henry (*Chenopodium Bonus-Henricus*), the willow (*Salix Smithiana*), the pondweed (*Potamogeton Friesii*), the rest harrows (*Ononis campestris* and *repens*), the rough dandelion (*Leontodon hispidus*), the wild licorice (*Astragalus glycyphyllos*) which is locally common, the great burnet saxifrage (*Pimpinella major*) which is widely spread, the ox-tongue (*Picris Echioides*), the greater knapweed (*Centaurea Scabiosa*) and the maple (*Acer campestre*).

MOSSES

The history of our knowledge of the mosses of Northamptonshire commences with the residence in the county of the late Rev. M. J. Berkeley, for although one or two 'mosses' are referred to in Morton's *History*, the records in each case really belong to lichens. At that time lichens were scarcely distinguished from the true mosses, and the confusion remains, in popular language, to the present day; the so-called Iceland moss, reindeer moss and others really belonging to classes of plants widely differing from the true mosses.

The Rev. M. J. Berkeley, the eminent authority on fungi, and writer of the *Handbook of British Mosses*, was born at Biggin, near Oundle, in 1803, and for the greater part of an exceptionally long life resided in the north of the county, and it could not be but that the mosses of the district should fall under the notice of so keen-sighted a botanist. Some of the most minute of our species were indeed recorded by him as early as 1827, but the records he has left of Northamptonshire mosses, though including a few highly interesting species, are not very numerous, and there is no doubt that his devotion to fungi precluded a close investigation of other plants. Since his time the writer of the present article has made a study—far from complete—of the distribution of mosses in the county, but with the exception of one or two observers (notably the late Mr. Robert Rogers) who have added a few records to our list, this interesting branch of botany has at present found no further adherent.

It cannot be supposed therefore that our knowledge of the mosses is at present by any means complete; still, they have received a fair amount of attention in comparison with those of other counties, and the list of

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known species, though not large, is for a lowland and mostly alluvial district a moderately good one. About 220 species have been recorded, a number which compares favourably with most of the adjoining counties, though as we proceed westwards, and the fertile alluvial valleys of the eastern and midland counties give place to the more rocky streams and harder exposed strata of the west, we find, as might be expected, a richer flora of the lower orders of plants. The development of Cryptogamia in a district is probably as a rule in an inverse ratio to its agricultural productiveness. We cannot therefore expect a very rich moss-flora in a county so highly cultivated as Northamptonshire, where there is an entire absence of peat bogs, a total lack of any natural outcrop of hard rock, where the rivers all run (if the term may be allowed to our sluggish streams) through alluvial valleys, and where heaths and other waste lands are for the most part conspicuous by their absence. Even the large tracts of wood and forest land for which the county is remarkable, while exuberant in fungi, do not add largely, in proportion to the area they cover, to the richness of our moss-flora; for being to a great extent on clay soil, at low elevations, and with scarcely any water beyond a few small ponds, they present but little variety of surface, and their contribution towards our moss-flora with certain exceptions lies rather in the multiplication of individuals than in the number or rarity of their species.

The chief interest of our moss-flora is therefore not to be looked for in a great variety of species, or a great profusion or high development of individuals, but rather in its somewhat special character as determined by the nature of the soil and of the various other substrata on which these plants are found. Perhaps the most noticeable features are the almost entire absence of any quantity of *Sphagna* or peat-mosses, the presence of a characteristic flora on the oolitic limestone, and the traces of an earlier, richer moss-flora, now in process of extinction through various causes, of which the development of agriculture is undoubtedly the chief.

Few counties can be so poor in *Sphagna* as Northamptonshire. A real peat bog does not occur throughout the county, and each of the four species of *Sphagnum* that occur is confined to a single station, and even there is found over a space of a few square yards at the most. Moreover of these four species two, *S. acutifolium* and *S. intermedium*, are only found in pools in a now disused clay-pit, and can have no claim to be considered as truly native in our county; while the two remaining species exist but as remnants of an older flora, and their ultimate disappearance is doubtless but a question of time.

The oolitic limestone beds that appear over a great part of the surface of Northamptonshire produce a somewhat distinct moss-flora of their own. Characteristic mosses are found on the stone walls in the northern districts, on the mud cappings of our walls throughout the county, and in the calcareous bogs of the extreme north and south. No species are known to occur that are not found in other counties, but

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several that are elsewhere rare or sparingly produced may be found here in great profusion; among these may be mentioned *Tortula pusilla*, *T. lamellata*, *T. rigida*, *T. ambigua*, *T. aloides*, the rare *Ceratodon conicus*, which occurs frequently and fruits freely on our mud-capped walls, with *Tortula intermedia*, *Pottia intermedia* and *P. lanceolata*, *Barbula revoluta*, *Orthotrichum anomalum* var. *saxatile*, etc. In the calcareous bogs *Hypnum commutatum* grows in great profusion and variety, while *H. falcatum*, *H. stellatum*, *Philonotis calcarea* are other characteristic forms.

A certain number of our mosses must be considered as the lingering remains of a time when a great part of the county was woodland or open waste land, with a richer moss-flora, much more akin than the present one to the moss vegetation of the hilly and sub-montane districts of Britain. Thus we find a few scattered plants, notably in Badby Wood and Harleston Firs, of such species as *Leucobryum glaucum*, *Plagiothecium undulatum*, *P. Borrerianum*, *Ditrichum homomallum*, *Dicranum majus*, *Hylocomium loreum*, *Sphagnum subsecundum*, *Eurhynchium myosuroides*, *Tetraphis pellucida*, *Bartramia pomiformis* and a few others. Most of these occur in a single station only, and are with little doubt doomed to extinction at some not far distant period.

A few notes may be added on some species that present features of special interest. Among these is *Bryum roseum*, one of the most handsome of our mosses, which produces a rosette of large, deep green leaves at the top of the stem, sometimes measuring as much as an inch across. This, though a local plant and usually not found in any great abundance, occurs in profusion in some parts of Badby Wood, where it may be found in great beauty during the winter months, keeping its freshness and verdure unimpaired beneath a mantle of brown and withered oak leaves.

The very beautiful *Schistostega osmundacea* is found in one or two of our sandstone quarries, where it lines the walls of fox earths and other crevices with its luminous patches, lighting up the cavity with a lovely golden green refulgence. This was at one time supposed to be a kind of phosphorescent glow, whence the plant acquired the name of the 'luminous moss,' but it is now known to be due to the highly refractive structure of the protonemal threads, and in absolute darkness its beauty disappears.

A remarkable form of a somewhat common moss, *Porotrichum* (better known as *Thamnium*) *alopecurum*, occurs in the old disused limestone quarries at Weldon. 'On a recent visit, in the spring of 1898, the bottoms of some low depressions under trees were carpeted with globular masses, which were found to consist of living "balls" of this moss, entirely detached from the soil and without rootlets, and from two to four or five inches in diameter. The interior of the "balls" consisted of the rigid, wiry stems proper to the species, which had branched profusely in all directions, and so produced this peculiar form. The branches were extremely dense and numerous, many hundreds of secondary stems going to make up a single tuft or "ball," and entirely hiding the central stem or stems. From this, as well as from the size of the tufts,

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it was clear that they must represent the growth of many months, probably of several years, and this without connection of any kind with the soil or other matrix, so that the nutriment must have been obtained entirely from atmospheric moisture ; they were however perfectly fresh and vigorous. No doubt detached stems of the moss, the ordinary form of which was growing in close proximity, had been carried at various times by the wind into the hollows, where the moisture of the air, together with the natural vitality, apparently a marked character of this species, combined not only to resist decay, but even to promote growth, resulting in the very unusual phenomenon described. . . . The Rev. C. H. Waddell informs me that the same curious growth of *P. alopecurum* here described has been observed in Ireland by the curator of the Fernery, Botanic Park, Belfast, who called it "the rolling moss," and described how it grew without roots and was blown about from place to place by the wind ; he kept it as a curiosity among his ferns.'¹

In the following lists of some of the more uncommon or noteworthy species the term 'characteristic' must be taken with some latitude. It is rarely that a moss is so absolutely confined to any particular matrix as never to occur elsewhere, and it must not be assumed that this is the case here. *Hypnum revolvens* and *H. intermedium*, for example, here given as characteristic of calcareous bogs, are indeed with us found *only* in the highly calcareous bogs of north and south Northamptonshire, but this is by no means universally the case.

MOSES CHARACTERISTIC OF CALCAREOUS BOGS

Philonotis calcarea, Schimp.	Hypnum intermedium, Lindb.
Hypnum stellatum, Schreb.	— falcatum, Brid.
— revolvens, Swartz	— commutatum, Hedw.

MOSES CHARACTERISTIC OF NON-CALCAREOUS BOGS OR MARSHY GROUND

Sphagnum cymbifolium, Ehrh.	Aulacomnium palustre, Schwägr.
— subsecundum, var. contortum, Schimp.	Philonotis fontana, Brid.
— acutifolium, Ehrh.	Bryum pseudo-triquetrum, Schwägr.
— intermedium, Hoffm.	Hypnum cordifolium, Hedw.
Splachnum ampullaceum, L.	— giganteum, Schimp.

MOSES CHARACTERISTIC OF THE [OOLITIC] LIMESTONE

Ditrichum flexicaule, Hampe	Tortula rigida, Schrad.
Ceratodon conicus, Lindb.	— aloides, De Not.
Pottia recta, Mitt.	Barbula sinuosa, Braithw.
— bryoides, Mitt.	Weisia tenuis, C. Müll.
— lanceolata, C. Müll.	Trichostomum crispulum, Bruch
— Starkeana, C. Müll.	Encalypta streptocarpa, Hedw.
— intermedia, Fühnr.	Orthotrichum anomalum, var. saxatile,
Tortula pusilla, Mitt.	Milde
— lamellata, Lindb.	— cupulatum, Hoffm.
— ambigua, Angstr.	Ephemerum recurvifolium, Lindb.

¹ *Journ. of Northants Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. x. pp. 250, 279.

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ARBOREAL MOSSES

Tetraphis pellucida, Hedw.
Cinclidotus Brebissoni, Husn.
Ulota phyllantha, Brid.
Orthotrichum Sprucei, Mont.

Orthotrichum Schimperii, Hamm.
— *obtusifolium*, Schrad.
Neckera pumila, Hedw.

AQUATIC MOSSES

Fissidens crassipes, Wils.

Cinclidotus fontinaloides, P. Beauv.

LIVERWORTS (*Hepaticæ*) AND LICHENS

The first-named group of plants is at present almost untouched in Northamptonshire, and little of interest can be said about them, for though the late Mr. Robert Rogers paid some attention to the subject, the list he drew up, chiefly from the neighbourhood of Yardley Chase, contains only the common and widely distributed species.

The lichens have received as little attention as the hepatics. No resident botanist has studied them, and the only records of any kind, with the exception of one or two in Morton's *History*, are based on a small collection made by Mr. W. H. Wilkinson of Birmingham, in the neighbourhood of Fawsley, upon the occasion of the visit to Northampton of the Midland Union of Natural History Societies in 1888; a list of these appears in the *Journal of the Northamptonshire Natural History Society*, vol. v. p. 149, where special reference is made to a rare form, viz. the var. *rubiginea* of *Usnea barbata*.

FUNGI

The long residence in Northamptonshire of the late Rev. M. J. Berkeley, one of the greatest of British mycologists, would lead us to expect the fungi of the county to have been extensively studied, and this is undoubtedly the case. Owing however probably to the pressure of more important work, he never drew up a list of local forms; and strangely enough, enthusiastic botanist as he was, he does not appear to have succeeded in enlisting any other workers in this district in that branch of botany in which he was a recognized authority. Such a list might be drawn up—not without considerable labour—by collating the numerous Northamptonshire records scattered throughout his collections and writings.

A few incidental references in the course of presidential and other addresses are all that appear in the records of the County Natural History Society. These references however, scanty as they are, indicate the arduous work carried out by the writer, and prove that the woods of Northamptonshire may be made to afford a rich field to the trained eye of the student of fungi. From these references one or two citations of considerable intrinsic interest may be made.

‘If variety of soil affords us an unusually abundant flora, the large

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tracts of woodland, extending once from Wansford to Market Harborough, with many outlying enclosures, yield a never-failing source of interest to the cryptogamic botanist in the variety of fungi, and amongst them many of extreme rarity, of which I will only mention at present *Agaricus racemosus*, which on the same stem produces two different kinds of fruit, and *Agaricus Loveianus*, which is parasitic on the pileus of one of our best edible fungi, *A. nebularis*. . . . The very numerous additions which have been made to our list of species recorded by myself and Mr. Broome in the *Annals of Natural History*, amounting nearly to two thousand, have been supplied in great measure from these districts, and other parts of the county are daily yielding a fresh harvest.’¹

A further reference is of still greater interest. ‘I turn to a very interesting class of fungi, and of some importance in an economical point of view, viz. the truffles, whether belonging to the normal group or to those which have been called false truffles—agreeing in their hypogæous habit, but differing altogether in structure. It was once thought that no esculent truffles were to be found in the county, except artificially introduced; their occurrence at Rushton in the early part of the last century was supposed to have arisen from trees introduced in the plantations from France, but I have seen *Tuber æstivum* in the greatest profusion at Apethorpe, and it is well known that the late Mr. Isted collected truffles in some abundance near Northampton. We do not possess at present the black truffle of France, but *Tuber æstivum* is not to be despised when in good condition, and indeed is almost the only kind which appears in the London markets, principally from the chalk districts. No one, as far as I know, has used truffle dogs systematically, with a view to ascertain how far the search for truffles in Northamptonshire would prove remunerative, as it does in Berkshire and Kent. I have seen truffles at Milton, and hear of them elsewhere, as at Norman-ton, in the neighbouring county of Rutland, and though I have myself had no help except the diligent use of the rake, I have found many species, and amongst them a very remarkable form abounding in a milky fluid. Amongst them only one is of sufficient size and of delicate flavour enough to make it worth collecting as a culinary article; but under the oaks at Rockingham the large white truffle, belonging to a distinct genus, has been found abundantly, and though not equal to the common summer truffle, it, or a closely allied species, is collected abundantly in the north of Africa, and Mrs. Lloyd Wynne, who has done so much for mycology, saw it plentifully about Damascus.’²

¹ *Journ. Northants Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 160 (1882).

² *Loc. cit.* pp. 160, 161.

ZOOLOGY

MOLLUSCS

Out of the 138 species occurring in the British Islands, 95 are known in Northamptonshire. This is a fair county average ; but some 20 of these are either very local or else very rare.

None of the more typical south-western or of the Germanic forms is present.

One species, *Pomatias elegans*, appears to be dying out ; on the other hand *Helicella cantiana* is reported to be extending its range in the county.

The Roman Snail (*Helix pomatia*) was probably introduced some years ago, and quite lately a colony of the pretty little continental species, *Helicella terrestris* (Penn.), has been imported by a local enthusiast.

A. GASTROPODA

I. PULMONATA

a. STYLOMMATOPHORA

Limax maximus, Linn. Fairly common. A single example of a white variety has been found in Rockingham Park
 — *flavus*, Linn. Northampton
 — *arborum*, Bouch.-Chant. Rockingham Park ; Danes Camp
Agriolimax agrestis (Linn.)
 — *lævis* (Müll.)
Amalia sowerbii (Fér.). Rockingham Park
 — *gagates* (Drap.). Examples of the var. *plumbea* have been found in a garden in Northampton ; probably imported
Vitrina pellucida (Müll.)
Vitrea crystallina (Müll.)
 — *alliaria* (Miller)
 — *glabra* (Brit. Auct.)
 — *cellaria* (Müll.)
 — *nitidula* (Drap.)
 — *pura* (Ald.). Near Northampton ; Yardley Chase
 — *radiatula* (Ald.)
 — *nitida* (Müll.). Island by Ringstead Mill, on the Nene ; Rockingham Park
 — *fulva* (Müll.)

Arion ater (Linn.)
 — *hortensis*, Fér.
 — *circumscriptus*, John.
 — *intermedius*, Norm. Common enough in woods
 — *subfuscus* (Drap.). By no means a common species
Punctum pygmaeum (Drap.). Castle Ashby ; Yardley Chase ; Gayton
Pyramidula rupestris (Drap.). Gayton ; Milton ; Rockingham Park
 — *rotundata* (Müll.)
Helicella virgata (Da C.)
 — *itala* (Linn.)
 — *caperata* (Mont.)
 — *cantiana* (Mont.). Common in south of the county ; said to have spread rapidly in recent years
Hygromia fusca (Mont.). One specimen near Kettering
 — *granulata* (Ald.). Brackley ; Newborough ; Eye
 — *hispidula* (Linn.)
 — *rufescens* (Penn.)
Acanthinula aculeata (Müll.). Castle Ashby ; Eye ; Northampton ; Oakley
Vallonia pulchella (Müll.)

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Helicigona lapicida (Linn.). Local. Castle Ashby; Brackley; Rockingham; near Rothwell; Weekley Hall Wood

— *arbustorum* (Linn.)

Helix aspersa, Müll.

— *pomatia*, Linn. John Morton records, in 1712, that Lord Hatton unsuccessfully attempted to introduce this species at Kirby. About 1850 it was reported at Woodford, where it was said to have been introduced by General Arbuthnot, and it has been recently re-discovered in that locality

— *nemoralis*, Linn.

— *hortensis*, Müll.

Buliminus obscurus (Müll.)

Cochlicopa lubrica (Müll.)

Azeca tridens (Pult.). Two specimens at Yardley Chase

Cæcilianella acicula (Müll.). Kettering; Middleton; Deenethorpe; Sibbertoft

Pupa cylindræa (Da C.)

— *muscorum* (Linn.)

Sphyradium edentulum (Drap.). Campion's Spinney, near Northampton; Castle Ashby; Oakley Wood; Delapré Wood

Vertigo pygmæa (Drap.)

— *pusilla*, Müll. Danes Camp

Balea perversa (Linn.)

Clausilia laminata (Mont.)

— *bidentata* (Ström.)

— *rolphii*, Gray. Six specimens in Sywell Wood

Succinea putris (Linn.)

— *elegans*, Risso

b. BASOMMATOPHORA

Carychium minimum, Müll.

Ancylus fluviatilis, Müll. Rare. Wootton Brook; Barton Brook

Velletia lacustris (Linn.). Rare. River Nene, Northampton; Ise Brook; some of the canals

Limnæa auricularia (Linn.)

— *pereger* (Müll.)

— *palustris* (Müll.)

— *truncatula* (Müll.)

— *stagnalis* (Linn.)

Planorbis corneus (Linn.)

— *albus*, Müll.

— *glaber*, Jeff.

— *nautilus* (Linn.)

— *carinatus*, Müll.

— *marginatus*, Drap.

— *vortex* (Linn.)

— *spirorbis*, Müll.

— *contortus* (Linn.)

— *fontanus* (Lightf.). Pond by Naseby reservoir; Castle Ashby pond

— *lineatus* (Walker). One dead specimen in Ise Brook, near Desborough

Physa fontinalis (Linn.)

II. PROSOBRANCHIATA

Bithynia tentaculata (Linn.)

— *leachii* (Shepp.)

Vivipara vivipara (Linn.)

— *contecta* (Millet)

Valvata piscinalis (Müll.)

— *cristata*, Müll. Borough Fen, near Peterborough

— *elegans* (Müll.). Colony at Kettering; two dead shells at Loddington, one at Brackley

Neritina fluviatilis (Linn.)

B. PELECYPODA

Dreissensia polymorpha (Pall.)

Unio pictorum (Linn.)

— *tumidus*, Retz

Anodonta cygnæa (Linn.)

Sphærium rivicola (Leach). Blisworth Canal; River Nene, Northampton

— *corneum* (Linn.)

Sphærium lacustre (Müll.)

Pisidium amnicum (Müll.)

— *pusillum* (Gmel.)

— *fontinale* (Drap.)

— *milium* (Held.). Castle Ashby; Ise Brook; Weekley Hall Wood

INSECTS¹

With the exception of the Lepidoptera (Butterflies and Moths) the Coleoptera (Beetles) and a few of the Hymenoptera (Bees, Wasps, etc.) the insects of Northamptonshire appear to be almost entirely unknown, and all efforts to obtain lists of the Orthoptera (Grasshoppers, Crickets, etc.), the Neuroptera (Dragonflies, Caddis flies), the Diptera (Flies) and the Hemiptera (Bugs) have been unsuccessful. Probably the chief reason for the comparative neglect of Northamptonshire by entomologists² is that its natural conditions are far less varied than those of some other midland counties, or of many of the southern, eastern, western and northern counties. An inland county without any very important range of hills or mountains, and no extensive tracts of moor or fenland may not produce a great variety of species. Apart from the still remaining fragments of the ancient forests of Salcey, Whittlebury and Rockingham, and its other numerous and extensive woods,³ Northamptonshire consists mainly of pasture and arable land, and with the exception of sylvan species—in which the county ought to be rich—its insect-fauna (the butterflies and moths excepted) is probably less interesting than that of counties whose physical conditions are more varied.

Only a few species of Hymenoptera have been recorded from the county, and the lists of Coleoptera and Lepidoptera⁴ which have been received are very incomplete.

HYMENOPTERA⁵

ACULEATA

(*Bees, Wasps, etc.*)

The following species have been recorded from the county by Mr. George B. Dixon, F.E.S. :—

Gorytes mystaceus, L.
Vespa crabro, L.
— *vulgaris*, L.

Vespa germanica, Fab.
— *rufa*, L.
Andrena albicans, Kirby.

¹ The sequence of the orders here followed is that adopted by Dr. D. Sharp, F.R.S., in the *Cambridge Natural History*, vols. v., vi., 1895–99.

² I desire to record my thanks for assistance received, to the Rev. Canon Fowler, M.A., F.L.S., Captain J. A. W. Vipan, the Hon. Charles Rothschild, F.Z.S., Messrs. Edward Saunders, F.L.S., Frank Bouskell, F.E.S., W. Edwards, T. H. Briggs, M.A., F.E.S., Eustace Banks, M.A., F.E.S., G. Claridge Druce, M.A., F.L.S., Eustace F. Wallis, G. B. Dixon, F.E.S., H. N. Dixon, M.A., F.L.S., William Hull, F. Bostock, and W. J. Kaye, F.E.S.—H. G.

³ There are still upwards of 28,000 acres of forest and other woodlands in Northamptonshire, but about three-fifths of the entire acreage of the county consist of permanent pasture.

⁴ Except as to the butterflies and larger moths.

⁵ Mr. E. Saunders has kindly revised this list and furnished the authors' names.—H. G.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Andrena rosæ, Panz.
 — *r. trimmerana*, Kirb.
 — *fulva*, Schr.
 — *varians*, Rossi.
 — *labialis*, Kirb.
Nomada alternata, Kirb.
 — *ruficornis*, L.
 — *fabriciana*, L.
Melecta armata, Panz.
 — *luctuosa*, Scop.
Osmia rufa, L.
 — *bicolor*, Schr.
Anthophora pilipes, Fab.
Psithyrus rupestris, Fab.
 — *vestalis*, Fourc.

Psithyrus barbutellus, Kirb.
 — *campestris*, Panz.
Bombus venustus, Sm.
 — *agrorum*, Fab.
 — *latreillellus*, Kirb.
 — and var. *distinguendus*, Mor.
 — *hortorum*, L.
 — *jonellus*, Kirb.
 — *pratorem*, L.
 — *sylvarum*, L.
 — *derhamellus*, Kirb.
 — *lapidarius*, L.
 — *terrestris*, L.
 — and var. *lucorum*, Fab.
Apis mellifica, L.

COLEOPTERA

(*Beetles*)

The order Coleoptera is certainly largely represented in Northamptonshire, and the county being thickly wooded and rich in Lepidoptera, probably contains most of the species recorded from the neighbouring counties and from the midland districts generally. The following list, however, will show that the county has been very little worked for beetles; although several good species have occurred the great majority recorded are of almost universal distribution. The best perhaps are *Anthribus albinus*, L. and *Apion astragali*, Payk. The list is almost entirely compiled from the records of two collectors, Mr. Frank Bouskell,¹ and Mr. William Hull. It will be noticed that some of the groups, e.g. the Water Beetles, are entirely, or almost entirely, unrepresented. The species without locality affixed are either common, or have been recorded simply from Northamptonshire.

CICINDELIDÆ

Cicindela campestris, L.

CARABIDÆ

Cychrus rostratus, L. *Ashton*
Carabus catenulatus, Scop.
 — *nemoralis*, Mull.
 — *violaceus*, L.
 — *granulatus*, L.
 — *monilis*, F.
Notiophilus biguttatus, F.
 — *quadriguttatus*, Dej.
Leistus spinibarbis, F.
 — *rufescens*, F.
Nebria brevicollis, F.
Elaphrus cupreus, Suff.
 — *uliginosus*, F.
Loricera pilicornis, F.
Clivina fossor, L.
Dyschirius nitidus, Dej.

CARABIDÆ (continued)

Chlænius nigricornis, F.
Acupalpus exiguus, Dej.
 — *meridianus*, L.
Harpalus punctatulus, Duft.
 — *ruficornis*, F.
Zabrus gibbus, F.
Pterostichus cupreus, L.
 — *lepidus*, F.
 — *madidus*, F.
 — *niger*, Schall
 — *vulgaris*, L.
 — *nigrita*, F.
Amara aulica, Panz. (*spinipes* auct.)
 — *familiaris*, Duft.
 — *trivialis*, Gyll.
Calathus melanocephalus, L.
 — *piceus*, Marsh
Anchomenus angusticollis, F.

¹ Mr. Bouskell has remarked that the black variety of the large Longicorn *Toxotus meridianus* is scarcer than in Leicestershire, and that *Liopus nebulosus* and *Strangalia armata* both run darker than the southern forms.—W. W. F.

INSECTS

CARABIDÆ (continued)

- Anchomenus dorsalis, Müll.
- albipes, F.
- marginatus, L.
- parumpunctatus, F.
- viduus, Panz.
- micans, Nic.
- Bembidium quinquestriatum, Gyll.
- lampros, Herbst.
- minimum, F.
- nitidulum, Marsh
- quadriguttatum, F.
- lunatum, Duft.
- bruxellense, Wesm.
- littorale, Ol.
- flammulatum, Clair.
- Trechus secalis, F.
- Lebia chlorocephala, Hoff.
- Demetrias unipunctatus, Germ. *Wakerley*
- atricapillus, L.
- Dromius meridionalis, Dej.
- quadrimaculatus, L.

DYTISCIDÆ

- Hyphydrus ovatus, L.
- Hydroporus palustris, L.
- Agabus bipustulatus, L.
- nebulosus, Forst.
- Platambus maculatus, L.
- Ilybius fuliginosus, F.
- ater, De G.
- Dytiscus marginalis, L.
- Acilius sulcatus, L.

GYRINIDÆ

- Gyrinus natator, Scop.

HYDROPHILIDÆ

- Hydrobius fuscipes, var., L.
- Laccobius sinuatus, Mots.
- Helophorus rugosus, Ol.
- aquaticus, L.
- arvernus, Mots.
- Sphæridium scarabæoides, F.
- Cercyon unipunctatum, L.

STAPHYLINIDÆ

- Aleochara fuscipes, Grav.
- Ocalea castanea, Er.
- Astilbus canaliculatus, F.
- Homalota atramentaria, Gyll.
- fungi, Grav.
- Bolitochara lucida, Grav.
- Conosoma littoreum, L.
- pubescens, Grav.
- Tachyporus obtusus, L.
- formosus, Matth.
- chrysomelinus, L.
- hypnorum, F.
- Tachinus humeralis, Grav.
- pallipes, Grav. *Ashton*
- rufipes, L.
- subterraneus, L.
- laticollis, Grav. *Ashton*

STAPHYLINIDÆ (continued)

- Bolitobius lunulatus, L.
- trinitatus, Er.
- pygmæus, F.
- Quedius mesomelinus, Marsh.
- molochinus, Grav.
- Creophilus maxilloso, L.
- Leistotrophus nebulosus, F.
- murinus, L.
- Staphylinus pubescens, De G. *Wakerley*
- erythropterus, L. *Wakerley*
- Ocypus olens, Müll.
- ater, Grav.
- Philonthus splendens, F.
- intermedius, Boisd.
- laminatus, Creutz.
- æneus, Rossi
- decorus, Grav.
- politus, F.
- marginatus, F.
- fimetarius, Grav.
- sanguinolentus, Grav.
- varians, Payk.
- quisquiliarius, Gyll.
- Xantholinus fulgidus, F.
- punctulatus, Payk.
- linearis, Ol.
- Leptacinus batychnus, Gyll.
- Othius fulvipennis, F.
- melanocephalus, Grav.
- Lathrobium fulvipenne, Grav.
- brunnipes, F.
- Stenus biguttatus, L.
- bimaculatus, Gyll.
- Lesteva pubescens, Mann.

SILPHIDÆ

- Agathidium nigripenne, Kug. *Ashton*
- Liodes humeralis, Kug. *Wakerley*
- Anisotoma punctulata, Gyll.
- Necrophorus humator, Goeze
- mortuorum, F.
- vestigator, Hersch.
- ruspator, Er. *Ashton*
- interruptus, Steph.
- vespillo, L.
- Silpha quadripunctata, L. *Wakerley*
- opaca, L.
- thoracica, L.
- rugosa, L.
- sinuata, F.
- dispar, Herbst. *Wakerley*
- lævigata, F.
- atrata, L.
- v. subrotundata, Leach
- Choleva nigrita, Er.
- kirbyi, Spence
- Colon brunneum, Latr.
- latum, Kr.

TRICHOPTERYGIDÆ

- Ptinella aptera, Guer.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

COCCINELLIDÆ

- Adalia oblitterata*, L.
- *bipunctata*, Payk.
- Anatis ocellata*, L. *Ashton*
- Coccinella* 10-punctata, L.
- 7-punctata, L.
- Halyzia* 14-guttata, L.
- 22-punctata, L.
- Chilocorus similis*, Rossi.
- *bipustulatus*, Ill.
- Exochomus quadripustulatus*, L.

ENDOMYCHIDÆ

- Dacne humeralis* F. }
- *rufifrons*, F. } *Ashton*, in fungi on elms
- Triplax russica*, L. }

HISTERIDÆ

- Hister cadaverinus*, Hoff.
- *unicolor*, L.
- Saprinus æneus*, F.

NITIDULIDÆ

- Epuræa æstiva*, L.
- *deleta*, Er.
- Nitidula bipustulata*, L.
- Soronia grisea*, L.
- Omosita colon*, L.
- *discoidea*, F.
- Meligethes rufipes*, Gyll.
- *æneus*, F.
- *viridescens*, F.
- *difficilis*, Heer.
- Cychramus luteus*, F.
- Ips quadriguttata*, F. *Ashton*
- *quadripunctata*, Herbst. *Ashton*

LATHRIDIIDÆ

- Enicmus transversus*, Ol.
- *testaceus*, Steph.
- Corticaria serrata*, Payk.

BYTURIDÆ

- Byturus sambuci*, Scop.
- *tormentosus*, F.

CRYPTOPHAGIDÆ

- Atomaria umbrina*, Er. *Cransley*
- *elongatula*, Er.
- *berolinensis*, Kr.

MYCETOPHAGIDÆ

- Mycetophagus quadripustulatus*, L.
- *piceus*, F. *Ashton*, in fungi on elms
- *atomarius*, F. *Ashton*
- *multipunctatus* Hellw. *Ashton*

DERMESTIDÆ

- Dermestes vulpinus*, F.
- *murinus*, L.
- *undulatus*, Brahm.
- *lardarius*, L.
- Attagenus pelli*, L.

BYRRHIDÆ

- Byrrhus pilula*, L.
- Cytilus varius*, F.

LUCANIDÆ

- Lucanus cervus*, L.

LUCANIDÆ (continued)

- Dorcus parallelipedus*, L.
- Sinodendron cylindricum*, L.

SCARABÆIDÆ

- Onthophagus cænobita*, Herbst.
- *erraticus*, L.
- Aphodius subterraneus*, L.
- *fossor*, L.
- *hæmorrhoidalis*, L.
- *fimetarius*, L.
- *ater*, De G.
- *granarius*, L.
- *rufescens*, F. *Ashton*
- *pursillus*, Herbst. „
- *merdarius*, F.
- *conspurcatus*, L. *Ashton*
- *punctato-sulcatus*, Sturm.
- *prodromus*, Brahm.
- *luridus*, F.
- *rufipes*, L.
- *depressus*, Kug.
- Geotrupes typhæus*, L.
- *stercorarius*, L.
- *sylvaticus*, Panz.
- *vernalis*, L.
- Hoplia philanthus*, Fuss.
- Serica brunnea*, L.
- Rhizotrogus solstitialis*, L.
- Melolontha vulgaris*, F.
- Phyllopertha horticola*, L.
- Cetonia aurata*, L.

BUPRESTIDÆ

- Agrilus laticornis*, Ill. *Wakerley*

ELATERIDÆ

- Lacon murinus*, L.
- Elater balteatus*, L.
- Melanotus rufipes*, Herbst. *Naseby*
- Athous hæmorrhoidalis*, F.
- *vittatus*, F.
- Limonius cylindricus*, Payk.
- *minutus*, L.
- Agriotes sputator*, L.
- *lineatus*, L.
- Dolopius marginatus*, L.
- Corymbites pectinicornis*, L. *Wakerley*
- *cupreus*, F. *Ashton*
- *tessellatus*, F. *Wakerley*
- *quercus*, Gyll. „
- Campylus linearis*, L.

TELEPHORIDÆ

- Podabrus alpinus*, Payk. *Wakerley, Ashton*
- Telephorus rusticus*, Full.
- *lividus*, L.
- *var. dispar*, F.
- *pellucidus*, F.
- *nigricans*, Mull.
- *litratus*, Fall.
- *bicolor*, F.
- *hæmorrhoidalis*, F.
- *flavilabris*, Fall.

INSECTS

TELEPHORIDÆ (*continued*)

- Telephorus thoracicus, Ol. *Ashton*
 Rhagonycha unicolor, Curt. „
 — fulva, Scop.
 — testacea, L.
 — pallida, F.
 Malthinus punctatus, Fourc.
 — balteatus, Suffr.
 Malthodes marginatus, Latr.
 Malachius æneus, F.
 Necrobia ruficollis, F.
 — violacea, L.
 — rufipes, De G.
 Corynetes cœruleus, De G.

PTINIDÆ

- Ptinus sexpunctatus, Panz.
 — fur, L.
 Niptus hololeucus, Fald.

ANOBIIDÆ

- Anobium domesticum, Fourc.

CISSIDÆ

- Cis boleti, Scop.
 — villosulus, Marsh. *Ashton*

CERAMBYCIDÆ

- Callidium violaceum. *Naseby*
 — variabile. *Ashton*
 Clytus arietis, L.
 — mysticus. *Ashton*
 Rhagium inquisitor, F.
 — bifasciatum, F.
 Toxotus meridianus, Panz.
 Strangalia armata, Herbst.
 — nigra, L.
 melanura, L.
 Grammoptera tabacicolor, De G.
 — ruficornis, F.

LAMIIDÆ

- Leiopus nebulosus, L.
 Agapanthia lineatocollis, Don. *Wakerley*
 Saperda carcharias, L.
 — populnea, L.
 Stenostola ferrea, Schrank.

BRUCHIDÆ

- Bruchus rufimanus, Boh.

EUPODA

- Donacia dentata, Hoppe. *Oundle*
 — limbata, Panz. „
 — simplex, F. „
 — vulgaris zsch., Panz „
 — semicuprea „ „
 — sericea, L. „ „
 Lema lichenis, Voet.
 Crioceris asparagi, L.

CAMPTOSOMATA

- Cryptocephalus aureolus, Suffr. *Wakerley*
 Timarcha tenebricosa, F.
 Chrysomela staphylea, L.
 — polita, L.
 — orichalcia, Müll
 — hyperici, Forst.

CAMPTOSOMATA (*continued*)

- Melasoma æneum, L.
 — populi, L.
 Phytodecta olivacea, Forst. *Ashton*
 Gastroidea polygoni, L.
 Phaedon armoraciæ, L. *Ashton*
 — cochleariæ, F.
 Phyllodecta vulgatissima, L.
 Hydrothassa marginella, L.
 Prasocuris phellandrii, L.
 Lochmæa cratægi, Forst.
 Galerucella nympheae, L. *Oundle*
 — lineola, F.
 — calmariensis, L.
 Adimonia tanaceti, L.
 Longitarsus pulex, Schrank
 — melanocephalus, All.
 — pusillus, Gyll.
 Phyllotreta vittula, Redt.
 — undulata, Kuts.
 — nemorum, L.
 Apteropoda globosa, Ill.
 Podagrica fuscicornis, L. *Ashton*
 Crepidodera transversa, Marsh.
 — chloris, Foudr.
 — aurata, Marsh.
 Chætocnema subcœrulea, Kuts.
 — confusa, Boh.
 Psylliodes attenuata, Koch.

CRYPTOSOMATA

- Cassida equestris, F. *Oundle*
 — viridis, F.

TENEBRIONIDÆ

- Blaps mucronata, Latr.

LAGRIIDÆ

- Lagria hirta, L.

PYTHIDÆ

- Rhinosimus ruficollis, L.
 — viridipennis, Steph.

ÆDEMERIDÆ

- Ædemera nobilis, Scop. *Wakerley*
 — lurida, Marsh „
 Ischnomera cœrulea, L.

PYROCHROIDÆ

- Pyrochroa serraticornis, Scop.

MORDELLIDÆ

- Anaspis ruficollis, F.
 — maculata, Fourc.

ANTHICIDÆ

- Anthicus floralis, L.

MELOIDÆ

- Meloë proscarabæus, L.
 — violaceus, Marsh.

PLATYRRHINIDÆ

- Brachytarsus fasciatus, Forst. *Northampton*
 — varius, F. *Northampton*
 Macrocephalus (Anthribus) albinus, L.
Wakerley

CURCULIONIDÆ

- Apoderus coryli, L. *Wakerley*

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

CURCULIONIDÆ (continued)

- Attelabus curculionoides, L. *Wakerley*
- Rhynchites cupreus, L. *Wakerley*
- æquatus, L. „
- sericeus, Herbst. „
- Deporatus megacephalus, Germ.
- betulæ, L.
- Apion malvæ, F.
- miniatum, Germ.
- astragali, Payk. Neighbourhood of
Northampton (Greville)
- apicans, Herbst.
- nigrirtarse, Kirby
- Otiorrhynchus atroapterus, De G.
- sulcatus, F.
- ovatus, L.
- Strophosomus coryli, F.
- Barypeithes sulcifrons, Boh.
- Polydrusus micans, F.
- tereticollis, De G.
- pterygomalis, Boh.
- Phyllobius oblongus, L.
- calcaratus, F.
- urticæ, De G.
- pyri, L.

CURCULIONIDÆ (continued)

- Phyllobius argentatus, L.
 - pomonæ, Ol.
 - viridiæris, Laich.
 - Sitones regensteiniensis, Herst.
 - flavescens, Marsh
 - lineatus, L.
 - tibialis, Herbst.
 - sulcifrons, Thun.
 - Hypera nigrirostris, F.
 - Curculio abietis, L.
 - Orchestes alni, L.
 - Dorytomus vorax, F.
 - maculatus, Marsh
 - Tanysphyrus lemnæ, F.
 - Cionus tuberculosus, Scop.
 - hortulanus, Marsh
 - Cryptorrhynchus lapathi, L.
 - Cœliodes rubicundus, Herbst.
 - Balaninus turbatus, Gyll.
 - salicivorus, Payk.
- ## SCOLYTIDÆ
- Hylesinus crenatus, F. *Wakerley*
 - fraxini, Panz.
 - Trypodendron domesticum, „L. *Wakerley*

LEPIDOPTERA

(Butterflies and Moths)

To collectors of the Lepidoptera Northamptonshire, notwithstanding its insular position and the absence of any extent of moorland and fen, or mountain ranges, is of considerable interest, and its extensive woodlands contain certain species¹ which are not met with elsewhere in the United Kingdom except in a few localities in two or three neighbouring counties.

Forty or fifty years ago the county was well worked for the Macro-Lepidoptera (the Butterflies and large Moths) by the Ven. Archdeacon Bree, the Rev. Hamlet Clark, the Rev. W. Whall, Mr. Sturgess and the late Mr. Frederick Bond; and during the last thirty-five years many species belonging to the same groups have been collected and recorded by the writer, by Mr. W. Hull, Mr. H. F. Tomalin, Mr. T. H. Briggs, Mr. F. Bouskell, Mr. G. Claridge Druce, Mr. W. J. Kaye, the Hon. Charles Rothschild, Mr. Eustace Wallis, and especially by Captain J. A. W. Vipan.

The Rhopalocera (Butterflies) are well represented,² though three local species³ have been apparently extinct in the county for some years.

¹ e.g. the Black Hairstreak (*Thecla pruni*) and the Chequered Skipper (*Hesperia paniscus*).

² A complete list will be found at pages 99. It is not thought necessary to enumerate in the introductory observations all the common species which occur in every county. Fifty-three species have occurred in the county, or three more than in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight.—H. G.

³ The Black-veined White (*Pieris crastægi*), the Mazarine Blue (*Lycæna acis*), and the Large Blue (*L. arion*). The last named still occurs not uncommonly in a few localities in Gloucestershire, Devon and Cornwall.—H. G.

INSECTS

The Wood White¹ (*Leucophasia sinapis*, L.) used to occur in abundance in Whittlebury Forest, and in Geddington Chase, Plane Woods, Sywell Wood, and Yardley Chase ; also near Towcester and elsewhere in the county, but it has not been observed lately.

The Black-veined White (*Pieris crataegi*, L.) formerly occurred near Peterborough, in Barnwell Wold, and also on the borders of the county between Thurning and Gidding Magna in Huntingdonshire ; but it seems to be now extinct, as it has been in most other English and Welsh counties for some years past. The writer looked for it in vain between Thurning and Gidding for many weeks nearly thirty years ago.

The Clouded Yellow (*Colias edusa*, Fab.) occurs occasionally and was abundant in the county in 1878, 1892 and 1900, and in the latter year the Pale Clouded Yellow (*C. hyale*, L.) also occurred.

The three large Fritillaries (*Argynnis paphia*, L., *A. adippe*, L., and *A. aglaia*, L.) are commonly distributed throughout the woodlands, and *A. paphia* is often abundant in Salcey Forest, Whittlebury Forest and other wooded parts of the county.

The Queen of Spain Fritillary (*Argynnis lathonia*, L.) has been recorded from the county by Messrs. Hull and Tomalin.

The Pearl-bordered Fritillary (*Argynnis euphrosyne*, L.) and the Small Pearl-bordered Fritillary (*A. selene*, Schiff.) both occur in the county, and the former is common in most of the woods. The latter is more local, but it has been recorded from Waddenham and Towcester.

The Greasy Fritillary (*Melitæa artemis*, Fab.)—always very local—used to be found at Aldwinkle near Waddenham, near Towcester, and near Barnwell, but no recent captures have been recorded.

The Comma Butterfly (*Vanessa c.-album*, L.) so abundant in favourable seasons in certain west-midland counties and other parts of the west and north of England, and in some Welsh counties, occurs in this county, and the writer has taken it near Oundle. It has also been taken near Waddenham, Towcester, Yardley Chase, Sywell Wood, Lilford, Barnwell Wold and Northampton. Mr. W. Edwards records it as frequent near Lilford on ivy-bloom at the end of September.

The Large Tortoiseshell (*Vanessa polychloros*, L.) is recorded from Salcey Forest, Towcester and Barnwell Wold ; and also from Geddington Chase, Weekly Hall Wood, and elsewhere near Kettering.

The very rare Camberwell Beauty (*Vanessa antiopa*, L.) has been taken near Kettering, at Thurning, in Whittlebury Forest, at Wellingborough, and twice at Northampton.

The White Admiral (*Limenitis sibylla*, L.) was recorded by the late Mr. Bond as occurring near Waddenham ; Messrs. Hull and Tomalin mention Sywell Wood and Lilford as localities for it, and Mr. G. C. Druce informs me that he saw a specimen recently near Brackley.

The Purple Emperor (*Apatura iris*, L.) occurs commonly in the great oak woods in the neighbourhood of Rockingham, Kettering,

¹ The present occurrence of *Leucophasia sinapis* and *Melitæa artemis* in the county seems to require confirmation.—H. G.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Weekly Hall Wood and Geddington Chase, in Whittlebury Forest, Salcey Forest, Yardley Chase, Sywell Wood, and elsewhere in the south and north of the county.

The five species of the genus *Thecla* (the Hairstreaks) are more or less common in Northamptonshire. The most local and interesting of these, the Black Hairstreak (*T. pruni*, L.) is in some years abundant in woods near Rockingham, Kettering and elsewhere ; but except in a few localities in North Buckinghamshire, Huntingdonshire, and other neighbouring counties, it is unknown elsewhere in the United Kingdom. I have found it in some seasons in abundance in two or three woods in the county. It is fond of settling on the flowers of the privet (*Ligustrum vulgare*) and the wayfaring tree (*Viburnum lantana*). Mr. Kaye says it is also partial to the flowers of valerian.

The White-letter Hairstreak (*Thecla w.-album*, Kn.)—a local species but much more generally distributed than the last—is not uncommon in the county, and is occasionally abundant, as is also the Brown Hairstreak (*T. betulæ*, L.) which is especially common in the larval state in certain woods. The Purple Hairstreak (*T. quercus*, L.) is common in oak woods, and the Green Hairstreak (*T. rubi*, L.) is partially distributed in the county and is common in some localities.

The Mazarine Blue (*Lycæna acis*, Fb.) formerly occurred in the county, and Sywell Wood is mentioned as a locality by Messrs. Hull and Tomalin. No specimens have been captured for many years.

The Large Blue (*Lycæna arion*, L.) was formerly plentiful in rough pastures adjoining Barnwell Wold, but disappeared therefrom nearly forty years ago after the exceptionally wet summer of 1860, and the species is now confined to a few localities in the Cotswolds, Gloucestershire, and to some parts of Devon and Cornwall.

The Duke of Burgundy (*Nemeobius lucina*, L.) occurs near Towcester and in Barnwell Wold, and I have found it commonly in many woods in the county.

The Chequered Skipper (*Hesperia paniscus*, Fab.)—one of the most local species of the *Hesperiidæ* (the Skippers)—occurs, sometimes abundantly, in certain woods about Rockingham and Kettering, and at Geddington Chase, Brigstock, Whittlebury Forest, Yardley Chase, and elsewhere in the county. This species is also found in a few woods in Huntingdonshire, Rutlandshire and Lincolnshire, and has been reported from one or two woods in Suffolk ; but it is probably nowhere more plentiful than in some of the Northamptonshire woods.

To refer in detail to all the local *Nocturni*, *Geometræ*, *Drepanulidæ*, *Pseudo-Bombyces*, and *Noctuæ* found in the county, would occupy too much space, but Captain Vipan, who is better acquainted with the Macro-Lepidoptera of Northamptonshire than any one else, now living, in the United Kingdom, has kindly helped to compile the following list of butterflies and moths occurring in the county.

INSECTS

RHOPALOCERA¹ (*Butterflies*)

Leucophasia sinapis, L.	Vanessa polychloros, L.	Thecla betulæ, L.
Pieris cratægi, L. (extinct)	— antiopa, L.	Polyommatus phlæas, L.
— brassicæ, L.	— io, L.	Lycæna ægon, Schiff.
— rapæ, L.	— atalanta, L.	— agestis, Hb.
— napi, L.	— cardui, L.	— alexis, Hb.
Anthocharis cardamines, Bdv.	Limenitis sibylla, L.	— corydon, Fb.
Gonepteryx rhamni, L.	Apatura iris, L.	— acis, Fb.
Colias edusa, Fb.	Arge galathea, L.	— alsus, Fab.
— hyale, L.	Satyrus egeria, L.	— argiolus, L.
Argynnis paphia, L.	— megæra, L.	— arion, ³ L. (extinct)
— aglaia, L.	— janira, L.	Nemeobius lucina, L.
— adippe, L.	— tithonus, L.	Syrichthus alveolus, Hb.
— lathonia, L.	— hyperanthus, L.	Thanaos tages, L.
— euphrosyne, L.	— pamphilus, L.	Hesperia paniscus, Fb.
— selene, Schiff.	Thecla rubi, L.	— sylvanus, Esp.
Melitæa artemis, Fb. ²	— quercus, L.	— comma, L.
Vanessa c.-album, L.	— w.-album, Kn.	— linea, Fb.
— urticæ, L.	— pruni, L.	

HETEROCERA (*Moths*)

NOCTURNI

Procris statices, L.	Hepialus hectus, L.	Liparis monacha, L.
— geryon, Hb.	— lupulinus, L.	Orgyia pudibunda, L.
Zygæna trifolii, Esp.	Hepialus sylvinus, L.	— antiqua, L.
— filipendulæ, L.	— humuli, L.	— gonostigma, Fb.
Smerinthus ocellatus, L.	Limacodes asella, Schiff.	Demas coryli, L.
— populi, L.	— testudo, Schiff.	Trichiura cratægi, L.
— tiliæ, L.	Nola cucullatella, L.	Pœcilocampa populi, L.
Acherontia atropos, L.	Nudaria mundana, L.	Eriogaster lanestris, L.
Sphinx convolvuli, L.	Calligenia miniata, Forst.	Bombyx neustria, L.
— ligustri, L.	Lithosia mesomella, L.	— quercus, L.
Deilephila galii, Schiff.	— aureola, Hb.	Odonestis potatoria, L.
Chærocampa celerio, L.	— complanula, Bdv.	Lasiocampa quercifolia, L.
— porcellus, L.	— griseola, Hb.	Saturnia carpini, Schiff.
— elpenor, L.	— and var. stramineola, Dbl.	
Macroglossa stellatarum, L.	— rubricollis, L.	
— fuciformis, L.	Euchelia jacobæ, L.	GEOMETRÆ
— bombyliiformis, Och.	Callimorpha dominula, L.	Urapteryx sambucata, L.
Sesia myopiformis, Bork.	Chelonia plantaginis, L.	Epione apiciaria, Schiff.
— formiciformis, Esp.	— caja, L.	Rumia cratægata, L.
— cynipiformis, Esp.	— villica, L.	Venilia maculata, L.
— tipuliformis, Clerck.	Arctia fuliginosa, L.	Angerona prunaria, L.
— bembeciformis, Hb.	— mendica, Clerck.	Metrocampa margaritaria, L.
— apiformis, Clerck.	— lubricipeda, Esp.	Eurymene dolabraria, L.
Zeuzera æsculi, L.	— menthastri, Esp.	Pericallia syringaria, L.
Cossus ligniperda, Fb.	Liparis chrysorrhæa, L.	Selenia illunaria, Hb.
	— auriflua, Fb.	— illustraria, Hb.
	— salicis, L.	Odontopera bidentata, Clerck.
		Crocallis elinguaris, L.

¹ The list of the Lepidoptera is partly Capt. Vipan's, but several species have been added by the writer and by Mr. Bouskell, Mr. T. H. Briggs, Mr. G. C. Druce, Mr. Eustace Wallis, Mr. W. J. Kaye and others.

² Formerly taken by Mr. F. Bond at Aldwinkle near Waddenham and by the Rev. Hamlet Clark near Towcester. It has also been recorded from Barnwell by Mr. Eustace Wallis, and from Barnwell and Polebrook by Messrs. Hull and Tomalin. I know of no recent captures.—H. G.

³ This beautiful species was formerly abundant in Barnwell Wold, but disappeared suddenly about thirty-nine or forty years ago. Mr. W. Edwards attributes its disappearance to the burning of the locality and the destruction of the food-plant, but Mr. Bostock says it was extirpated by the dealers who caught for sale every specimen they could find. Its disappearance was probably due partly to over collecting, and partly to wet summers and the destruction of the food plant.—H. G.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Ennomos tiliaria, Bork.
 — *fuscantaria*, Haw.
 — *erosaria*, Bork.
 — *angularia*, Bork.
Himera pennaria, L.
Phigalia pilosaria, Hb.
Nyssia hispidaria, Fb.
Biston hirtaria, Clerck.
Amphidasis prodromaria, Scff.
 — *betularia*, L.
Hemerophila abruptaria, Tb.
Cleora lichenaria, Hufn.
Boarmia repandata, L.
 — *rhomboidaria*, Hb.
 — *roboraria*, Schiff.
 — *consortaria*, Fb.
Tephrosia crepuscularia, Hb.
 — *biundularia*, Bork.
 — *punctularia*, Hb.
Pseudoterpna cytisaria, Schiff.
Geometra papilionaria, L.
Iodis vernaria, Hb.
 — *lactearia*, L.
Phorodesma bajularia, Schiff.
Hemithea thymiararia, Gn.
Ephyra punctaria, L.
 — *trilinearia*, Bork.
 — *omicronaria*, Hb.
 — *pendularia*, Clerck.
Asthena luteata, Schiff.
 — *candidata*, Schiff.
Acidalia scutulata, Bork.
 — *bisetata*, Hufn.
 — *incanaria*, Hb.
 — *subsericeata*, Haw.
 — *immutata*, L.
 — *remutaria*, Hb.
 — *imitaria*, Hb.
 — *aversata*, L.
 — *emarginata*, L.
Timandra amataria, L.
Cabera pusaria, L.
 — *exanthemata*, Scop.
Corycia temerata, Hb.
Macaria liturata, Clerck.
Halia wauaria, L.
Strenia clathrata, L.
Panagra petrararia, Hb.
Numeria pulveraria, L.
Fidonia atomaria, L.
 — *piniaria*, L.
Minoa euphorbiata, Fb.
Siona dealbata,¹ L.
Aspilates strigillaria, Hb.
Abraxas grossulariata, L.
 — *ulmata*, Fb.

Ligdia adustata, Schiff.
Lomaspilis marginata, L.
Hybernia rupicaprararia, Hb.
 — *leucopheararia*, Schiff.
 — *aurantiaria*, Esp.
 — *progemmaria*, Hb.
Hybernia defoliaria, Clerck.
Anisopteryx æscularia, Schiff.
Cheimatobia brumata, L.
 — *boreata*, Hb.
Oporabia dilutata, Bork.
Larentia didymata, L.
 — *pectinitaria*, Fues.
Emmelesia alchemillata, L.
 — *albulata*, Schiff.
 — *decolorata*, Hb.
Eupithecia venosata, Fb.
 — *consignata*,² Bork.
 — *centaureata*, Fb.
 — *subfulvata*, Haw.
 — *subumbrata*, Gn.
 — *plumbeolata*, Haw.
 — *isogrammaria*, H.S.
 — *satyrata*, Hb.
 — *pusillata*, Fb.
 — *castigata*, Hb.
 — *lariciata*, Frr.
 — *absinthiata*, Clerck.
 — *minutata*, Gn.
 — *vulgata*, Haw.
 — *tenuiata*, Hb.
 — *subciliata*, Gn.
 — *dodoneata*, Gn.
 — *abbreviata*, Stph.
 — *exiguata*, Hb.
 — *coronata*, Hb.
 — *rectangulata*, L.
Lobophora viretata, Hb.
 — *polycommata*, Hb.
Thera variata, Schiff.
 — *firmata*, Hb.
Hypsipetes elutata, Hb.
Melanthia rubiginata, Fb.
 — *ocellata*, L.
 — *albicillata*, L.
Melanippe rivata, Hb.
 — *subtristata*, Haw.
 — *montanata*, Bork.
 — *fluctuata*, L.
Anticlea rubidata, Fb.
 — *badiata*, Hb.
 — *derivata*, Bork.
Coremia propugnata, Fb.
 — *ferrugata*, Clerck.
 — *unidentaria*, Haw.
 — *quadrifasciaria*, Clerck.

Camptogramma bilineata, L.
Phibalapteryx tersata, Hb.
 — *lignata*, Hb.
 — *vitalbata*, Hb.
Scotosia dubitata, L.
 — *vetulata*, Schiff.
 — *rhamnata*, Schiff.
 — *certata*, Hb.
 — *undulata*, L.
Cidaria miata, L.
 — *corylata*, Thnb.
 — and var. *albocrenata*, Curt.
 — *russata*, Bork.
 — *immanata*, Haw.
 — *suffumata*, Hb.
 — *silaceata*, Hb.
 — *testata*, L.
 — *fulvata*, Forst.
 — *pyraliata*, Fb.
Eubolia mensuraria, Schiff.
 — *palumbaria*, Bork.
Anaitis plagiata, L.

DREPANULIDÆ

Platypteryx falcula, Schiff.
 — *hamula*, Esp.
Cilix spinula, Schiff.

PSEUDO-BOMBYCES

Dicranura furcula, L.
 — *bifida*, Hb.
 — *vinula*, L.
Stauropus fagi, L.
Petasia cassinea, Hb.
Pygæra bucephala, L.
Clostera reclusa, Fb.
Ptilodontis palpina, L.
Notodonta camelina, L.
 — *cuculla*, Esp.
 — *dictæa*, L.
 — *dictæoides*, Esp.
 — *dromedarius*, L.
 — *ziczac*, L.
 — *trepida*, Esp.
 — *chaonia*, Hb.
 — *dodonæa*, Hb.
Diloba cæruleocephala, L.

NOCTUÆ

Thyatira derasa, L.
 — *batis*, L.
Cymatophora duplaris, L.
 — *diluta*, Fb.
 — *or*, Fb.
 — *ocularis*, Gn.
 — *flavicornis*, L.

¹ Mr. T. H. Briggs used to take it between Thurning and Clapton.—H. G.

² Mr. Ambrose Quail records its capture at Northampton in May, 1892 : *Journal of the Northamptonshire Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. viii. p. 115 (1892-93).—H. G.

INSECTS

- Cymatophora ridens*, Fb.
Byrophila perla, Fb.
Acronycta tridens, Schiff.
 — *psi*, L.
 — *leporina*, L.
 — *megacephala*, Fb.
 — *alni*, L.
 — *ligustri*, Fb.
 — *rumicis*, L.
 — *auricoma*, Fb.
Leucania conigera, Fb.
 — *lithargyria*, Esp.
 — *obsoleta*, Hb.
 — *pudorina*, Hb.
 — *littoralis*, Curt.
 — *comma*, L.
 — *straminea*, Tr.
 — *phragmitidis*, Hb.
 — *impura*, Hb.
 — *pallens*, L.
Meliana flammea, Curt.
Nonagria fulva, Hb.
 — *hellmanni*, Evers.
 — *typhæ*, Esp.
 — *lutosa*, Hb.
Gortyna flavago, Esp.
Hydræcia nictitans, Bork.
 — *micacea*, Esp.
Axylia putris, L.
Xylophasia rurea, Fb.
 — *lithoxylea*, Fb.
 — *polyodon*, L.
 — *hepatica*, L.
 — *scolopacina*, Esp.
Aporophyla australis, Bdv.
Neuria saponariæ, Bork.
Heliophobus popularis, Fb.
Charæas graminis, L.
Cerigo cytherea, Fb.
Luperina testacea, Hb.
Mamestra abjecta, Hb.
 — *anceps*, Hb.
 — *brassicæ*, L.
 — *persicariæ*, L.
Apamea basilinea, Fab.
 — *gemina*, Hb.
 — *unanimis*, Tr.
 — *oculea*, Gn.
Miana strigilis, Clerck.
 — *fasciuncula*, Haw.
 — *literosa*, Haw.
 — *furuncula*, Tr.
 — *arcuosa*, Haw.
Grammesia trilinea, Bork.
Caradrina morpheus, Hufn.
 — *alsines*, Brahm.
 — *blanda*, Tr.
Caradrina cubicularis, Bork.
Rusina tenebrosa, Hb.
Agrotis puta, Hb.
 — *suffusa*, Hb.
Agrotis saucia, Hb.
 — *segetum*, Schiff.
 — *exclamationis*, L.
 — *corticea*, Hb.
 — *cinerea*, Hb.
 — *nigricans*, L.
 — *aquilina*, Hb.
 — *ravida*, Hb.
Triphæna ianthina, Esp.
 — *fimbria*, L.
 — *interjecta*, Hb.
 — *subsequa*, Hb.
 — *orbona*, Fb.
 — *pronuba*, L.
Noctua augur, Fb.
 — *plecta*, L.
 — *c-nigrum*, L.
 — *triangulum*, Hufn.
 — *brunnea*, Fb.
 — *festiva*, Hb.
 — *rubi*, View.
 — *umbrosa*, Hb.
 — *baja*, Fb.
 — *xanthographa*, Fb.
Trachea piniperda, Panz.
Tæniocampa gothica, L.
 — *rubricosa*, Fb.
 — *instabilis*, Esp.
 — *opima*, Hb.
 — *populeti*, Fb.
 — *stabilis*, View.
 — *gracilis*, Fb.
 — *miniosa*, Fb.
 — *munda*, Esp.
 — *cruda*, Tr.
Orthosia ypsilon, Bork.
 — *lota*, Clerck.
 — *macilentia*, Hb.
Anchocelis rufina, L.
 — *pistacina*, Fb.
 — *lunosa*, Haw.
 — *litura*, L.
Cerastis vaccinii, L.
 — *spadicea*, Hb.
Scopelosoma satellitia, L.
Xanthia citrigo, L.
 — *cerago*, Fb.
 — *silago*, Hb.
 — *gilvago*, Esp.
 — *ferruginea*, Esp.
Cirrhoëdia xerampelina, Hb.
Tethea subtusa, Fb.
Dicycla oo, L.
Cosmia trapezina, L.
 — *diffinis*, L.
 — *affinis*, L.
 — *pyralina*, View.
Dianthœcia carpophaga, Brk.
 — *capsincola*, Hb.
 — *cucubali*, Fues.
 — *conspersa*, Esp.
Hecatera serena, Fb.
Polia flavicincta, Fb.
Epunda lutulenta, Bork.
 — *viminalis*, Fb.
 — *lichenæa*, Hb.
Miselia oxyacanthæ, L.
Agriopsis aprilina, L.
Phlogophora meticulosa, L.
Euplexia lucipara, L.
Aplecta herbida, Hb.
 — *occulta*, L.
 — *nebulosa*, Hufn.
 — *advena*, Fb.
Hadena adusta, Esp.
 — *protea*, Bork.
 — *dentina*, Esp.
 — *oleracea*, L.
 — *pisi*, L.
 — *thalassina*, Rott.
 — *contigua*, Vill.
 — *genistæ*, Bork.
Xylocampa lithorhiza, Bork.
Calocampa vetusta, Hb.
 — *exoleta*, L.
Xylina semibrunnea, Haw.
Cucullia verbasci, L.
 — *umbratica*, L.
Heliothis marginata, Fb.
Anarta myrtilli, L.
Heliodes arbuti, Fb.
Erastria fuscua, Bork.
Brephos parthenias, L.
 — *notha*, Hb.
Habrostola urticæ, Hb.
Plusia chrysitis, L.
 — *festucæ*, L.
 — *iota*, L.
 — *gamma*, L.
Gonoptera libatrix, L.
Amphipyra pyramidea, L.
 — *tragopogonis*, L.
Mania typica, L.
 — *maura*, L.
Toxocampa pastinum, Tr.
Catocala fraxini, L.
 — *nupta*, L.
Euclidia mi, Clerck.
 — *glyphica*, L.
Phytometra ænea, Hb.

Note.—I have to express my special thanks to Mr. Eustace R. Banks for kindly revising the above list of Lepidoptera.—H. G.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

DELTOIDES, PYRALIDES, CRAMBITES, TORTRICES, TINEÆ AND PTEROPHORI

The following list of Deltoides, Pyralides, Crambites, and Micro-Lepidoptera, observed in the neighbourhood of Northampton, has been compiled by Mr. Eustace R. Banks, from lists by Messrs. W. Hull and H. F. Tomalin, published in the *Journal of the Northamptonshire Natural History Society and Field Club*, vol. iii. pp. 24-26, 47-50 (1884), bringing the long-obsolete classification and nomenclature employed by these authors into accordance with those adopted for the Macro-Lepidoptera. It is doubtful which of our known species are referred to by Messrs. Hull and Tomalin under the names '*Anacamptis angulifasciella* (Curt.)' and '*Glyphipteryx quadrisignella* (Hübner).'—E. R. B.

DELTOIDES

Hypena proboscidalis, L.
Rivula sericealis, Scop.
Herminia tarsipennalis, Tr.
— *grisealis*, Hb.
— *cribralis*, Hb.

PYRALIDES

Pyralis farinalis, L.
Pyrausta purpuralis, L.
Herbula cespitalis, Schiff.
Cataclysta lemnalis, Schiff.
Hydrocampa nymphæalis, Schiff.
— *stagnalis*, Gn.
Botys verticalis, Schiff.
— *urticalis*, Schiff.
Ebulea sambucalis, Schiff.
Pionea margaritalis, Schiff.
Scopula lutealis, Hb.
— *olivalis*, Schiff.
Stenopteryx hybridalis, Hb.
Scoparia truncicolella, Sta.
— *angustea*, Stph.

CRAMBITES

Platytes cerussellus, Schiff.
Crambus ericellus,¹ Hb.
— *margaritellus*, Hb.
— *perlellus*, Scop.
— *tristellus*, Fb.
— *inquinatellus*, Schiff.
— *culmellus*, L.
— *hortuellus*, Hb.
Galleria cerella, F.

TORTRICES

Tortrix pyrastrana, Hb.
— *cratægana*, Hb.
— *sorbiana*, Hb.
— *viridana*, L.
— *ministrana*, L.
— *adjunctana*, Tr.
Dichelia grotiana, Fb.
Teras caudana, Fb.
Ptycholoma lecheana, L.
Spilonota suffusana, Zell.
Cnephasia lepidana, Curt.
Sciaphila virgaureana, Tr.
Semasia woëberana, Schiff.
Carpocapsa pomonana, Schiff.
Xylopoda pariana, Clerck.
Xanthosetia hamana, L.

TINEÆ

Lemmatophila phryganella, Hb.
Diurnea fagella, Fb.
Incurvaria capitella, Clerck.
Nemophora swammerdam-mella, L.
Adela degeerella, L.
— *viridella*, L.
Nematois scabiosellus, Scop.
Hyponomeuta padellus, L.
Cerostoma horridella, Tr.
Depressaria arenella, Schiff.
Gelechia malvella, Hb.
— *populella*, Hb.
— *terrella*, Hb.
'*Anacamptis angulifasciella*,'
Curt.
Chelaria hübnereella, Don.

Harpella geoffrella, L.

Dasycera sulphurella, Fb.
Glyphipteryx thrasonella, Scop.
— *equitella*, Scop.
'*Glyphipteryx quadrisignella*,'
Hübner.
Argyresthia brocheella, Hb.
Gracillaria swederella, Thnb.
— *syringella*, Fb.
— *auroguttella*, Stph.
Ornix anglicella, Sta.
— *torquillella*, Sta.
— *guttea*, Haw.
Coleophora gryphipennella, Bché.
Tischeria marginea, Haw.
Lithocolletis corylifoliella, Haw.
— *emberizæpennella*, Bché.
Cemiostoma spartifoliella, Hb.
— *laburnella*, Heyd.
— *scitella*, Zell.
Nepticula anomalella, Göze.
— *prunetorum*, Sta.
— *aurella*, Fb.

PTEROPHORI

Pterophorus rhododactylus, Fb.
— *trigonodactylus*, Sta.
— *lithodactylus*, Tr.
— *monodactylus*, L.
— *tephradactylus*, Hb.
— *pentadactylus*, L.
Alucita polydactyla, Hb.

¹ Probably included in error. *C. ericellus* has not, we believe, been taken in England anywhere south of Cumberland.—H. G. and E. R. B.

NOTE.—Since this article was written I have examined the collection of Mr. Hull of Northampton. It includes, in addition to the species of Coleoptera enumerated on pp. 90-94, a few species of Orthoptera, and several common species of Neuroptera, Hymenoptera, Diptera and Hemiptera. The collection is too small and incomplete to be regarded as representative of the insect fauna of the county, the publication of the names of the species is consequently considered useless.—H. G.

CRUSTACEANS

In our inland counties the rude forefathers of the hamlet were content with a classification of the animal kingdom in which crustaceans had no share. Apart from a few birds and mammals, aquatic creatures were conveniently grouped as fishes, frogs, and water-fleas. Hermit-crabs that ascend mountains, robber-crabs that climb cocoa-nut palms, river-crabs such as are known in Eastern Europe, and that mischievously abound in Himalayan rice-fields, subtle and audacious land-crabs, like those for which the West Indies are notorious, have no representatives in England. Though our coasts and shores are rich in *Brachyura*, not a single species either normal or abnormal has ventured to explore and settle beyond the limits which are reached by sea-water. On the other hand, the *Macrura*, or long-tailed *Malacostraca*, are represented by a species of no mean interest, the river crayfish. In this, indeed, Englishmen of the present generation have reason to feel a particular pride. It was made the subject of an introduction to zoology at large by their celebrated countryman, the late Professor Huxley. Wishing to exemplify the general truths respecting the development of his favourite science by the study of a special case, he selected the common crayfish as an animal which, he says, 'taking it altogether, is better fitted for my purpose than any other.'¹ It has a further historical importance. In the class of crustacea there is scarcely any peculiarity more striking or more general than that of exuviation, the sloughing of the outer coat in its entirety. This ecdysis, or putting off of the hardened external cuticular layer, by which the growing crustacean at intervals of its life is enabled to expand its dimensions, has been often studied, but it was first thoroughly investigated by Réaumur in the case of the crayfish.

Since these animals are superficially, in everything but size, uncommonly like lobsters, it is natural to ask in what the difference consists. Really the distinctions are rather numerous. The rostrum or beak of the crayfish has a single tooth on each lateral margin, that of the lobster has on each side three teeth. In both forms the tail-part or pleon has six articulated segments and a terminal plate called the telson, but this last piece is cut across by a transverse suture or quasi-articulation in the crayfish, and not so in the lobster. In the lobster all the part in front of the pleon, though representing the fourteen segments proper to the head and trunk, is in fact consolidated, but in the crayfish the last of the four-

¹ *The Crayfish, an Introduction to the study of Zoology*, International Scientific Series, vol. xxviii. 3rd ed. p. 5 (1881).

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teen segments is partly free and slightly mobile. At the base of the outer antenna in the crayfish there is a large flat hair-fringed scale, in place of which the lobster has only a small spike. Less obvious, but not less important, are the differences in the branchiæ or gills. Those known as podobranchiæ have the stem longitudinally split in the lobster but not in the crayfish, and of the so-called pleuro-branchiæ some are rudimentary in the crayfish which in the lobster are well developed. Further details might be added, but these are enough to show that in natural history a hasty glance will not always safely determine genera and species.

Around the technical name of the crayfish a certain amount of controversy still hovers. Huxley himself begins his book by calling our English species *Astacus fluviatilis*, but ends by calling it, though with some reserve, *Astacus torrentium*.¹ Dr. Walter Faxon, an American expert, decides that our species should be named *Astacus pallipes*.² But, whatever may be right for the second name, I personally am convinced that the first or generic name is properly *Potamobius*, and practically Huxley supports this view by placing it in the family *Potamobiidæ*, the name of which can only be sustained by upholding the genus *Potamobius* for the English crayfish.³

The gastronomic value of the species has long been recognized. Its educational value is now even more highly appreciated. Both this and its claim to belong to the fauna of this county are attested by the following quotation. Mr. Beeby Thompson, F.C.S., F.L.S., of Northampton, writing in December, 1886, says :—

‘Several crayfish were recently required for dissection at the Science School, and one of the students undertook to procure them. The specimens were obtained from a shallow part of the river [Nene] near St. Andrew’s Mill. I know that Cray-fish or Caw-fish [? misprint for Craw-fish], as they are commonly called, have been found at this spot for thirty years, but I never saw them or heard of them being found at any other place near Northampton. Perhaps some of our members can give information as to other localities that they inhabit. I for one should be glad to know of such. I may say that two of the specimens caught last May have been in my aquarium ever since, and seem now to be in good condition. They are most interesting animals to watch ; the way in which they seize and devour minute joints of meat shows that they are not altogether free from the occasional human feeling of selfishness. Each of the crayfish has shed its skin once since it became an inhabitant of the present restricted abode. To see one of these crustaceans shed its covering is one of the things I am still desiring ; it seems marvellous how they can get out of it so as to leave such a perfect case of themselves. They appear to hide themselves under the stones much more about the time of shedding their covering, and particularly after it, than at other times.

¹ *The Crayfish, an Introduction to the study of Zoology*, International Scientific Series, vol. xxviii. 3rd ed. p. 296 (1881).

² *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. xx. p. 154 (1884).

³ *Annals and Magazine of Natural History*, ser. 6, vol. xix. p. 120.

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The larger specimen will occasionally get on a piece of floating pumice, and sit there for a time. They are able to travel at a good rate on land, backwards and forwards. In the water they more often go backwards than forwards, probably that they may keep their enemies in sight.’¹

It should be noted that, although the terms crayfish and crawfish are sometimes used indiscriminately and are in origin identical, it is now generally thought convenient to limit the use of the term crayfish to fluviatile genera and species, reserving the name crawfish for the ‘rock-lobsters’ or *Palinuridæ*, which are distinguished by their long and strong second antennæ, and by the comparatively feeble development of their first legs. In a private letter, dated November 7th, 1900, Mr. Thompson obligingly supplements the above extract as follows: ‘The *Crayfish* occurs in many places. I have known it to occur near St. Andrew’s Mill, close to the town of Northampton, for forty years. Other places quoted by Mr. H. F. Tomalin (*Journ. North. Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iv. p. 242) are Bazeley’s Mill (below Upton Mill); Cosford’s Mill, Heyford; Milton Brook; Tecton Brook, below Holdenby Mill; the Tove below Castlethorpe; and at Castlethorpe and Stoke Bruerne.’

When Huxley prefaces his wonderfully elaborate study by referring to the subject of his treatise as ‘one of the commonest and most insignificant of animals,’ his words must not be taken too literally. For in Northamptonshire, as in other counties, there are assuredly many other malacostracan crustacea both commoner and much more insignificant than crayfishes. Thus of the isopod, *Asellus aquaticus* (Linn.), Bate and Westwood write, ‘This is a very common animal, occurring in fresh-water ponds and ditches throughout the kingdom.’² It is half an inch long or less. About the same size is its constant companion, the amphipod, *Gammarus pulex*. No less certainly than these two, may the terrestrial isopods, *Oniscus asellus* and *Porcellio scaber*, be relied on as belonging to the fauna of the county. These, with others of their kith and kin, vulgarly known as woodlice, slaters, sows, or pigs, though they are true crustaceans, have only not been recorded because so commonly things common are accounted to be things of no account.

The freshwater entomostraca have not been so entirely neglected, though these in the number of species on record must be very far below the number of species in existence. The saying that ‘Northamptonshire gives water to all surrounding counties, and receives none in return’³ might suggest a reason for comparative poverty in water-fleas. But this is not a reason on which it would be safe to rely without direct investigation, since the distribution of entomostracan crustacea does not exclusively depend on direct transmission by water. They are often to be found in situations to which no existing streams could have carried them.

Among the species definitely recorded are one or two well deserving attention. The first in systematic position belongs to a set of creatures

¹ *Journal of the Northampton Natural History and Field Club*, vol. iv. p. 172 (December, 1886).

² *British Sessile-eyed Crustacea*, vol. ii. p. 314.

³ *Journ. Northampton Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. i. p. 48 (1880–81).

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which have been described as 'intermittent parasites.' Their hosts, so far as at present known, are always fishes or frogs. Upon these they fasten and suck their juices, to the serious detriment of tender tadpole or the smaller kinds of fish. Then, when a grateful feeling of replenishment supervenes, they relinquish their hold of the now anæmic victims, and swim about with activity in freedom to get up an appetite for another meal. They are classed in an order called *Branchiura*, which contains the single family of the *Argulidæ*. Of this the only representative known in England is the *Argulus foliaceus* (Linn.), the discovery of which in Northamptonshire is thus notified by Mr. H. F. Tomalin:—

'Occurrence of the *Argulus foliaceus* upon the common "trout," *Salmo fario*.

'The trout was caught at Holdenby in June of this year [1883], and thirteen of these parasites were obtained from it; they were however near to the abdominal fins, and not fixed just under the pectoral fins as is more common. The occurrence of this parasite upon the trout is very unusual. Thompson, in his *Natural History of Ireland*, records it as having been obtained from this fish, and it has more recently been recorded in *The Field*.' After an account of the classification, Mr. Tomalin continues: 'The fish-argulus may be found on various fresh-water fish, the two species of sticklebacks being the more general; they swim gracefully, and have a strong resemblance to the seeds of plants. The female is larger than the male, and is distinguished by the black spot on each side of the abdomen; the width is about two lines. They occasionally leave the fish, but not for a long time.'¹

Mr. Beeby Thompson, in a letter already quoted, alluding to Mr. Tomalin's capture, says: 'The same species, I think, I have had on gold-fish in my aquarium—possibly introduced by sticklebacks.' Since gold-fish are of the carp tribe, the *Argulus foliaceus*, which both in England and Germany is often called the carp-louse, would find itself at home upon them. As measurement by lines or twelfths of an inch has gone out of fashion, it may be well to observe that a width of two lines is equivalent to a little over four millimetres, and that the width was mentioned by Mr. Tomalin, rather than the length, probably because these little greenish semi-transparent vampires are disc-like in shape, and not to any striking extent longer than broad. A very remarkable feature in their organization is the transmutation of their second maxillæ into a pair of circular suckers. In this respect they differ from the species of the companion genus *Dolops*, in which these maxillæ end in strong hooks instead of suckers. The *Argulidæ* were at one time arranged with the parasitic *Copepoda*, as in Mr. Tomalin's notice, and to some of the so-called fish-lice of that group they show a marked superficial resemblance. But a different classification is now accepted. Even Claus, the distinguished German zoologist lately deceased, who argued for their removal from the *Branchiopoda*, does not venture to include them among the genuine *Copepoda*. In regard to their habits he is not quite at one

¹ *Journ. Northampton Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 292 (1882-83).

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with Mr. Tomalin, for he says: 'In fact, I have observed that the well-fed *Argulus* can spend many days or even weeks separated from its host without nourishment.'¹

Our next species belongs to a far more important division of the *Branchiopoda*, namely, those which from their divided or biramous second antennæ are called the *Cladocera*, or 'branching-horns.' These include many families, numerous genera, abundance of species, and of individuals innumerable millions. Though this part of the population of Northamptonshire would defy the efforts of any census, it has attracted so little attention that I can only find a single record of a single species. This belongs to the family *Sididæ*, which comprises seven genera. The genus *Sida*, Straus, from which the family name is derived, has indeed only one species, *Sida crystallina* (O. F. Müller). But, to make up for this paucity, you may go from Northamptonshire to Nantes and to Norway, you may visit Berne and Berlin, you may travel to Moscow, to Shanghai, to Lake Superior, and at all these places, in small reservoirs, on the margins of ponds or in large lakes, meet with this little oblong transparent species, passing through the water with 'a sort of rapid running movement,' or affixed to water-weeds by an adhesive apparatus at the back of its head. Dr. Baird mentions among the places at which it has been taken in our islands, 'Back fish-pond at Overstone Park, Northamptonshire, July and August, 1849.'²

Among the *Copepoda*, as among the *Cladocera*, there are several species of so general a distribution that their occurrence may be predicted as much in one county as in another, and the notification of it in any particular locality is almost a matter of chance. It is therefore an odd coincidence that Dr. G. S. Brady in his *British Copepoda* should not expressly record for this county any of the common and well-known species, but on the other hand should record for it one that was, at any rate at the date of his book, a new and rare one. In 1880 he winds up the description of his *Canthocamptus trispinosus*, n. sp., with the words, 'Length one twenty-fifth of an inch (one mm.). Male unknown,' and observes, 'the only known locality for this species is the river Nene at Peterborough, where I took it sparingly in a little woody inlet.'³ It belongs to the family *Harpacticidæ* and to the genus *Canthocamptus* instituted by J. O. Westwood in 1836. The name is evidently compounded of two Greek words meaning a thorn and a bend, since Westwood himself explains that the species 'have the abdomen of the females recurved with a spine beneath at the base.'⁴ On pretence of correction authors have since almost invariably falsified the spelling into *Canthocamptus*, changing the second half which is not really wrong and leaving unaltered the first half, which is evidently derived from *acantha*, a spine,

¹ *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Zoologie*, vol. xxv. p. 277 (1875).

² Baird, *British Entomostraca*, Ray Soc., p. 109, 1850; Dr. Jules Richard, *Annales des Sciences Naturelles, Zoologie*, ser. 7, vol. xviii. p. 336 (1895).

³ Brady, *A Monograph of British Copepoda*, Ray Soc., vol. ii. p. 55, pl. 45, figs. 15-22.

⁴ J. O. Westwood, *The Entomologist's Text Book* p. 115 (1838); Partington's *Cyclopædia*, Art. 'Cyclops' (1836).

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not from canthos, which means a pack-ass, the apple of an eye, or the fellow of a wheel. The specific name of the Northamptonshire species alludes to a character mentioned in the description of the terminal furca, of which Dr. Brady says, 'caudal segments about as long as broad, bearing three stout marginal spines, and two plumose apical setæ.'

Among the little bivalved *Ostracoda* a few species have been tracked to this county by some of our keenest masters of research, Dr. Brady, Canon Norman, and the late David Robertson of Cumbrae. They are as follows: *Prionocypris serrata* (Norman). This species, after passing through the genera *Cypris* and *Erpetocypris* or *Herpetocypris*, has recently been placed by Brady and Norman in a new genus, *Prionocypris*, meaning the *Cypris* with a saw, so named because the extremities of the valves are more or less denticulately serrated. Brady and Robertson are the authorities for its capture in the river Nene at Peterborough.¹

Cypridopsis newtoni, Brady and Robertson, is also found in the river Nene. It has a coarsely hispid surface, is dull green in colour, and attains a length of .85 mm., that is, about a thirtieth of an inch.²

Cypridopsis variegata, Brady and Norman, from the river Nene at Peterborough, was long left undescribed, because of its close resemblance to the preceding species, but its valves are less uniform, its length is only .55 mm., little over a forty-fifth of an inch, and at least in some specimens the ground colour is yellowish, and it is ornamented with black bands.³

Candonopsis kingsleii (Brady and Robertson), taken in the river Nene at Peterborough, was transferred from Baird's genus *Candona* to a new genus *Candonopsis* by the Bohemian writer Vávra, from whom Brady and Norman quote the following generic characters, 'Antennæ six-jointed, with two peculiar sense organs between the fourth and fifth joints. Mandible palp very long. Second maxillæ with a trisetose branchial plate. Caudal rami slender; seta of the dorsal margin absent.'⁴ These characters are taken from the male sex alone.

Candona candida (Müller), of the variety *tumida*, is mentioned by Brady and Norman as being found in the river Nene.⁵ This variety, they say, 'is much shorter and stouter than the typical form,' and in regard to distribution they observe that 'the ordinary form of *C. candida* occurs commonly in ponds and ditches; the variety *tumida* is most common in rivers and dykes subject to tidal influence.' In *Candona*, as defined by Professor Sars, the second antennæ are four-jointed in the female, five-jointed in the male, with two sensory spines on the antepenultimate joint. The mandibular palp is not very long, and the caudal rami have a slender dorsal seta.⁶ Baird explains that he was induced to separate this genus from the old comprehensive genus *Cypris*

¹ Brady and Norman, 'A Monograph of the Marine and Freshwater Ostracoda of the North Atlantic and of North-Western Europe,' part i., *Trans. R. Dublin Soc.*, ser. 2, vol. iv. p. 87 (1889); and part ii., in ser. 2, vol. v. p. 724 (1896).

² *Loc. cit.* part i. p. 90; part ii. p. 725.

⁴ *Loc. cit.* part i. p. 102; part ii. p. 731.

³ *Loc. cit.* part i. p. 91; part ii. p. 725.

⁵ *Loc. cit.* part i. p. 98.

⁶ G. O. Sars, *Ostracoda Mediterranea*, *Arch. Naturv.*, vol. xii. p. 278 (1888).

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of Müller by observing certain correlated distinctions of a very interesting kind. The species which he retained in *Cypris* have on the second antennæ a pencil of long hairs or plumose setæ, and the species endowed in this way swim freely and rapidly through the water, but 'the others are deficient in this apparatus, and, instead of swimming gaily through the limpid element, crawl in the mud at the bottom of the pools in which they are found, or creep along the aquatic plants which grow there, and if dropped into a glass of water fall to the bottom without being able to suspend themselves for the shortest time.' These, he adds, constitute the genus *Candona*, which he first published in 1845.

Candona fabæformis (Fischer) is reported by Brady and Robertson from the river Nene at Peterborough. This bean-shaped *Candona* attains a length of 1 mm. in the female, and 1.25 mm. in the male, the shell of the latter being described as thin and delicate, pellucid, with yellowish patches; the posterior portion of the valves marked with three or four long crescentic lines, which correspond in position with the coils of spermatie tubes.¹

Darwinula stvensoni, Brady and Robertson, sole representative of the family *Darwinulidæ*, is recorded from the river Nene, and said to be 'perhaps the most characteristic Entomostracan of the East Anglian Fen district, where it is widely spread, and often occurs in considerable numbers.'²

Metacypris cordata, Brady and Robertson, is found in the river Nene. The specific name refers to the heart-shaped outline of the valves in the female, when viewed from above. The colour is green, with irregular blotches of darker green or black. The length is one-fiftieth of an inch.

Cytheridea lacustris (G. O. Sars) is reported by Brady and Robertson from the river Nene at Peterborough.³ As might be inferred from its name, it occurs in lakes as well as in rivers.

All the above mentioned *Ostracóda* belong to the section or tribe called *Podocópa*. They and their companions from other groups must be regarded as illustrative samples, not as a detailed catalogue, of the carcinological treasures of this county.

¹ Brady and Norman, 'Monograph,' part i. p. 103.

² *Loc. cit.* part i. p. 122.

³ *Loc. cit.* part i. p. 176.

FISHES

Very little is known of the distribution of fishes in this county, and the only list ever given, so far as I have been able to ascertain, is that contained in John Morton's *Natural History of Northamptonshire*, published in 1712. I have fortunately been assisted by Mr. R. M. Serjeantson, and by my friend Captain Vipan of Stibbington Hall, Wansford, who has very kindly supplied me with notes on the fishes of the river Nene about Peterborough. This, together with Morton's account, has been my source of information in drawing up the following list.

TELEOSTEANS

ACANTHOPTERYGII

1. Perch. *Perca fluviatilis*, Linn.

Common. In the last ten years a fair number of these fish have been taken up to 4 lb. in weight from various lakes in the county. Some even larger ones have been caught, one in the possession of the Rev. R. A. White of St. Giles's, Northampton, weighing nearly 5 lb.

2. Ruff or Pope. *Acerina cernua*, Linn.
Plentiful.

3. Miller's Thumb. *Cottus gobio*, Linn.

Very common in all the small streams running into the Nene.

ANACANTHINI

4. Burbot or Eel-Pout. *Lota vulgaris*, Cuv.

According to Morton rarely met with above Peterborough Bridge; below the bridge, though rare, somewhat more frequent.

5. Flounder. *Pleuronectes flesus*, Linn.

Occasionally found as high up the Nene as Lilford; plentiful below Peterborough.

HEMIBRANCHII

6. Three-spined Stickleback. *Gastrosteus aculeatus*, Linn.

Local and sometimes plentiful.

7. Ten-spined Stickleback. *Gastrosteus pungitius*, Linn.

Common in small ditches and ponds.

HAPLOMI

8. Pike. *Esox lucius*, Linn.

Common. Fish frequently taken up to 20 lb. and more in weight from all parts of the county.

OSTARIOPHYSI

9. Carp. *Cyprinus carpio*, Linn.

A few in the Nene, but very seldom caught.

10. Crucian Carp. *Cyprinus carassius*, Linn.
Doubtful. The gold-fish (var. *auratus*, Linn.) introduced in ponds.

11. Barbel. *Barbus vulgaris*, Cuv.

Captain Vipan has heard of one or two taken, but he cannot vouch for the truth of the statement as he has never seen one.

12. Gudgeon. *Gobio fluviatilis*, Flem.

Common on every shallow.

13. Rudd. *Leuciscus erythrophthalmus*, Linn.

Plentiful locally, especially in Teston reservoir.

14. Roach. *Leuciscus rutilus*, Linn.

Very common, but except in Nene of no great size.

15. Chub. *Leuciscus cephalus*, Linn.

Common.

16. Dace. *Leuciscus dobula*, Linn. (*L. vulgaris*, Day).

Plentiful; mostly on shallows and in quick-running brooks.

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17. Minnow. *Leuciscus phoxinus*, Linn.

Plentiful in places, but not generally distributed.

18. Tench. *Tinca vulgaris*, Cuv.

Common in the deeper pools and ponds, up to 5 lb. weight.

19. Bream. *Abramis brama*, Linn.

Common in the Nene, but with the exception of one or two lakes practically unknown elsewhere.

20. White Bream. *Abramis blicca*, Linn.

Adults occasionally taken, but scarce; young up to 6 inches however frequent, and locally called 'shallow.'

21. Bleak. *Alburnus lucidus*, Heck. & Kner.

Fairly common in the Nene.

22. Loach. *Nemachilus barbatulus*, Linn.

Formerly very common, but now much more scarce.

23. Spined Loach. *Cobitis taenia*, Linn.

One single specimen was taken by Captain Vipan on a ford near Wansford.

MALACOPTERYGII

24. Salmon. *Salmo salar*, Linn.

Was rare in the Nene in Morton's time. Captain Vipan heard of one taken some years ago at Alwalton and given to the late Hon. Charles Fitzwilliam.

25. Trout. *Salmo trutta*, Linn.

The brown trout (*S. fario*, Linn.) is rather plentiful in some of the streams; few in the Nene. Indigenous to most small streams in the county, but Loch Levens were introduced into Teston reservoir, Northampton, and Cransley reservoir, Kettering. Specimens nearly 8 lb. weight have been taken.

26. Smelt. *Osmerus eperlanus*, Linn.

In the spring ascends the river as far up as Peterborough.

APODES

27. Eel. *Anguilla vulgaris*, Turt.

Very common.

GANOIDS

28. Sturgeon. *Acipenser sturio*, Linn.

Specimens up to 8 feet long and 152 lb. weight occasionally ascended the Nene above

Peterborough in Morton's days. Captain Vipan remembers one some years ago at Woodston Stanch near Peterborough.

CYCLOSTOMES

29. Sea Lamprey. *Petromyzon marinus*, Linn.

Morton records a specimen 4 feet long from the Nene. One was taken at Elton in an eel-trap, May, 1898, weighing 2½ lb., and was

presented by Mr. W. T. Tomalin to the Northampton Museum.

30. Lampern. *Petromyzon fluviatilis*, Linn.

Plentiful in brooks running into the Nene.

REPTILES AND BATRACHIANS

As in the case of the fishes, no list of the reptiles of this county exists beyond that in John Morton's *Natural History of Northamptonshire*, 1712. This account is interesting as containing the first allusion, so far as I am aware, to the viviparous nature of the common lizard¹ which, as customary at that early period, was confounded with the newts or efts. Morton spoke of the herpetological fauna as a very poor one, and the information obtained from Mr. Lionel E. Adams of Stafford, and from a young enthusiastic observer, Mr. J. L. Monk, who resided for some years in Northampton, has not resulted in any additions. Only the more common and generally distributed English reptiles and batrachians have been met in the county and there is no authentic record of the natterjack toad (*Bufo calamita*) or of the palmated newt (*Molge palmata*). The ringed snake appears to be fairly common in most parts of the county; captures of the viper are recorded from Harleston Heath and Castle Ashby,² whilst the slow-worm is decidedly rare, except perhaps in Salcey Forest.

REPTILES

LACERTILIA

1. Common Lizard. *Lacerta vivipara*, Jacq.
2. Slow-worm, *Anguis fragilis*, Linn.

OPHIDIA

3. Common or Ringed Snake. *Tropidonotus natrix*, Linn. (*Natrix torquata*, Ray).
4. Common Viper or Adder. *Vipera berus*, Linn.

BATRACHIANS

ECAUDATA

1. Common Frog. *Rana temporaria*, Linn.
2. Common Toad. *Bufo vulgaris*, Laur.

CAUDATA

3. Great Crested Newt. *Molge cristata*, Laur.
4. Common Newt. *Molge vulgaris*, Linn. (*Triton punctatus*, Latr.).

¹ 'They are found with young ones formed in their Belly, and are really *Viviparous*': Morton, *op. cit.* p. 440.

² The wholly black viper, so rare in England, appears to have been found in Morton's time. He says, p. 442: 'A viper is still more uncommon, being no where found with us, unless about Sir John Shaw's Decoy below Pekirk; in which Place as I am told, the Viper-Catchers sometimes meet with one all over black, amongst others of the common Colour.'

BIRDS

Northamptonshire must have been a most interesting field for an ornithologist early in the nineteenth century. Just outside its north-eastern border lay Whittlesea Mere, the haunt of many rare birds, including the bittern, spotted crake, ruff and avocet, and others, which used to wander thence up the Nene Valley. There were many wild, unenclosed upland commons—still called ‘heaths’ or ‘wolds’—where the great bustard used at times to wander, and many interesting open-ground birds occurred, especially at the spring and autumn migration periods. There were large tracts remaining of what had been primeval forest, of which Salcey Forest, Whittlebury Forest, Rockingham Forest, the Bedford Purlieus, and Castor Hanglands, and a few more, still remain as reduced survivals. In these the kite, buzzard, and raven used to breed, and the hen-harrier to be found with other forest-loving species. And an ornithologist in those days—there were not many then—was free to pursue his investigations when and where he chose. Since then the spread of agriculture (especially in the years following the Napoleonic and Crimean wars, with their consequent high profits on corn growing) has brought much of the forest, fen, and common land under the plough, and the old haunts of many of the rarer birds are now unvisited by them, or, if they occur, it is as rare stragglers from over the sea. However much we may regret this as naturalists, we cannot find fault, for naturalists, after all, are specimens of ordinary humanity, plus their special tastes and studies, and the bulk of their individuality cannot help seeing that all this is necessary, and even desirable in the interests of the country. But would that the ‘Yellowstone Park’ idea had only occurred to Englishmen sixty years ago! It is a far-sighted and really patriotic idea, and might have preserved to us restricted areas of immense scientific interest. We are now slowly awakening to it, now that it is all but too late, and, as in the case of Wicken Fen, are preserving the few relics of primeval England for posterity.

There appears to be an opinion—rather a widespread one—in our county, that, since the publication of the late Lord Lilford’s *Birds of Northamptonshire and Neighbourhood*, little or nothing remains to be done in the way of ornithological research within our boundaries. But any one reading the preface and opening paragraphs of that excellent work will find that the author held a strong view to the contrary. The fact is, that the work which has fallen into the hands of us of to-day is one of a totally different character—less striking, perhaps less interesting,

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more minute—than that which our predecessors had to do. It is for us to accumulate masses of minor facts relating to the habits, movements and economy of birds, to serve as material out of which may in time be evolved some definite knowledge of the migration of birds—a subject we as yet know very little about.

Of the movements, and even the relative abundance in the county, of one class of birds—the waders, usually lumped together as ‘sand-pipers’—we are almost entirely ignorant; and the few, like myself, who would gladly pay more attention to them, have next to no opportunities for doing so. So far, as Lord Lilford has said before me, our county is only half observed; we want definite facts recorded every year (authenticated, in the case of birds with which the observer is not personally well acquainted, by specimens), and we want observations from every part of the county, and especially from the larger preserved estates, from very few of which I have at present reports sent to me.

The literature bearing on the subject of Northamptonshire birds is, as Lord Lilford says, very meagre. Morton’s *Natural History of Northamptonshire* (1712) entitles him to be looked upon as the Gilbert White of our county. Baker’s *History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire* (1822–30) contains a few references to the subject. In addition, Lord Lilford’s *Birds of Northamptonshire and Neighbourhood*, published, practically, in three editions (1880–83, 1893, and 1895, but the first two imperfect, and only printed for private circulation), with a few papers in the *Journal of the Northamptonshire Natural History Society* (those by Lord Lilford were mostly printed in duplicate in the *Zoologist*) and a few scattered notices in the *Zoologist* and *Field*, constitute the whole literature of the subject.

To Lord Lilford’s work I must acknowledge my immense indebtedness, without the help of which, with my limited personal opportunities, the adequate performance of the present undertaking would have been impossible.

When a bird is hereinafter described as a ‘resident,’ I desire it to be understood as defining the *species* to be resident, though the individuals are probably all to some extent migratory. A ‘winter visitor’ is a bird that appears with some regularity during the autumn, and makes a stay, only modified by the vicissitudes of weather, until some time in the following spring.

It will be observed that I have excluded several species mentioned by Lord Lilford, but a reference to his pages will show that they occurred outside the boundaries of our county.

In cases where the record of a bird’s occurrence is open to doubt, or its appearance is due to artificial introduction, the entry is placed within square brackets.

Brackets placed round the name of the original describer of a species indicate that he did not employ the generic name which is now adopted.

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1. Missel or Mistletoe Thrush. *Turdus viscivorus*, Linn.
Locally, Stormcock.

Common and resident, though to a certain extent a migrant in spring and autumn; breeds as early as March, usually raising two broods in a season. Morton (1712) adds the local name 'sprite,' a name I have not heard.

2. Song-Thrush. *Turdus musicus*, Linn.
Locally, Mavish.

Very common and resident, though the individuals with us in winter are probably not those which breed with us, as the bird is only a summer visitor to Norway, and a winter visitor to northern Africa, and doubtless migratory everywhere between these points. Breeds early, often in March, in bushes and hedges, and is 'double-brooded.' Very useful in gardens on account of its fondness for snails, etc.

3. Redwing. *Turdus iliacus*, Linn.

A common winter visitor; breeding in colonies in low bushes, or almost on the ground, in Iceland and arctic Europe, reaching us about the end of September and staying till early April; sometimes goes as far south in severe weather as north Africa. No local name that I have heard.

4. Fieldfare. *Turdus pilaris*, Linn.
Locally, Felt or Pigeon-Felt.

A common winter visitor, bolder and more often seen and heard than the last species (though probably not much more abundant), reaching us about the first week in October and staying till mid-April, or occasionally the beginning of May. It breeds usually in forks of birch trees in arctic Europe, and wanders in winter to the Mediterranean shores of Europe, occasionally visiting north Africa. There is no proof that this bird, or the last, has ever nested in Britain.

5. Blackbird. *Turdus merula*, Linn.

Common and resident, which does not prevent its being a migratory bird, as in the case of the thrush. Breeds rather later than that bird, also raising two broods; like all black birds, is liable to albinism, and yellow-coloured varieties are sometimes met with. As a proof of its migratory habits in Britain, I may mention a cock blackbird with a white head, which visited for two years a wood in Northumberland of which I had the shooting; it was always visible from spring to autumn, raised two broods of young birds more or less resembling itself, and after September vanished till next spring. A fine songster, but very tiresome in the fruit season, and less use-

ful to the gardener than the thrush; Lord Lilford (i. 98) has never observed it cracking snails on a stone as the thrush does, nor have I.

6. Ring-Ousel. *Turdus torquatus*, Linn.

A regular migrant, passing through our county in spring and autumn on its way to and from the moors where it breeds (down to Wales and Derbyshire, and even in the wilder mountainous parts of the south-west) to the south. I have not uncommonly seen it when partridge-shooting, usually near high hedges; it is more commonly seen, as far as my experience goes, in mid-Northants (near Irchester) than in the eastern part of the county. Morton reports it to have bred near Clipston, which Lord Lilford properly discredits. Nests on the ground, breeds in arctic regions as well as the mountainous parts of central and even southern Europe (Pyrenees), going southwards in winter to Egypt and north Africa.

7. Wheatear. *Saxicola ænanthe* (Linn.).

A spring and autumn migrant, appearing about the beginning of March and beginning of September. Used to breed not uncommonly on our heaths, but is almost extinct with us as a breeding bird, on account of the gradual cultivation of its breeding grounds. I saw a brood of young birds, barely able to fly, with their parents beside an old quarry near Thornhaugh in 1893, where they had certainly bred; but they have not bred there since; nests are found in a crack of a wall or rock, a mouse-hole, or rabbit-burrow, and they prefer open stony country.

8. Whinchat. *Pratincola rubetra* (Linn.).

A summer visitor, locally common, reaching us in mid-April, breeding on grassy banks and commons, especially railway embankments, leaving about the beginning of September, though birds from further north and west may be seen with us on passage a fortnight later.

9. Stonechat. *Pratincola rubicola* (Linn.).

A resident, though partially migratory; not at all abundant in Northants, as it is a bird that prefers gorse commons, and breeds under whin bushes. Oftenest seen on migration across country in September.

10. Redstart. *Ruticilla phænicurus* (Linn.).
Locally, Firetail.

A summer visitor, appearing early in April, breeding (often twice) in holes in walls, ivy, or decayed trees, leaving us early in September. Its breeding range extends from the North Cape to Spain, and from Britain to the Yenesei.

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11. Black Redstart. *Ruticilla titys* (Scopoli).

The one I saw on Irchester Church on December 2nd, 1883 (this bird is usually a winter visitor), remains the only record for Northants, though what Lord Lilford (*op. cit.* i. 109) calls a fairly circumstantial report of its nesting at Orlingbury was given to me by young Mr. Watts. I am now inclined to think that it was a common redstart, which laid white instead of blue eggs.

12. Robin. *Erithacus rubecula* (Linn.).

Common and resident, though partially migratory—numbers cross the Channel.

13. Nightingale. *Daulias luscini* (Linn.).

A common and welcome summer visitor, arriving early in April, and breeding in thickets, on or close to the ground, leaving early in September. Its breeding range includes all western Europe up to north Germany.

14. Whitethroat. *Sylvia cinerea* (Bechstein).

Locally, Peggy, or Nettle-Creeper, or Nettle-Bird.

A common summer visitor, arriving in mid-April, breeding in thick hedgerows and bushy places, haunting hedges (where its scolding alarm note at every passer-by attracts attention to it), and leaving us about the end of August.

15. Lesser Whitethroat. *Sylvia curruca* (Linn.).

A summer visitor, as common in Northants as I have seen it anywhere, though hardly as plentiful as the common whitethroat. It arrives in mid-April, but often a week later than the last bird, and breeds in thick hedges or brambly thickets, leaving us in mid-September.

16. Blackcap. *Sylvia atricapilla* (Linn.).

A common summer visitor, arriving about mid-April (though I heard and saw a male in full song in my garden at Thornhaugh on April 7th, 1897), breeding in thick bushes or brambly brakes, it is often double-brooded, and leaves us in September.

17. Garden-Warbler. *Sylvia hortensis* (Bechstein).

A summer visitor in moderate numbers, though locally common, arriving at the end of April, breeding in thickets, and leaving us about the end of September. Often very abundant in gardens on its autumn migration.

18. Goldcrest. *Regulus cristatus*, K. L. Koch.

A common resident, especially where coniferous trees are plentiful, breeding about the

beginning of April on the undersides of fir or yew branches. Enormous numbers cross the North Sea in autumn, from which circumstance it happens that goldcrests are most numerous with us in winter.

19. Chiffchaff. *Phylloscopus rufus* (Bechstein).

Our earliest summer visitor, often heard singing early in March, breeding, in some numbers, in thick grass and low bushes (but very seldom on the ground like the two next species), sometimes double-brooded, leaving us from the end of September to the beginning of November.

20. Willow-Warbler. *Phylloscopus trochilus* (Linn.).

A common summer visitor, arriving early in April, building a domed nest, like the preceding and following species, usually on the ground amongst grass, and generally under trees. It is double-brooded, and leaves about the middle of September.

21. Wood-Warbler. *Phylloscopus sibilatrix* (Bechstein).

A summer visitor, rare and local in Northants, only breeding in woods where there is not a great deal of undergrowth, therefore deserting woods where it has bred for some years because they have got too thick underneath, as it is doing about here (Thornhaugh). It reaches us about the middle of April, builds a domed nest, without any feathers as lining, on the ground, very carefully hidden, and leaves us in September. I do not think it is double-brooded.

22. Reed-Warbler. *Acrocephalus streperus* (Vieillot).

A local summer visitor, never found far from our larger streams, where it is pretty abundant. It reaches us at the end of April, builds almost always in reed-beds (but occasionally in bushes near water), rears, I believe, but one brood, and leaves in September.

23. Sedge-Warbler. *Acrocephalus phragmitis* (Bechstein).

A very common summer visitor, arriving about the middle of April, breeding in thick bushy or reedy places, usually, but not always, near water, and leaving us about the end of September.

24. Grasshopper-Warbler. *Locustella naevia* (Boddaert).

A summer visitor, not common, and local in its distribution, preferring young plantations of coniferous trees to breed in. I have known of five nests in one wood the same season, but this is very exceptional in North-

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ants. It is not every one who knows how to find them. This bird may be heard singing (it is not every one, either, who knows its note to be that of a bird at all) from April 9th (my earliest record in the county), but usually a week later; it builds a very carefully-concealed nest amongst young trees and thick grass, and leaves us early in September.

25. Hedge-Sparrow. *Accentor modularis* (Linn.).

A common resident, but partially migratory. Large numbers cross the North Sea annually in autumn and return in spring. Is double-brooded. I have known a pair raise three broods successfully. The male of this pair had a conspicuous mark on him.

26. Dipper. *Cinclus aquaticus*, Bechstein.

A rare occasional visitor, our still streams not being suited to the requirements of this bird, which loves rapid rocky 'becks' of clear water. One example has been obtained at Blatherwycke in 1868, and one at Kettering in 1886; while an example of the Scandinavian form (*Cinclus melanogaster*, Brehm) was shot near Ringstead in 1899, for which see *Lilford* (i. 87-89).

27. Bearded Reedling. *Panurus biarmicus* (Linn.).

A fen bird, lingering in Norfolk and Cambridgeshire. Lord Lilford once observed it near Lilford, the only county record. Peterborough Museum possesses a specimen obtained in the old days at Whittlesea Mere—alas! long drained.

28. British Long-tailed Tit. *Acredula rosea* (Blyth).

Locally, Bottle-Bit or Pudding-Bag.

Common and resident, though rather local. It builds the wonderful nest from which it gains these names in a bush of evergreen, thorn or gorse, sometimes suspended in brambles, in April.

29. Great Tit. *Parus major*, Linn.

A common resident, building in holes in walls or trees, sometimes, at all events, double-brooded. A very useful bird in gardens, as its feeding never extends to fruit, which is the bad habit of the blue tit.

30. British Coal-Tit. *Parus britannicus*, Sharpe and Dresser.

A resident, common in woods, nesting in a hole in a tree, or wall, or mouse-hole in the ground; the nest is nearly always lined with rabbit's or other fur. Eggs laid about April.

31. British Marsh-Tit. *Parus dresseri*, Steineger.

The least common and shyest of the tits with us, nesting in similar places to the last, but, as a rule, in damper localities, and it often lines its nest with the down of the willow-catkin.

32. Blue Tit. *Parus caeruleus*, Linn.
Locally, Blue-Cap.

A common resident, yet numbers cross the North Sea in autumn. Builds in holes in trees and walls, sometimes in the oddest places, in April; is generally insectivorous, but has a detestable habit of damaging large numbers of nearly-ripe pears by pecking a hole near the stalk.

33. Nuthatch. *Sitta caesia*, Wolf.

A resident, which cannot be called common, nor rare, as it is sometimes the one and sometimes the other, and I cannot find any reason for this. It may be due to the temporary local abundance of some favourite insect. Nests in April, usually in a hole in a tree, sometimes in a hole in a wall, filling up the mouth with clay to the size and shape it fancies.

34. Wren. *Troglodytes parvulus*, Koch.

A common resident, but numbers cross the North Sea in autumn. Builds in shrubs, bushes and banks, and all manner of odd places, in early April. It is very fastidious as to the finish of its nest, frequently discontinuing operations on a partially finished one which does not promise to be an artistic success, or perhaps seems too obvious to passers-by. Is double-brooded.

35. Tree-Creeper. *Certhia familiaris*, Linn.

A resident, common in well-wooded districts, placing its nest under loose bark on trees, or in a crack of a tree or building. It is double-brooded.

36. Pied Wagtail. *Motacilla lugubris*, Temminck.

Locally, Dish-washer.

A common summer visitor, partially resident in mild winters. It is known to cross to and from the continent. Breeds early in April, in a hole in a wall usually, but often selects odd places. Is double-brooded.

37. White Wagtail. *Motacilla alba*, Linn.

A rare summer visitor, several times observed by Mr. W. T. Horn at Kingsthorpe Reservoir (*Lilford*, i. 156), and once, certainly, by myself; but no Northants specimens have been obtained, as far as I know, nor has it

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been found breeding within our boundaries. The common continental form with grey back in all stages of plumage.

38. Grey Wagtail. *Motacilla melanope*, Pallas.

A fairly common winter visitor from the end of September to the beginning of March, oftenest seen near water.

39. Yellow Wagtail. *Motacilla raii* (Bonaparte).

A fairly common but rather local summer visitor, very common in the neighbourhood of Wellingborough—of course, by water. Arrives early in April, nesting on the ground near a stream or river (the nest very carefully concealed), leaving in mid-September, at which times very large flocks may be seen in turnip fields.

40. Tree-Pipit. *Anthus trivialis* (Linn.).

Usually, but wrongly, called in Northants the 'titlark,' a name which belongs to the next bird. A summer visitor, pretty common, but rather local in distribution, arriving about the middle of April, nesting on the ground, but always near trees, on which it commonly perches, and leaving again before the end of September.

41. Meadow-Pipit or Titlark. *Anthus pratensis* (Linn.).

A resident in small numbers, much more abundant during the winter. Breeds in two localities only, as far as I am aware, in the county. Is strictly a moorland bird during the summer, and very rarely indeed perches anywhere but on the ground.

[Richard's Pipit. *Anthus richardi*, Vieillot.

Lord Lilford records a doubtful occurrence of this bird (*op. cit.* i. 163), but the bird was not shot, or caught, nor examined by his lordship. Considering the close resemblance between *A. richardi*, and the tawny pipit (*A. campestris*, Linn.), its occurrence cannot be called an ascertained fact.]

42. Golden Oriole. *Oriolus galbula*, Linn.

A rare occasional visitor. Several occurrences are on record (*Lilford*, i. 84), and more recently one of these birds haunted my garden at Thornhaugh for a considerable part of the summer of 1897. It was a female, and fortunately was seen by no one else.

43. Great Grey Shrike. *Lanius excubitor*, Linn.

A rare occasional winter visitor; a number of its occurrences in the county are given by Lord Lilford (i. 69-74).

44. Red-backed Shrike. *Lanius collurio*, Linn.

A summer visitor, though not common, appearing at the beginning of May, nesting in thorn bushes or thick hedges, and leaving us again in August. Much commoner in some years than others. Very fond of sitting on telegraph wires.

45. Waxwing. *Ampelis garrulus*, Linn.

A rare winter visitor from northern Europe, which occasionally visits England in considerable numbers. It is recorded to have occurred in our county a dozen times or so (see *Lilford*, i. 50, etc.).

46. Pied Flycatcher. *Muscicapa atricapilla*, Linn.

A scarce and irregular summer visitor, breeding not uncommonly in Wales and the northern counties of England, which has four times been shot, and once or twice been seen besides, in Northants.

47. Spotted Flycatcher. *Muscicapa grisola*, Linn.

A common summer visitor, reaching us about May-day; nesting in creepers, or trees on garden walls; often raising two broods in the season, and leaving us again about the middle of September. One remained about Thornhaugh Rectory till October 5th last year (1899), but this was very exceptionally late.

48. Swallow. *Hirundo rustica*, Linn.

A common summer visitor, arriving early in April, raising two (or even three) broods, and leaving us by the middle of October, though odd individuals may be occasionally seen a fortnight later.

49. House-Martin. *Chelidon urbica* (Linn.).

A common summer visitor, reaching us within a week of the swallow, raising two broods, and sometimes three. The third brood often dies in the nest, or in the neighbourhood, shortly after being fledged. Is decreasing in numbers in a good many places owing to persecution by the house-sparrow.

50. Sand-Martin. *Cotile riparia* (Linn.).

A common summer visitor, but somewhat local, its abundance depending on the presence of suitable breeding-places. Reaches us early in April, occasionally at the end of March, breeds in banks and quarries, usually raises two broods, and departs again between mid-August and the end of October.

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51. Greenfinch. *Ligurinus chloris* (Linn.).

A common resident, building in shrubs, hedges and bushes, about the middle of April, usually raising two broods, and sometimes three. Rather tiresome in gardens.

52. Hawfinch. *Coccothraustes vulgaris*, Pallas.

A resident, not uncommon, but little noticed owing to its shyness. The young birds, however, do not seem shy when they have found out the green peas. Breeds in May, building its nest at some height in an old apple or other tree, and only raising one brood.

53. Goldfinch. *Carduelis elegans*, Stephens.

A resident, not uncommon, but much persecuted by bird-catchers. Fortunately for itself, its habit is to build its nest in tall trees, often apple trees; the eggs are laid about the middle of May, and a second brood is often reared in September. Large flocks cross the Channel.

54. Siskin. *Carduelis spinus* (Linn.).

Breeds not uncommonly in northern Britain, but with us is a winter visitor in small numbers, most commonly seen by stream sides where alders are plentiful. Crosses the North Sea in some numbers on migration.

55. House-Sparrow. *Passer domesticus* (Linn.).

A common and tiresome resident, having now attached itself to man as a parasite, like the rat and mouse. Its food has been ascertained, by Mr. J. H. Gurney and his friends, by careful dissections on a large scale, to consist largely of corn (75 per cent. for the year), and its supposed usefulness in destroying insects has been at the same time shown to have little foundation in fact.

56. Tree-Sparrow. *Passer montanus* (Linn.).

A resident, fairly common, breeding in holes of trees and hovel roofs in early April, often raising a second or third brood. Crosses the North Sea on migration.

57. Chaffinch. *Fringilla cœlebs*, Linn.

A common resident, its numbers being augmented during the winter by migration. Builds an exquisitely beautiful nest in April, and usually raises a second brood. A very useful bird, on the whole, in gardens, owing to its fondness for chickweed, groundsel and plantain seeds.

58. Brambling. *Fringilla montifringilla*, Linn.

A winter visitor of irregular occurrence, breeding in the northern parts of Europe. Owing to its partiality for beech mast, it is seldom seen (possibly it comes, but does not

remain) when beech masts are barren, and is chiefly noticed in beech woods. Sometimes very abundant.

59. Linnet. *Linota cannabina* (Linn.).

A common resident, breeding in April, building its nest in hedges, bushes, and evergreens, and often rearing two broods; enormous flocks may be seen on stubble fields and commons during the winter, their numbers being augmented, no doubt, by immigration.

60. Mealy Redpoll. *Linota linaria* (Linn.).

A rare winter visitor of irregular occurrence. Breeds in Iceland and arctic Europe. It has been four times obtained in Northamptonshire, but has, no doubt, occurred much more frequently.

61. Lesser Redpoll. *Linota rufescens* (Vieillot).

A resident in small numbers, breeding in most parts of the county, building its nest in high hedges. I have seen four or five sets of eggs taken in Northamptonshire. In the winter it is much more abundant, by immigration from the northern counties, and may sometimes be met with in comparatively large flocks, but generally amongst alders and willows by stream sides.

62. Twite. *Linota flavirostris* (Linn.).

An irregular winter visitor from Scotland and the north of England, where it nests on the ground amongst heather. Usually found with us in flocks in the more open country.

63. Bullfinch. *Pyrrhula europæa*, Vieillot.

A fairly common resident, haunting thickets and shrubberies, where it breeds, nesting in the end of April, and often raising two broods. Often very injurious to plum, gooseberry and currant buds (but the sparrow is just as bad in this way, and does not always get the blame it deserves); it may easily be kept away by a miniature windmill. Otherwise the bullfinch does good in gardens, as it is a great eater of such seeds as those of the dock, plantain and groundsel. A jet-black bullfinch was caught at Old Duston in 1894.

64. Crossbill. *Loxia curvirostra*, Linn.

An irregular winter visitor in small numbers from Scandinavia. A good many instances of its occurrence in Northants may be found in *Lilford* (i. 203-206); and since the publication of that work several further occurrences (in 1898) are to be found reported in the *Northamptonshire Nat. Hist. Soc. Journ.* for 1899.

65. Corn-Bunting. *Emberiza miliaria*, Linn.

Resident all over the county, but nowhere, as far as I have seen, plentiful enough to be

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called common, though not uncommon anywhere. I have always found it most abundant in the maritime parts of Britain. It is a late breeder, having but one brood generally, the eggs being laid at the end of May. As it nests in rough grass, but often in the middle of clover or cornfields, the nest, owing to the then state of vegetation, is not as often seen as that of some other birds which are much rarer. Its numbers in Britain are augmented during the winter by immigration from the continent.

66. Yellow Hammer. *Emberiza citrinella*, Linn.

Locally, Writing-Lark.

A common resident. Its local name is derived from the scribbling marks on its eggs. It breeds during the last fortnight in April, and again later, nesting in thick herbage under a bush or hedge on the ground or a little above it. Crosses the Channel on migration.

67. Cirl Bunting. *Emberiza cirlus*, Linn.

A resident, or irregular resident, in small numbers, but more common, I suspect, than is generally realized, being a good deal like the yellow hammer in appearance and note. Only one specimen appears to have been actually obtained in our county, but I have very strong reason to believe that it has bred at Thorney, which is close to our boundaries. A bird that wants attention throughout our county.

68. Reed-Bunting. *Emberiza schæniclus*, Linn.

Locally, Reed-Sparrow.

Usually called 'black-headed bunting,' which name belongs to a different bird altogether. A pretty common resident by watersides, nesting in April on the ground in thick vegetation, and raising two, sometimes three, broods in the season.

69. Snow-Bunting. *Plectrophenax nivalis* (Linn.).

This bird, though a regular winter visitor to our east coasts, seldom goes far inland except in the northern counties. It only seems to have been obtained in Northamptonshire on two occasions (see *Lilford*, i. 169-172). It breeds in small numbers in the extreme north of Scotland, and abundantly in Iceland and arctic Europe.

70. Starling. *Sturnus vulgaris*, Linn.

Locally, Starnel.

A very abundant resident, and one that deserves every encouragement and protection, as it does an immensity of good without any harm whatever, unless enlarging a hole in a

thatched roof, already made by a sparrow, counts for harm. The starling migrates to and from the continent. Whether it is double-brooded or not is a point on which opinions differ; I have no doubt that it often rears two broods in the season.

71. Rose-coloured Starling. *Pastor roseus* (Linn.).

An irregular and rare visitor to England and western Europe, Asia being its home. It has once been obtained in Northants, by Colonel Cottingham, at Weedon, on September 10th, 1888. It is usually seen in late summer and autumn, and generally associates with flocks of starlings.

72. Jay. *Garrulus glandarius* (Linn.).

A fairly common resident, but is much persecuted by game preservers, and, I am convinced, unjustly. It is seldom seen hunting on the ground, and I have never fairly convicted it of touching any game-bird's eggs. On the contrary, it is a useful check on the wood-pigeon. It is of course confined to wooded districts, where it breeds in tall bushes in April, and is single-brooded, as, I believe, all the *Corvidæ* are. Numbers visit England in winter from the continent.

73. Magpie. *Pica rustica* (Scopoli).

A resident, becoming rare owing to persecution. It is undoubtedly injurious to game eggs, but quite pays for the damage it does in this direction by keeping the numbers of the wood-pigeons and blackbirds down, and by the destruction of snails and slugs as well as mice and insects, which are its general food. The magpie breeds early, often at the end of March, in hedges or low trees, and is single-brooded.

74. Jackdaw. *Corvus monedula*, Linn.

A common resident, consorting usually with rooks, breeding in holes in rocks or buildings, in hollow or ivy-covered trees, in April. Jackdaws cross the sea in autumn in large numbers, returning in spring. I am of opinion that the jackdaw does more harm to game than the jay and the magpie together, especially to the young partridges. Though its normal food consists of worms and insects, and it is to that extent beneficial, the mischief it does is so great that I should be inclined to hand it over to the tender mercies of the gamekeeper.

75. Raven. *Corvus corax*, Linn.

Once a fairly common resident in our county, now, alas, a very rare occasional visitor. Former breeding places are mentioned in *Lilford* (i. 211-216). The famous 'Sankey'

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and his companion at Lilford are the only individuals of this species that I have been fortunate enough to see in Northamptonshire.

76. Carrion-Crow. *Corvus corone*, Linn.

Neither do I hold a brief for this bird ; I am afraid it is inexcusably bad. I would have every bird protected but the sparrow, jackdaw, carrion-crow, grey crow, and, on trout and salmon streams, the heron, merganser and cormorant. No doubt the carrion-crow feeds to some extent on insects, but I cannot believe that it anything like compensates thereby for the harm it does in other ways. It is fairly common with us in wooded districts, breeding at the end of April, placing its nest in a high tree, usually one with a good look-out all round.

77. Grey or Hooded Crow. *Corvus cornix*, Linn.

A regular and undesirable winter visitor in considerable numbers, breeding numerous in north and west Scotland and crossing the sea from northern Europe in October. It is as predatory as the last species ; but, as it leaves us before there are eggs or young birds, the harm it does in our country is comparatively little.

78. Rook. *Corvus frugilegus*, Linn.

This bird, which with us is commonly spoken of as a 'crow,' is a gregarious and common resident. Builds its nest during March, as is well known. Numbers cross the North Sea in the autumn ; I have seen on the east coast a more or less constant stream of rooks and jackdaws coming in from the sea, which lasted all day. I am convinced that the main and favourite food of this bird consists of insects and larvæ, and that, though it cannot be denied that they feed their young partly on half-digested corn, and that some individuals imitate the predacious habits of the carrion-crow with regard to game eggs, I do not believe that the rook offends nearly so much in this respect as his sly associate the jackdaw, and that on the whole he is a most useful friend to agriculture. But the numbers of the rooks ought to be kept within bounds, and any individuals that develop a poaching tendency (they are easily to be recognized) should be dealt with summarily.

79. Skylark. *Alauda arvensis*, Linn.

A common resident, migrating southwards in autumn, and replaced by large flocks from further north. Breeds in April, nesting on the ground amongst vegetation, and raising two broods in the season.

80. Woodlark. *Alauda arborea*, Linn.

A scarce and local resident, or summer visitor, somewhat intermittent in its appearance. It haunts clearings in woods, where it breeds, nesting on the ground amongst grass, from the middle of March to the end of April.

81. Swift. *Cypselus apus* (Linn.).

A summer visitor, locally common, reaching us about the last week in April, breeding in holes in buildings or under eaves, raising but one brood in the season, and leaving us about the first week in September.

82. Nightjar. *Caprimulgus europæus*, Linn.

Locally, Night-Hawk.

A local summer visitor, not uncommon in the eastern part of Northamptonshire, which it reaches the second week in May, breeding on the ground in the edges or clearings of woods, and leaving early in September.

83. Wryneck. *Ijnx torquilla*, Linn.

A not uncommon summer visitor, arriving towards the end of March, breeding about mid-May in a hole in a tree at low elevation, and leaving about the middle of September. A shy, unobtrusive bird, and one which but for its note would be little noticed.

84. Green Woodpecker. *Gecinus viridis* (Linn.).

A not uncommon resident, somewhat local in distribution, from reasons mentioned under species 85. I was struck, in February, 1886, by noticing that this bird, not very abundant about Irchester previously, suddenly seemed to have its numbers largely increased, and became a comparatively common bird. I ascertained subsequently that a good deal of old wood in the vicinity had been recently felled. In east Northamptonshire it is not uncommon, and I have known of several nests in most of the years I have been here. Breeds in April, in holes in trees, and has eggs about the middle of the month.

85. Greater Spotted Woodpecker. *Dendrocopus major* (Linn.).

A scarce resident, affected, like other tree borers, by the limited quantity of older timber now existing, and therefore to be seen most commonly in old parks. The present is the rarest in Northants of the three British species, but it escapes notice from being to a great extent a tree-top bird. It nests in holes in dead branches or decaying trees, at a good height from the ground, about the middle of May.

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86. Lesser Spotted Woodpecker. *Dendrocopos minor* (Linn.).

An uncommon resident, decidedly local in distribution, and one which also escapes notice from the elevation at which it passes much of its time. Commoner than the last, but I should certainly not call it, as Lord Lilford does about Lilford, the commonest Northamptonshire woodpecker. In the east of the county I should say that there are three pairs of the green woodpecker to one of this bird. Nests (often, but not always, at a great height) in holes in trees, and lays its eggs early in May.

87. Kingfisher. *Alcedo ispida*, Linn.

Still manages, in spite of much undeserved persecution, to be a fairly common resident, though I ought to modify the last word by mentioning that in continued frost kingfishers leave the frozen inland waters for the sea shore. They nest as early as the middle of March, and as late as the end of July, but it is difficult to ascertain whether they are double-brooded, or only irregular. The eggs are laid in a hole in a bank, made usually by the birds themselves, but I have known them use an old sand-martin's hole.

88. Roller. *Coracias garrulus*, Linn.

Lord Lilford records that one was seen at Lilford in September, 1859 (vol. i. 253).

89. Hoopoe. *Upupa epops*, Linn.

An irregular occasional visitor, generally in spring. Five times shot (*Lilford*, i. 248-52) in Northants. It visits England so frequently that, if not wantonly massacred (as it usually is), it might become a fairly common resident.

90. Cuckoo. *Cuculus canorus*, Linn.

A common summer visitor, reaching us about the middle of April, and letting everybody know it. It takes the duties of maternity lightly, and 'farms out' its progeny to the care of pied wagtails, pipits, reed and sedge-warblers, hedge-sparrows, and other birds. (I once took an egg from a grasshopper-warbler's nest in Northants, which is very unusual, and no wonder, considering the artfulness of that bird in hiding its nest.) The old cuckoos leave us in July, the young birds often a month later.

91. White or Barn Owl. *Strix flammea*, Linn.

Usually called the 'screech' or 'white' owl.

A not uncommon resident, still, unfortunately, persecuted by 'gamekeepers and ignorant farmers' (Saunders) whose best friend the poor bird is, as it does more efficient work gratis than any ratcatcher. It breeds in April

or May in hollow trees, dovecotes (where it does no harm whatever) and holes in buildings or rocks, sometimes laying its eggs in three pairs and at intervals.

92. Long-eared Owl. *Asio otus* (Linn.).

An uncommon resident, its numbers in the winter being reinforced by immigration. Breeds early in March and lays its eggs in an old squirrel's drey, or the disused nest of a magpie, carrion-crow, or wood-pigeon. Feeds on rats and mice, and small birds up to the size of a blackbird.

93. Short-eared Owl. *Asio accipitrinus* (Pallas).

An uncommon winter visitor (though a few remain and breed in the fens) arriving about the full moon in October and frequenting open ground, not woods; feeds on rats, mice, and small birds, fish, and occasionally insects.

94. Tawny Owl. *Syrnium aluco* (Linn.).

A not uncommon resident, breeding in hollow or ivy-covered trees as a rule, laying its eggs as early as the middle of March or as late as July, though it is not known that it is double-brooded; frequents woods, and feeds on rats, mice, moles, small birds and fish.

95. Little Owl. *Athene noctua* (Scopoli).

A resident, originally imported and turned out by the late Lord Lilford on his estate, and now thoroughly established. It has been massacred as far from Lilford as Earl's Barton. A useful bird—as it lives largely on mice and rats, but also eats small birds and insects—yet many are murdered, on the senseless principle of killing any unfamiliar visitor.

96. Scops-Owl. *Scops giu* (Scopoli).

A very rare visitor to Britain, of which a doubtful occurrence at Duddington is to be found in *Lilford* (i. 57).

97. Marsh-Harrier. *Circus aeruginosus* (Linn.).

The bird seen by Lord Lilford near Aldwinkle (*Lilford*, i. 44) remains the only record for Northamptonshire.

98. Hen-Harrier. *Circus cyaneus* (Linn.).

Of this there is only one occurrence on record, the one shot at Collyweston, September, 1890, but others have been seen at different times.

99. Montagu's Harrier. *Circus cineraceus* (Montagu).

A summer visitor, of which also but one Northamptonshire specimen is on record, shot at Thorpe Waterville, August 31st, 1894. A few pairs still make heroic efforts to breed in a few of the eastern and southern counties, but without much success.

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100. Buzzard. *Buteo vulgaris*, Leach.

Formerly a resident, breeding not uncommonly in trees in the more densely-wooded parts of the county; now, owing to persecution, a rare occasional visitor of which half a dozen modern occurrences in the county are recorded by Lord Lilford (i. 35-39).

101. Rough-legged Buzzard. *Buteo lagopus* (Gmelin).

An occasional winter visitor, of which three or four occurrences in Northants are noted (Lilford, i. 39-40).

102. Golden Eagle. *Aquila chrysaëtus* (Linn.).

Very rare occasional visitor, usually seen in England in winter. One Northants example is on record (Lilford, i. 3-5) shot near Walcot, by Barnack, in October, 1849. 'Golden' eagles are constantly reported in the local papers, but the birds in question are, nineteen times out of twenty, young sea-eagles.

103. White-tailed or Sea-Eagle. *Haliaëtus albicilla* (Linn.).

An occasional winter visitor, haunting sheets of water and living on fish and water-birds, but not averse to any carrion. English examples are usually immature, without the white tail, which is not attained till the bird is five or six years old. It has been four times shot in Northants (Lilford, i. 3-7), and more often seen. I saw one near Milton on October 25th, 1895, and more recently still one has passed two winters at Blatherwycke, where it was carefully protected (an example worthy of imitation) notwithstanding the disturbance it naturally caused amongst the feathered population.

104. Sparrow-Hawk. *Accipiter nisus* (Linn.).

A resident of wandering and migratory habits, which would long since have been exterminated but for the immigration from abroad. I cannot say much in its defence, for it is a bloodthirsty little rascal. Chiefly haunting woodlands, it builds itself a nest, usually in a tree (only occasionally adopting an old one built by a crow or a woodpigeon), and laying its eggs in May.

105. Kite. *Milvus iclinus*, Savigny.

Formerly a resident, breeding not uncommonly in the larger woodlands in Northants; now almost exterminated as a breeding bird in Britain, the greater part of the few occurring at intervals being wanderers from the continent. Many records in Northants (for which the reader is referred to Lilford (i. 30-35), but none newer than 1850.

106. Honey - Buzzard. *Pernis apivorus* (Linn.).

This bird is entirely harmless to game, but has nevertheless been freely destroyed as an enemy by ignorant gamekeepers. It formerly bred in the south of England, not uncommonly, but is now a rare wanderer on passage in autumn, feeding chiefly on the larvæ which it scratches from wasps' nests. Some half a dozen obituary notices may be found in Lilford (i. 41-44).

107. Peregrine Falcon. *Falco peregrinus*, Tunstall.

An occasional winter visitor, staying for some time in woodland districts when not persecuted. Perhaps more plentiful about Lilford than elsewhere in our county, for the above reason. I have seen a good many there in the late Lord Lilford's days, and noticed that they were very indifferent to the proceedings of a shooting party, not having learnt there to fear a gun. I have also there enjoyed partridge hawking with trained peregrines—a magnificent sport. The presence of wild falcons at Lilford certainly had no ill-effect on the quantity of game, or the sport.

108. Hobby. *Falco subbuteo*, Linn.

A not uncommon summer visitor, appearing in May, and breeding in old nests of the crow or wood-pigeon where not persecuted. Chiefly seen in woodland districts.

109. Merlin. *Falco æsalon*, Tunstall.

A winter visitor of not uncommon occurrence, from the north, where it breeds, when permitted, amongst heather on the moors, and where it is, undoubtedly, somewhat destructive to young grouse. With us it does no harm whatever (unless it takes an occasional snipe), as it feeds entirely at that season on small birds, e.g. larks and thrushes. The last merlin I saw here was over our boundary certainly, and was hanging by the legs in Colworth Thick, having been massacred by the keeper.

110. Kestrel or Wind-hover. *Falco tinnunculus*, Linn.

A fairly common resident, and would be commoner, if people only recognized that the bird feeds chiefly on mice (occasionally on small birds, oftener on frogs, grasshoppers, beetles and worms). Occasionally a kestrel develops a vicious habit of visiting the pheasant-coops and taking the chicks, and these individuals ought to have a short shrift, as we punish a vicious man. On the whole, however, a kestrel ought to be protected as strictly as an owl.

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111. Osprey. *Pandion haliaëtus* (Linn.).

A rare occasional visitor, in autumn chiefly. Feeds entirely on fish. Three or four have been shot in Northants, and more seen (*Lilford*, i. 7-9).

112. Cormorant. *Phalacrocorax carbo* (Linn.).

An occasional visitor, usually in winter, much rarer than the following species, and like it only found near water as a rule. Seven specimens have been obtained in our county (*Lilford*). I have seen one or two more.

113. Shag or Green Cormorant. *Phalacrocorax graculus* (Linn.).

Commoner than the last, but appearing under similar conditions.

114. Gannet or Solan Goose. *Sula bassana* (Linn.).

A rare occasional visitor after storms at sea, and usually in winter. Several occurrences noted in *Lilford* (ii. 217-223).

115. Heron. *Ardea cinerea*, Linn.

Common resident, there being two considerable heronries at Althorp and Milton, whence the county is supplied. A harmless and picturesque bird, which should never be interfered with, except perhaps on trout streams.

116. Night-Heron. *Nycticorax griseus* (Linn.).

A rare occasional visitor, found by water. Lord Lilford shot the only specimen obtained hitherto in our county, and in his book, so often referred to by me, takes blame to himself for killing so rare a bird. But his Lordship was then making a collection of birds obtained in the county for the public benefit, and was anxious to add to it an example of a bird unrepresented in the collection, and unverified as occurring in the county. He protected carefully the next individual he met with.

117. Little Bittern. *Ardetta minuta* (Linn.).

Now a rare occasional visitor to Britain, but there is little doubt that it used to breed in the broads district. The only record for Northamptonshire is one by Baker (1830), admitted by Lord Lilford.

118. Bittern. *Botaurus stellaris* (Linn.).

Once common in Northants, as it bred in Whittlesea Mere, or at all events was common there. Now an uncommon occasional visitor, usually butchered when met with. Many examples have been obtained, as the bird usually lies close.

119. White Stork. *Ciconia alba*, Bechstein.

A rare occasional visitor. A small flock was seen near Courteenhall, apparently in the summer of 1875, by Sir Herewald Wake and Mr. W. Tomalin.

120. Grey Lag-Goose. *Anser cinereus*, Meyer.

Lord Lilford (ii. 140, 141) thinks that this species has occurred in Northants, as no doubt it has in early days when it used to breed in the fens. No specimen is on hand to authenticate it.

121. White-fronted Goose. *Anser albifrons* (Scopoli).

The white ring round the beak and the conspicuous black blotches on the breast (*N.B.* —The last and following species have both these marks at times, but much less developed) make records of this bird more frequent with us, though I have known pink-footed geese that have had these marks called 'white-fronted.' Lord Lilford records seven occurrences.

122. Bean-Goose. *Anser segetum* (Gmelin).

A scarce autumn and winter visitor, of irregular appearance, being very often imperfectly distinguished from the next species. Used to visit Northants in much greater numbers than it does now, but the multiplication of guns and gunners in recent years is enough to account for this. Several specimens have been obtained by Lord Lilford, and a lot of nine that I examined at close range near Irchester on December 24th, 1890, were certainly of this species.

123. Pink-footed Goose. *Anser brachyrhynchus*, Baillon.

Probably this species is much the commonest in Britain, but the geese are so imperfectly distinguished, as a rule, that it is difficult to sift evidence. This bird has been satisfactorily identified by Lord Lilford on two occasions. I personally have had no chance of handling wild geese shot in the county.

124. Barnacle-Goose. *Bernicla leucopsis* (Bechstein).

Mr. George Hunt, whom I knew as a careful and accurate observer, once saw six of these birds near Achurch, but it is not on record as having been shot with us.

125. Brent Goose. *Bernicla brenta* (Pallas).

One doubtful record in *Lilford* (ii. 149) of its occurrence at Biggin.

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126. Whooper. *Cygnus musicus*, Bechstein.

A not very uncommon visitor, but irregular, only appearing in cold weather, when the floods are out. There were a number in the Nene valley in February, 1893, and I several times saw a dozen or more. Captain Vipan shot two about then, and Lord Lilford records a number of other occurrences.

127. Bewick's Swan. *Cygnus bewicki*, Yarrell.

An occasional visitor, under similar conditions to the last species. Mr. George Hunt shot several near Lilford in 1879, and Captain Vipan saw a flock of eleven Bewick's swans when he shot the two whoopers mentioned above.

128. Mute Swan. *Cygnus olor* (Gmelin).

Acclimatized on our waters.

129. Common Sheld-Duck. *Tadorna cornuta* (S. G. Gmelin).

A marine species, which has a good many times wandered to our county, where several have been shot.

130. Mallard or Wild Duck. *Anas boschas*, Linn.

A common winter visitor, in nothing like the numbers, however, in which it used to appear. The multiplication of guns, and the consequent scarcity of quiet corners, has much to do with this, which affects all wildfowl. To a certain extent this bird is a resident also, breeding on waters with us where quiet is obtainable.

131. Gadwall. *Anas strepera*, Linn.

A rare winter visitor in small numbers; has been recognized and obtained several times at the decoy and ponds at Lilford.

132. Shoveler. *Spatula clypeata* (Linn.).

A moderately common visitor at all times of year, but chiefly in the spring, and always in small parties. A wild drake once bred with a pinioned duck at Lilford.

133. Pintail. *Dafila acuta* (Linn.).

An occasional visitor in the winter, never in any numbers. A dozen or more records are extant.

134. Teal. *Nettion crecca* (Linn.).

A scarce resident, breeding occasionally; many used to breed in the fens and 'washes,' till cultivation ruined them as fowl-resorts. Pretty plentiful in winter, arriving about the beginning of September.

135. Garganey. *Querquedula circia* (Linn.).

A rare spring visitor in small numbers, which has been four times shot in the county (*Lilford*, ii. 182-183).

136. Wigeon. *Mareca penelope* (Linn.).

A regular autumn visitor to our waters, arriving as early as September 8th, but generally at the end of that month, and remaining till April.

137. Pochard. *Fuligula ferina* (Linn.).

An uncommon winter visitor in Northants, though it breeds in Norfolk and elsewhere in Britain.

138. Tufted Duck. *Fuligula cristata* (Leach).

A not uncommon winter visitor. It breeds in Norfolk and abundantly in Notts, but Lord Lilford does not record it as having done so in Northants, except in captivity, but I have reason to believe that it does. On April 25th, 1898, I saw a male swimming about on Blatherwycke Lake, and from his conduct he led me to believe that there was a female sitting on eggs on an adjacent island. Only male wild ducks were then visible from the same reason. This is only circumstantial evidence, but I believe it may be depended on.

139. Scaup. *Fuligula marila* (Linn.).

A sea-duck, and one hardly fit to eat. An occasional winter visitor to the Nene valley, and half a dozen have been obtained at different times.

140. Goldeneye. *Clangula glaucion* (Linn.).

A not uncommon autumn and winter visitor to our inland waters, in small numbers, nearly always immature birds; old males seldom occur; worthless for the table.

141. Common Scoter. *Ædemia nigra* (Linn.).

A purely marine species, which has thrice been recorded from our county in the early autumn (*Lilford*, ii. 198).

142. Velvet Scoter. *Ædemia fusca* (Linn.).

Once seen near Lilford (*Lilford*, ii. 200).

143. Goosander. *Mergus merganser*, Linn.

A not uncommon winter visitor to our waters, where a good many have been shot at different times.

144. Red-breasted Merganser. *Mergus serrator*, Linn.

A common bird on our coasts, but it seems to visit our county much less frequently than the last; several examples, however, have been obtained in the winter.

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145. Smew. *Mergus albellus*, Linn.

A rare winter visitor, several times seen, but only once shot as yet in our county.

146. Wood-Pigeon or Ring-Dove. *Columba palumbus*, Linn.

A common resident, very numerous in winter owing to immigration from abroad. Breeds in April, and rears three or four broods in the season.

147. Stock-Dove. *Columba ænas*, Linn.

This bird, which is commonly but incorrectly spoken of as the 'rock-dove,' is a common summer resident, less common in winter. Builds in holes in trees or buildings, ivy, or rabbit-burrows, raising two or three broods in the season. I have had young stock-doves hatched in my garden at Thornhaugh on April 1st, and have known them leave the nest as late as November 29th (1898).

148. Turtle-Dove. *Turtur communis*, Selby.

A common summer visitor, reaching us about May-day, breeding in hawthorn and similar bushes, and leaving about the middle of September. Very tiresome to crops of the leguminous kind, especially tares.

149. Pallas's Sand-Grouse. *Syrhaptes paradoxus* (Pallas).

A north-eastern Asiatic wanderer, occasionally visiting Britain in numbers, as in 1863 and 1888. A good many were shot in Northants in the latter year, after which (in spite of the Act of Parliament hastily passed to induce them to stay) they all ungratefully vanished again.

150. Black Grouse. *Tetrao tetrix*, Linn.

A very rare occasional visitor, possibly from Sandringham, possibly from Sherwood Forest. Lord Lilford records an occurrence at Cranford in 1849. Another was shot near Oakham, outside our boundaries, in 1896 (*Northants Nat. Hist. Soc. Journ.*, ix. 166). Last year I saw one (a female, like the two already mentioned), on the rough ground behind Walcot, on my way home from Barnack. It lit on a stone wall, where I was able to stalk it to within 100 yards, and it is a species with which I am familiar from boyhood.

151. Red Grouse. *Lagopus scoticus* (Latham).

A cock grouse was shot in November, 1892, near Warkworth (Northamptonshire). I have long been familiar with the regular migrations of the grouse in the north of England, and the distances to which severe weather will impel them, but this occurrence is another thing altogether; it is permissible,

however, to mention that freshly-caught grouse (netted, by persons whom I must not call poachers, on the edges of other peoples' moors) are a regular article of trade nowadays.

152. Pheasant. *Phasianus colchicus*, Linn.

This species has now been so universally crossed with the Chinese *P. torquatus* and the Japanese *P. versicolor*, that it is in fact a mongrel.

153. Partridge. *Perdix cinerea*, Latham.

A common resident, breeding on the ground, laying about the end of April, and only raising one brood.

154. Red-legged or French Partridge. *Caccabis rufa* (Linn.).

Introduced in Suffolk about 1770, the Frenchman made its appearance in Northants shortly after the year 1840. It is now plentiful, breeding usually on the ground, and laying in the end of April. It is quite erroneous to suppose that this bird drives away the common partridge; I have known a nest of either species within a foot of one another, and the two hens sat harmoniously, and both hatched out.

155. Quail. *Coturnix communis*, Bonnaterre.

An irregular summer visitor, perhaps not so common as it used to be—which is not surprising, considering what an enormous number of quails are netted abroad on the spring migration. Lord Lilford mentions a good many occurrences (i. 311), and since the publication of his work I saw a quail near here (Thornhaugh) dusting itself by the roadside on July 14th, 1896, and nearly a month later some of its eggs were brought to me which had been mowed out in a clover field.

156. Land-Rail or Corn-Crake. *Crex pratensis*, Bechstein.

A common summer visitor.

157. Spotted Crake. *Porzana maruetta* (Leach).

Used to breed (like the last species) in some abundance at Whittlesea Mere, before its drainage; still occurs not uncommonly, and chiefly in autumn. It frequents reed-beds with us, but is also a persistent skulker. I have two county examples.

158. Water-Rail. *Rallus aquaticus*, Linn.

A not uncommon resident, though seldom seen from its skulking habits. No doubt breeds in small numbers with us, though no eggs are extant; an undoubtedly local egg of this species in the Peterboro' Museum is not unlikely to have been taken in the county.

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[Purple Gallinule. *Porphyrio cæruleus*, Vandelli.

Has been several times reported in the county, where there is much more likelihood of the occurrence of *P. smaragdontus*, which is a common 'ornamental waterfowl.' I doubt if the two are often distinguished from one another. In any case the birds recorded have undoubtedly escaped from a private collection.]

159. Moor-Hen or Water-Hen. *Gallinula chloropus* (Linn.).

A common resident, breeding on all rivers, brooks, ponds and lakes.

160. Coot. *Fulica atra*, Linn.

A resident, common on all larger sheets of water, and occasional on rivers. Moves about a good deal in winter, like the last species.

161. Great Bustard. *Otis tarda*, Linn.

Morton (1712) records this bird, then common on all considerable open stretches of land, as only a rare visitor to Northants. It has not occurred of late years.

162. Little Bustard. *Otis tetrax*, Linn.

A rare winter visitor, of which only one occurrence has been noted in our county, which was shot near Rothwell, November 20th, 1858.

163. Stone-Curlew also Norfolk Plover or Thick-knee. *Ædicnemus scolopax* (S. G. Gmelin).

A rare wanderer to our county from Norfolk, where it is a pretty abundant summer visitor to the 'breck' country. Lord Lilford records two occurrences (*Lilford*, ii. 1-2), since which the Rev. F. M. Stopford has sent me notice of one he saw at Tichmarsh, July 26th, 1898.

164. Dotterel. *Eudromias morinellus* (Linn.).

A rare visitor during the autumn and spring migrations, of which the late Lord Lilford received two specimens, and others have been reported, but not obtained.

165. Ringed Plover. *Ægialitis hiaticula* (Linn.).

A rare occasional visitor, of which the only county example is the one in the Northampton Museum, shot in 1866. Such a common bird on the British coasts that it is rather surprising that we have no more records.

166. Golden Plover. *Charadrius pluvialis*, Linn.

A pretty common winter visitor to the Nene valley, seen sometimes in large flocks.

I saw a trip of about fifty on April 19th, 1886, between Irchester and Wollaston, evidently on their way north to breed, nearly all of which had put on the black breast of the summer plumage.

[Grey Plover. *Squatarola helvetica* (Linn.).

Has been reported from Northants, but tangible evidence of its occurrence in the county is still wanting.]

167. Lapwing or Peewit. *Vanellus vulgaris*, Bechstein.

A common resident, breeding in the end of March and throughout April on fallows and rough grass; decreasing in numbers as a breeding bird, owing to the taking of the eggs by man, crows, rooks and jackdaws.

168. Oyster-Catcher. *Hæmatopus ostralegus*, Linn.

A pretty common winter visitor to the more southerly English coasts, wandering rarely inland in England, though in Scotland resident and breeding, often far inland (e.g. in the heart of Perthshire). Has been once shot, and more than once reported as seen or heard in our county (*Lilford*, ii. 27, 28).

169. Grey Phalarope. *Phalaropus fulicarius* (Linn.).

A rare irregular winter visitor to Britain, twice recorded as occurring in Northants (*Lilford*, ii. 33, 34). The red-necked phalarope, *P. hyperboreus* (Linn.), has not yet been obtained in our county.

170. Woodcock. *Scolopax rusticula*, Linn.

A regular autumn visitor, though not in the same numbers in which it occurs in other parts of the British Islands. Has bred occasionally (see *Lilford*, ii. 37, 38), but I have no recent evidence of this. I have had a good deal of experience of woodcocks' nests in the north, and have observed that they require shady and undisturbed woods for daylight, and marshy fields adjacent where they can feed at night and teach their young to probe, carrying them there at nightfall till they can carry themselves. Unless there is the conjunction of these two elements, they seldom or never remain to breed. Now the area in Northants of ground wet enough during the summer to be pierced by a youthful beak and near suitable woods is not very large, and is probably decreasing.

171. Great Snipe. *Gallinago major* (Gmelin).

A rare autumn visitor, most of the so-called great snipes reported being only fine specimens of the following. One has been shot in the county, and several more reported (*Lilford*, ii.

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51, 52). Does not breed in this country, but I have found the nest in Norway and Russian Lapland.

172. Common Snipe. *Gallinago cœlestis* (Frenzel).

A regular autumn and spring visitor, not it seems in as great numbers as formerly, owing to many of its old breeding grounds being reduced to cultivation. It breeds occasionally by the Nene, in quiet spots, laying early in April.

173. Jack Snipe. *Gallinago gallinula* (Linn.).

A not uncommon winter visitor, frequenting similar ground to the last bird, appearing in October. Has never been ascertained to breed in Britain.

174. Dunlin. *Tringa alpina*, Linn.

An occasional visitor in autumn and spring. Very common on the coasts, breeding on fells in north and south-west Britain.

175. Little Stint. *Tringa minuta*, Leisler.

Lord Lilford had several occurrences reported to him, but apparently he never saw a county specimen, nor have I.

176. Curlew-Sandpiper. *Tringa subarquata* (Güldenstädt).

A very rare wanderer to Northants in autumn. The late Mr. George Hunt shot one at Pilton, September 9th, 1887, and one was more recently shot at Naseby reservoir (Northants Nat. Hist. Soc. Journ., 1899). Both were immature.

177. Knot. *Tringa canutus*, Linn.

A very abundant autumn and spring migrant on our coasts, which has thrice wandered to our county and been recognized.

178. Ruff (♀ Reeve). *Machetes pugnax* (Linn.).

Formerly abundant and breeding in the fens, including Whittlesea Mere; now a scarce occasional visitor. Only four recent occurrences are mentioned by Lord Lilford (ii. 78, 79), to which I am able to add a young male obtained by me at Ditchford, near Irchester, on September 22nd, 1890.

179. Common Sandpiper. *Totanus hypoleucus* (Linn.).

This bird, also called the 'summer snipe,' is a migrant, passing through the county in small numbers in April, and returning in early autumn. Has been frequently reported as breeding at Ravensthorpe reservoir, near Northampton; it is much to be regretted that

the nest (which is not a difficult one to find) has not been looked up in the interests of the Northampton Museum.

180. Wood-Sandpiper. *Totanus glareola* (Gmelin).

Much rarer than the last, but occurring under the same circumstances. Several recorded occurrences (Lilford, ii. 90).

181. Green Sandpiper. *Totanus ochropus* (Linn.).

A regular visitor in small numbers on migration in early autumn and spring, frequenting brooks as well as main rivers. Easily recognized by the conspicuous white patch over the tail and the loud double scream on rising.

182. Common Redshank. *Totanus calidris* (Linn.).

An autumn and spring migrant, not very uncommon. A few pairs breed here and there in rough water-meadows. See Lilford in loc. and Nat. Hist. Soc. Journ., vol. x. 16.

183. Spotted or Dusky Redshank. *Totanus fuscus* (Linn.).

A rare autumn and spring visitor, somewhat difficult to distinguish in winter dress from the foregoing at anything but a very short distance. Has been once shot in Northants, at Canon's Ashby, August 28th, 1888.

184. Greenshank. *Totanus canescens* (Gmelin).

A rare visitor in autumn and spring, which has been a good many times recorded as being seen in the county, but on one occasion only obtained (as far as I can gather)—at Whilton, in December, 1885.

185. Bar-tailed Godwit. *Limosa lapponica* (Linn.).

A scarce occasional visitor from autumn to spring; the one I saw at Mr. Field's in Kettering in December, 1885, shot near there, remains the only record hitherto. But the Waders, which resemble one another so closely, and have so many changes of plumage, want a great deal more attention from Northamptonshire observers than they have ever yet had, except near Lilford.

186. Curlew. *Numenius arquata* (Linn.).

Also a passing migrant, seldom touching ground in Northants. I have several times heard them passing over at night, my attention being attracted to them by their call. Two or three have been obtained in the county, which would probably be tired birds resting.

BIRDS

187. Whimbrel. *Numenius phaeopus* (Linn.).

A passing migrant, as a rule in early autumn, seldom stopping, or alighting. Only one example seems to have come to hand, near Thorpe Mandeville, May 16th, 1881.

188. Black Tern. *Hydrochelidon nigra* (Linn.).

Formerly abundant, when it bred in the then undrained fens and meres. Now an irregular visitor to Northants, most commonly seen on the larger sheets of water, reservoirs, etc.

189. Common Tern. *Sterna fluviatilis*, Naumann.

A not uncommon bird of passage in early autumn, wandering up the rivers. The Arctic tern has never been obtained in Northants, as far as is known, though it is likely enough to occur on passage.

190. Little Tern. *Sterna minuta*, Linn.

A rarer visitor than the last, but seen under similar conditions. Lord Lilford gives obituary notices of two only.

191. Brown-headed Gull. *Larus ridibundus*, Linn.

This, usually but wrongly called the black-headed gull, is much the commonest gull in Northants, outnumbering all the other species together. Between Peterborough and Wansford the brown-headed gull seems often to settle for the winter, as on the Serpentine. It has then, of course, lost the sooty-brown head, which it only wears in summer. For its breeding in Norfolk, see *Lilford*, ii. 233-235.

192. Common Gull. *Larus canus*, Linn.

Decidedly uncommon, and only recurring singly, or in small parties, as a casual wanderer; most often in immature dress in early autumn.

193. Herring-Gull. *Larus argentatus*, Gmelin.

One of the commonest gulls in Northants (of course only a passing wanderer at best). I have noticed it on many occasions. Lord Lilford considers it hard to distinguish on the wing from the next species; I am inclined to the opposite opinion, for it is a much slenderer bird in outline.

194. Lesser Black-backed Gull. *Larus fuscus*, Linn.

Not a common visitor to Northants. Lord Lilford only records three undoubted occurrences, but it is oftener seen at the eastern end of the county, where I have thrice been able to identify it, passing over, in six years.

195. Great Black-backed Gull. *Larus marinus*, Linn.

Not uncommon, but usually seen at a great height in stately flight up or down the river. Considerably the largest of the gulls that visit Northants.

196. Kittiwake. *Rissa tridactyla* (Linn.).

One of the scarcer gulls in Northants, and only a rare accidental visitor. I have only once identified it, and Lord Lilford, with his much greater opportunities, only handled three or four Northamptonshire specimens.

[Great Skua. *Megalestris catarrhactes* (Linn.).

A bird was reported to Lord Lilford from the Oxfordshire border under this name, but the reporter subsequently had reason to doubt the correct identification, and thought it was more likely to have been the Pomatorhine skua, so a valuable record is thrown away.]

197. Arctic or Richardson's Skua. *Stercorarius crepidatus* (Gmelin).

A wandering pirate from autumn to spring, which has once only been obtained in Northants—near Houghton Mills, Northampton, October 14th, 1890 (*Lilford*).

198. Long-tailed or Buffon's Skua. *Stercorarius parasiticus* (Linn.).

A rare wanderer, but one which has thrice occurred in Northants (*Lilford*, ii. 249).

199. Common Guillemot. *Uria troile* (Linn.).

A common marine bird, breeding in rocks, of rare occurrence inland. One was obtained at Kislingbury on November 16th, 1864 (*Lilford*, ii. 266).

200. Little Auk. *Mergulus alle* (Linn.).

A scarce winter visitor to our coasts, occasionally, however, in severe winters, appearing in vast numbers, and then driven inland by storms, from which it happens that many more specimens are on record of this arctic species in our inland counties, than of such common British breeding birds as the guillemot and razorbill. 1841 and 1895 were great 'little auk years,' and a good many records are mentioned by Lord Lilford (ii. 260-262), who also mentions that immature puffins were generally reported to him as 'little auks.'

201. Puffin. *Fratercula arctica* (Linn.).

A marine species, which seems to appear inland more frequently than most of its congeners that breed on our coasts in equal abundance. Ten occurrences, mostly of immature birds, are reported in *Lilford* (ii. 262-264).

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202. Great Northern Diver. *Colymbus glacialis*, Linn.

A rare winter visitor, usually keeping to the sea, but occasionally coming inland to rivers and large sheets of water. Three, at least, have been obtained in Northants.

203. Black-throated Diver. *Colymbus arcticus*, Linn.

An occasional winter visitor, scarcer than the last, but of much the same habits. One was shot on Naseby reservoir on October 25th, 1881.

204. Red-throated Diver. *Colymbus septentrionalis*, Linn.

An occasional winter visitor under much the same conditions as the last two species, but decidedly more abundant than either, and oftener seen on rivers. Obtained with us in winter dress, it should be remembered that the red throat is then not worn, being only a summer adornment, as are also the black throats of the last two species.

205. Great Crested Grebe. *Podiceps cristatus* (Linn.).

A resident, wandering about, more or less, from autumn to spring, and breeding upon several of the larger sheets of water in the county, e.g. at Ravensthorpe, Naseby, Blatherwycke, Deene, Canon's Ashby, and Byfield. It is to be feared that the pike in these places get most of the young birds.

206. Red-necked Grebe. *Podiceps griseigena* (Boddaert).

A winter visitor, uncommon, and usually marine in its habits. I have occasionally met with small parties on the north-east coast; it has once been obtained on Naseby reservoir, on February 17th, 1876 (*Lilford*, ii. 281), and one was seen at Saddington reservoir in March, 1899, by Mr. W. J. Horn.

207. Slavonian or Horned Grebe. *Podiceps auritus* (Linn.).

An occasional winter and spring visitor, which has half a dozen times been obtained on ponds and reservoirs in Northants, no doubt on its way to or from Iceland, where it breeds abundantly (see *Lilford*, ii. 282, 283).

208. Eared Grebe. *Podiceps nigricollis* (Brehm).

A rare casual visitor, occurring indifferently at any time of the year, but not known to have bred in Britain. A pair were shot on Daventry reservoir in 1869 (*Lilford*).

209. Little Grebe or Dabchick. *Podiceps fluviatilis* (Tunstall).

Common and resident. A great skulker, therefore little seen in summer when reeds are thick.

210. Storm-Petrel. *Procellaria pelagica*, Linn.

A purely marine species, except during the breeding season; occasionally driven inland by severe gales, and has two or three times occurred in Northants.

211. Leach's or Fork-tailed Petrel. *Oceanodroma leucorhoa* (Vieillot).

A much rarer species than the last, yet it has been obtained four times in Northants (see *Lilford*, ii. 255, 256).

212. Manx Shearwater. *Puffinus anglorum* (Temminck).

A pelagic species occasionally driven inland by storms. Three or four have been obtained in Northants (*Lilford*, ii. 250, 251).

213. Fulmar. *Fulmarus glacialis* (Linn.).

A marine species occasionally driven inland by storms, whereof one specimen is recorded as having occurred near Bainton on April 4th, 1881 (*Lilford*, ii. 253, 254).

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Northamptonshire from its wooded surface and the absence of coal and iron industries has been especially suitable for the preservation of wild animals. Though Rockingham Forest, which in the Middle Ages extended from the north of the county nearly as far as Northampton, has much diminished in size, yet in the large estates in the north of the county considerable patches of the original forest remain. The roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*) and the wild cat (*Felis catus*) are now extinct in the county. The harvest mouse (*Mus minutus*) and the pine marten (*Mustela martes*) are in all probability extinct, though both species have been recorded within the memory of living men. Whether the old white cattle have or have not a claim to be considered indigenous, or even ever free from the control of man,¹ has long been a subject of discussion; but it has been thought desirable to refer to their former preservation in the county. It may also be mentioned that the black rat (*Mus rattus*), the brown rat (*Mus decumanus*), the rabbit (*Lepus cuniculus*) and the fallow deer (*Cervus dama*) are to be regarded as introductions within historic times. The polecat (*Putorius putorius*) is now on the verge of extinction in this county, though apparently not uncommon forty years ago. There is no great probability of any further extension of the present list of species, though the occurrence of the lesser horseshoe bat (*Rhinolophus hipposiderus*) may yet be established.

CHEIROPTERA

1. Long-eared Bat. *Plecotus auritus*, Linn.

This common species is exceedingly plentiful in the county. It may easily be recognized by the length of its ears as it flits about.

2. Barbastelle Bat. *Barbastella barbastellus*, Schreber.

Bell—*Barbastellus daubentonii*.

A rare and local species. The late Lord Lilford recorded a specimen which was brought alive to him from Pilton, near Oundle, in 1894; and he also told me in 1896 that he had two specimens from Titchmarsh Church.

3. Serotine Bat. *Vespertilio serotinus*, Schreber.

Bell—*Scotophilus serotinus*.

This is also a rare and local species. In the

Zoologist for February, 1887, the late Lord Lilford says: 'Although I have never been able hitherto to obtain the serotine in Northamptonshire, I feel certain that it occurs occasionally near Lilford'; and he maintained this opinion in conversation with me. While fishing at Castle Ashby in 1894, I watched a strange bat, which I concluded to be this species.

4. Great or White's Bat (Noctule). *Pipistrellus noctula*, Schreber.

Bell—*Scotophilus noctula*.

This is our largest native species, and its habit of flying in the daylight renders it more familiar than many of the others. Lord Lilford recorded it as 'inhabiting cavities in old trees.' I had a specimen brought me from

¹ 'The Chartley White Cattle,' *Proc. North Staffs Field Club* (January, 1899), by Prof. W. Boyd Dawkins; also *The Wild White Cattle of Great Britain*, by John Storer.

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East Haddon Church, the roof of which forms the abode of a large colony.

5. Pipistrelle or Common Bat. *Pipistrellus pipistrellus*, Schreber.

Bell—*Scotophilus pipistrellus*.

This is universally distributed, and several specimens have been brought to me from different parts of the county.

6. Natterer's Bat. *Myotis nattereri*, Kuhl.

Bell—*Vespertilio nattereri*.

The late Lord Lilford remarks in the *Zoologist* for February, 1887, that this species is

'by no means uncommon in the neighbourhood of Lilford.'

7. Daubenton's Bat. *Myotis daubentoni*, Leisler.

Bell—*Vespertilio daubentonii*.

Bell records this from Milton Park, near Peterborough.

8. Whiskered Bat. *Myotis mystacinus*, Leisler.

Bell—*Vespertilio mystacinus*.

This is a local bat, and the only records for the county that I know of are by Jenyns² and by Lord Lilford.³

INSECTIVORA

9. Hedgehog. *Erinaceus europæus*, Linn.

This is a common animal in the county, though Morton does not mention it.

10. Mole. *Talpa europæa*, Linn.

Morton¹ says: 'The mole too, which, as it is claw-footed, we may admit into this class, has been found of a snow-white in a ditch at Finshed.' Within the last few years orange-coloured specimens have occurred at Billing Lings, and a piebald one near Preston Deanery.

11. Common Shrew. *Sorex araneus*, Linn.

This species is as common throughout the county as it is elsewhere, and forms the chief food of owls.

12. Pigmy Shrew. *Sorex minutus*, Pallas.

Bell—*Sorex pygmæus*.

This is the smallest British quadruped, and, with the exception of a still smaller shrew, the smallest belonging to Europe. I have never caught the little creature itself, but I have found its skull in owls' pellets from Weekley Hall Wood, Grendon Park and Pipwell Abbey, which are portions of the old Rockingham Forest.

13. Water Shrew. *Neomys fodiens*, Pallas.

Bell—*Crossopus fodiens*.

This pretty little animal is far from uncommon. I have found dead specimens in various parts of the county, and also several skulls in owls' pellets.

CARNIVORA

14. Wild Cat. *Felis catus*, Linn.

Though the wild cat has long disappeared from this part of England, we have the following interesting note by Morton: 'Many Years ago we had the Wild Cats in our Northamptonshire Woods. These from their way of living, which is catching Birds, on which chiefly they feed, are here called Birders. The Wild Cat, that however of Whittlewood Forest, is generally of a larger Size, and has a tail many Degrees bigger than the Tame. The Wild Cats differ also in Colour from the common House-Cats. In their Wawling Noise, and other Properties, they agree with them, but their Skins seem to be tann'd, as it were, with the Sun and Weather they are so frequently expos'd to. I mean in respect of the Colour, which for the main is a dusky Red or Yellow, and that in all of them; whereas in the Tame

ones it is various and uncertain. The She Cats at Finshed, and the like Lone-Houses do sometimes wander into the Neighbouring Woods and are gibb'd by the Wild ones there. 'Tis a very difficult matter to tame the Wild Wood Cats, tho taken never so young into the House.'

15. Fox. *Vulpes vulpes*, Linn.

Bell—*Vulpes vulgaris*.

The abundance of foxes in the county is too well known to require remark here, but a note from Morton may be interesting if not credited: 'The Fox. A Bitch-Fox that had been brought up tame at the Worshipful Ch. Tryon's of Bulwick, Esq., was wont to sport and play amongst the Dogs of his Pack, who though true Fox-hunters, treated her like one of their own Kind; she was lin'd by one of

¹ Morton, *The Natural History of Northamptonshire* (1712), p. 445, par. 76.

² Bell, *British Quadrupeds*, 2 edit., p. 67.

³ Harting, *Zoologist*, 1888, p. 163.

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them, and her own Whelps being taken away, she suckled a Litter of Puppies that had been put to her. And hereunto I may fitly add, that at Aston, in 1699, was a Bitch half a Beagle and a great Hunter of Rabbits, who notwithstanding suckled a Nest of young Rabbits together with a Puppy of her own.'

16. Pine Marten. *Mustela martes*, Linn.

Bell—*Martes abietum*.

Until June of 1896 I was afraid that there was no available record of this species in the county; however, my good fortune made me acquainted with Mr. Tyrrel, an old man of eighty, who was bailiff and keeper at Pipwell Abbey till lately. I found him in his trim little garden on the estate, and quite willing to give me any information in his power. 'Yes, he knew the marten cat,' pointing to a spinney close by, 'and he had killed one there fifty years ago, and had sent it to Carlton Hall.'

17. Polecat. *Putorius putorius*, Linn.

Bell—*Mustela putorius*.

This animal, if not extinct in the county, is on the verge of becoming so. I have, however, several interesting records. Morton does not mention it, though it must have been far from rare in his time. The late Mr. R. Rogers of Castle Ashby, near Northampton, once wrote to me: 'I can remember hearing my grandfather relate the incidents of a most exciting chase which he and his men had after a fitchet at Round Hay Farm, Yardley Hastings. It had visited his poultry yards, killing several chickens. As near as I can remember the date would be about 1866-70. Some few years later, 1870-80, another polecat was seen near to Castle Ashby fish-ponds.' Mr. Bazeley of Horsemarket, Northampton, says his father told him that fifty years ago he saw a couple of polecats and young ones playing in a thicket at Pattishall. Mr. Tyrrel of Pipwell told me that the last that he knew of were two which he killed on the estate twenty-five years ago. One was caught alive on the Lilford estate in 1869. Mr. Tye of Northampton has in his possession the skull of a polecat that was given him some fifteen years ago by a keeper from Whittlebury Forest, but unfortunately details of exact locality are missing. Mr. C. E. Wright of Kettering has a record of one being killed about 1882, at Geddington Chase, by F. Wright, the gamekeeper. It was given to the late Mr. W. Lewen of Geddington. Mr. C. E. Wright also informs me that about 1882 he saw three or more polecats on a 'keeper's gallows' at Boughton Park.

In the *Zoologist*, August, 1891, there is a notice of a polecat having been killed at Aynhoe. Mr. W. Tomalin of Northampton tells me that he saw a polecat at Elton, near Warmington, and found some young wood-pigeons killed by it in a nest in a tree. A trap was set, but without effect. Between 1850-54 Mr. Tomalin shot two polecats down the Houghton Brook, one of which, now stuffed, is in the Northampton Museum. It jumped out of an ash tree into the brook, where his fox terrier caught it and killed it.

18. Common Stoat. *Putorius ermineus*, Linn.

Bell—*Mustela erminea*.

Abundant. Mr. C. E. Wright of Kettering has a pair of stuffed stoats all white except the ears and tips of the tails. They were seen hunting a water-rat at Barton Seagrave, and eventually caught it. They did not hesitate to take to the water (March 28th, 1894). Also the same keen observer records another couple all white, except the ears and tips of the tails, in Weekley Hall Wood.

19. Weasel. *Putorius nivalis*, Linn.

Bell—*Mustela vulgaris*.

This animal occurs plentifully in the county. It is rightly encouraged by intelligent farmers, as it does wonders in clearing the farms of rats and mice.

20. Badger. *Meles meles*, Linn.

Bell—*Meles taxus*.

Badgers are known to occur in many places, and are generally left undisturbed until they fall under the suspicion of depredations, which should often be rather laid to the charge of the fox. Three years ago a very large one with two young ones was caught at Grendon. It was charged with worrying some lambs. At Billing Lings there used to be an 'earth.' There are said to be three pairs in Weekley Hall Wood and a pair in Grafton Wood. They were found to be very effective in destroying wasps' nests, and some of the young were sent to Buccleugh, in Scotland, to perform the same office. They also occur in Harleston Firs, Wootton Park, Nobottle Wood, and probably in several other places.

21. Otter. *Lutra lutra*, Linn.

Bell—*Lutra vulgaris*.

Our rivers are so suitable for the otter, that in all probability the animal is more plentiful than is generally supposed. The numerous dead fish which are discovered with the shoulders eaten may probably be accounted for by them. One was killed (1896) in Brigstock Park.

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RODENTIA

22. Squirrel. *Sciurus leucourus*, Kerr.

Bell—*Sciurus vulgaris*.

The squirrel is exceedingly common in this wooded county. In fact, in consequence of the dry warm springs of the last few years, more young ones have been reared than usual, and they have increased to the extent of becoming a nuisance by eating the young fir trees, and have had to be kept under at Harleston Firs and probably other places. The only natural enemies they have to contend with are the owls, which not only take the young ones from the dreys, but kill and eat the old ones. I have an entire skull of a young one from an owl's pellet, and in other pellets I have come across quantities of the fur. In one instance Mr. C. E. Wright found the remains of an adult squirrel close to an owl's nest mutilated in a similar way to that in which they treat young rabbits, that is, with the flesh torn off the bones, which are usually left entire.¹ It is curious that there is no mention of the squirrel by Morton.

23. Dormouse. *Muscardinus avellanarius*, Linn.

Bell—*Myoxus avellanarius*.

The dormouse is another of those animals which with us are found most frequently in those woodlands which have survived from ancient forests. In Great Oakley Wood scores of the summer nests may be seen in the thickets. In Yardley Chase also I found one. These nests are often built under an old birds' nest, and Mr. C. E. Wright tells me of a remarkable one built on the platform of an old ring-doves' nest. In these nests the young are born and make their summer quarters; in winter they hibernate in nests of moss beneath the surface of the ground.

24. Brown Rat. *Mus decumanus*, Pallas.

This species is as common in Northamptonshire as elsewhere. I have found tails and mangled remains of young rats beneath rooks' nests.

25. Black Rat. *Mus rattus*, Linn.

I can obtain two records of the old English rat. Mr. C. E. Wright informs me that some were killed in a granary at Kettering in 1881. He has also seen the skin of one killed by Mr. W. Freeman at Denver, near Thrapston, in May, 1898.

¹ A rabbit eaten by a fox is generally devoured skin and bones together, and one eaten by a cat has the skin turned inside out.

26. House Mouse. *Mus musculus*, Linn.

This mouse we have ever with us, and its existence is too evident to need further comment.

27. Wood Mouse or Long-tailed Field Mouse. *Mus sylvaticus*, Linn.

The long-tailed field mouse, or wood mouse, is very plentiful in the county. Owls consume a great many of them.

28. Yellow-necked Mouse. *Mus flavicollis*, Melchior.

This mouse differs from the last in its greater size, and in having a broad band of yellow on its breast instead of a spot only of that colour. The only recorded specimen for this county came from Lilford, and its skin is now in the British Museum.²

29. Harvest Mouse. *Mus minutus*, Pallas.

This pretty little animal would seem to be now extinct in the county, the machinery used nowadays for cutting the corn leaving very little shelter for it. The late Lord Lilford once told me that he remembered the characteristic nests about thirty years ago in the neighbourhood of Lilford; and Mr. W. Tomalin remembers to have seen the nests forty years ago on wheat stalks in the county.

30. Water Vole. *Microtus amphibius*, Linn.

Bell—*Arvicola amphibius*.

The water vole, so often mistaken for the brown rat, is plentiful along our streams, and needs no further comment.

31. Field Vole. *Microtus agrestis*, Linn.

Bell—*Arvicola agrestis*.

The field vole, or short-tailed field mouse, is abundant in all parts of the county, and I have frequently trapped it. According to Morton it was first described in this country by Ray. He says (p. 443): 'The *Mus agrestis capite grandi brachiuros*, Raij. *Synop. Quadrup.*, p. 218. The Short-tailed Mouse with a great Head. The Head indeed is remarkably large, as the Tail is Short. Mr. Ray, of all the Zoologists, is the First that has given us a Description of this Creature. 'Tis found with us in Oxendon Home-Closes, and in the Grounds at Kelmarsh, generally in the richer Sort of Pastures; but it is not common. It nests under Ground, and is seldom or never found in Houses.'

² M. de Winton, *Zoologist*, Dec. 1894.

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32. Bank Vole. *Evotomys glareolus*, Schreber.
Bell—*Arvicola glareolus*.

This species is also very common in the county. It is eagerly sought for by owls as the numbers of skulls in pellets testify. Like the last species and the long-tailed field mouse, it does much damage to garden bulbs.

33. Common Hare. *Lepus europæus*, Pallas.
Bell—*Lepus timidus*.

This is too well known as a common species in the county to call for further remark.

34. Rabbit. *Lepus cuniculus*, Linn.
Abundant.

UNGULATA

- [White Wild Cattle. *Bos taurus*, Linn.

In the Survey of Holdenby drawn up by Parliamentary Commission in 1650, when the property was broken up, mention is made of 'eleven cowes and three calves of Wyld Catell' which were then valued for sale.]

35. Red Deer. *Cervus elaphus*, Linn.

Though no longer wild in this county, probably some of those now existing may be the descendants of wild ones enclosed at the time the parks were formed. Mr. J. Whitaker¹ states that there were red deer in the time of Henry VIII. in Rockingham Park, 'but when they ceased is not known.' The same authority gives the following list:—

Deene Park	containing	20	red deer
Whittlebury Park	"	100	" "
Blatherwycke Park	"	30	" "

36. Fallow Deer. *Cervus dama*, Linn.

In Rockingham there are a small number of wild fallow deer, which wander from one wood to another, jumping the fences at pleasure. The following list of herds is given by Mr. Whitaker:—¹

¹ *Deer Parks and Paddocks of England*, 1892.

[A short note on the deer may be added. There is reason to think that the last red deer which was wild (*i.e.* not in a park or enclosure) was shot on Sir Arthur Brooke's estate at Great Oakley some twenty-five years ago. But there is no proof that there has been an uninterrupted succession of wild red deer from the earliest times till within living memory. The one above-mentioned had probably escaped from Deene or Blatherwycke, but as said above these herds are probably the descendants of the wild red deer of Rockingham Forest. Similarly, with regard to the fallow deer, it is impossible to prove, though it is unlikely, that the wild fallow deer mentioned above have not themselves or their recent ancestors escaped from Boughton, Deene or Rockingham. There is much difference of local opinion on this point. In Wise's book, *Rockingham and the Watsons*, the author says: 'Many persons now living remember the wholesale shooting of the deer and the sale of others and their transportation to happier hunting grounds, and are fond of recounting how their families used to feed on venison when those deer seemed to be no man's property and the forest laws a dead letter.' But it may be taken as certain that the fallow deer now in Boughton, Deene, Rockingham, Blatherwycke, Carlton and Milton parks are the old forest breed of fallow deer, and great pains have for years been taken by the owners of some of these parks to maintain the purity of the breed.]—W. R. D. A.

Burghley Park . . .	containing	200	fallow deer
Althorp Park . . .	"	130	" "
Deene Park . . .	"	100	" "
Whittlebury Park . .	"	300	" "
Blatherwycke Park . .	"	300	" "
Rockingham Park . .	"	200	" "
Boughton Park . . .	"	250	" "
Milton Park . . .	"	115	" "
Fawsley Park . . .	"	300	" "
Farming Woods Park .	"	215	" "
Yardley Chase . . .	"	150	" "
Aynhoe Park . . .	"	100	" "
Cottesbrooke Park . .	"	200	" "
Norton Park . . .	"	100	" "
Lilford Park . . .	"	255	" "
Carlton Park . . .	"	70	" "
Canons Ashby Park . .	"	100	" "
The Spinney Park, Lichborough . .	"	40	" "

37. Roe Deer. *Capreolus capreolus*, Linn.
Bell—*Capreolus caprea*.

Mr. T. George, curator of the Northampton Museum, has shown me undoubted horns of this species dug up at Danes' Camp, and also a very perfect horn found recently in a brickyard near Northampton. The roe deer was once universally distributed over the island of Great Britain, and remains are found in brick-earth in many places.





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WHEN the Romans under Julius Cæsar invaded Britain in the years 55 and 54 B.C., they found the country inhabited by an extensive population living in tribes, those nearest to Gaul being the most civilized. Cæsar, who never penetrated far into the interior of the country, could only have gained his knowledge of the inland tribes from hearsay, and not from personal observation. He says¹ that it is handed down by tradition that the people of the interior are the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants. Now during the last half-century archæology has grown into a science under which the numerous remains of Prehistoric man found in the British Isles have been arranged and classified into certain ages or periods. Archæologists tell us that after Britain became an island, it was inhabited by a race of people belonging to what is called the Neolithic or New Stone age. These men were a small, dark, long-headed race, whose remains have been found in many parts of England and Wales, and in Scotland as far north as the Orkneys. Dr. Munro writes of them: 'Their faces were oval and rather short; their features good, with flat cheek bones, fine jaws and prominent chins. They were evidently dark of skin, hair and eyes; on the whole their expression must have been mild and humane.' These Neolithic peoples were succeeded and conquered and probably for the most part absorbed by a taller race of men of rounder skulls and lighter hair, who brought new burial customs with them and who used weapons of bronze. The descendants of this taller race, together with the immigrants of certain Gaulish and Belgic tribes, formed the bulk of the population of Britain at the time of Cæsar's invasion. Cæsar states that 'the inhabitants of Kent did not differ much from the Gallic tribes'; and speaking of the island generally, he says that 'the Maritime portion was inhabited by those who had passed over from the country of the Belgæ for the purpose of plunder and making war.' But to go back to a time previous to the appearance of Neolithic man, geologists inform us that in the Pleistocene age that part of the earth afterwards called Britain, and now called England, formed part of the continent, and that it was inhabited by a fauna very different from that of the succeeding Neolithic age. That man inhabited the southern part of the country is proved by the discovery of many stone implements

¹ *De bello Gallico*, book v. chap. xii.

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found in the same gravels as this fauna. These implements are rudely chipped into the form man required, and the age has been thereby termed the Palæolithic age.¹ As has been stated, all the remains of Prehistoric men who successively inhabited this small quarter of the world prior to the Roman invasion have been arranged, classified and grouped into certain periods; these, beginning with the oldest, are termed respectively the Palæolithic or Old Stone age, the Neolithic or New Stone age, the Bronze age and Prehistoric Iron age. In dealing with these ages or periods of primitive man one must not draw any hard and fast line between them, for they will be found to overlap; for instance, the use of stone would be likely to continue into the Bronze age, and stone for some purposes may have been more useful than bronze; so in the Prehistoric Iron age on the introduction of iron the use of bronze did not cease but was continued for ornamental purposes, as it was more capable of receiving ornament and decoration.

THE PALÆOLITHIC AGE

The remains of Palæolithic men are usually grouped in two divisions, those of the River Drift man, so called because his weapons are found in the drift or gravels of the old rivers, and the Cave man, whose remains are found in the débris of caves.

That we can prove the presence of Palæolithic man in this county is shown by the occurrence of several specimens of implements found in gravels of the Nene valley. There are not many, it is true, but quite sufficient to prove his appearance here, and no doubt more would turn up if diligently sought for. Sir John Evans possesses one which he himself picked up from a heap of gravel near King's Langley. The gravel, he found on inquiry, came from near Oundle; and in 1882 a man working in a ballast pit in the parish of Fotheringhay, between Oundle and Elton stations, brought to the writer a fine implement which is also now in Sir John Evans' collection. Other specimens were found in gravels of the Nene valley by the late Dowager Marchioness of Huntley, but these came from Orton Longueville, which is on the Huntingdonshire side of the Nene. Until the discovery in 1890 of a Palæolithic implement from the valley of the Rea at Saltley near Birmingham, the Nene valley was the most northern limit which had yielded implements *in situ* of this period.

The remains of Cave men who belonged to a later period of the Palæolithic age than the River Drift men are known from the deposits of certain caves, such as Kent's Caves and Brixham Cave, near Torquay, and the caves of Creswell Crags in Derbyshire, which were discovered by Prof. Boyd Dawkins and the Rev. J. M. Mello in 1875. In one of these, the Robin Hood Cave, over one thousand pieces of stone and bone, showing evidence of man's handiwork, were obtained. The most remarkable relic was a smooth portion of a rib with the head and fore-

¹ From *palaios* (παλαιος), ancient; *lithos* (λιθος), a stone.

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part of a horse drawn upon it with a sharp pointed tool. The bones of the animals found in the Church Hole Cave (in which 213 remains of man were found) were those of the lion, hyæna, bear, Irish elk, woolly rhinoceros and mammoth. In Northamptonshire no remains of Cave men are known. Professor Boyd Dawkins' conclusion as to the Cave man is that he is represented at the present day by the Eskimos ; and speaking of the River Drift man he says : ' We cannot refer them to any of the human race now living. But they are as completely extinct among the peoples of India as among those of Europe.'¹

THE NEOLITHIC AGE

In due course of time the land sank, allowing the low-lying ground which lay on the east, south and west to become covered with seas, and what is now known as Great Britain became an island. All traces of Palæolithic man were swept away, five of the largest animals living in the previous age totally disappeared, while many others which lived during the Palæolithic age departed to other climes, some to the northern regions and some to the southern area. A different race of men now makes its appearance, who must have crossed the seas. The implements and weapons of these men, though still made of stone, show a great improvement in their construction ; they are not merely chipped into the form required, as they were in the Palæolithic age, but are ground down to a cutting edge and are polished. The implements are not found in such deposits as the gravels of the old rivers ; they are obtained from the various surface deposits or from burials of this age. The barrows which antiquaries agree in attributing to the Neolithic age are the long barrows, where the dead were buried in a crouching or contracted position, often accompanied by their weapons of stone. Most of the long barrows stand east and west with one end (the eastern) higher and wider than the other. Some of the long barrows had within them chambered tombs, while others were of simpler construction. Long barrows are more numerous in Wiltshire than in any other county, as many as sixty being reckoned by Dr. Thurnam ; of these, eleven, all in the north of Wiltshire, are chambered. Gloucestershire is another county rich in long barrows, especially of the chambered kind.

The researches of anthropologists have shown that the Neolithic man was of small stature, averaging about 5 feet 5 inches in height ; his skull was of the ' dolichocephalic ' or long-headed type, with dark hair ; in shape his face was oval. Skulls having these characteristics have been found in many places in England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland, ' under circumstances,' Professor Boyd Dawkins writes, ' which render it impossible to doubt that the whole of the British Isles was inhabited to the close of the Neolithic age by man in the same state of culture.' Neolithic man possessed a knowledge of agriculture (the Neolithic inhabitants of some of the earlier Swiss lake dwellings grew no less

¹ *Early Man in Britain*, by W. Boyd Dawkins.

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than eight different kinds of cereals); he appears in this country accompanied by domestic animals, such as the dog, sheep, goat, pig and horse; he was acquainted with spinning, weaving and pottery-making; remains of his mining operations for flint to make his implements and weapons have been found at Brandon in Suffolk and at Cissbury Camp near Worthing. Altogether, judging from his remains, we may conclude that the advance of Neolithic man in civilization was a decidedly marked one as compared with Palæolithic man, who lived in the hunter stage of existence. During the Neolithic age in Britain man was a farmer, a manufacturer, a miner. The same kind of domestic animals they brought with them are with us at the present, and (in spite of the bad times) the farmer still grows the cereals introduced by Neolithic man. Remains of the same little, long-headed people have been found in Belgium, France and Spain, and in the peat bogs of Denmark and the north of Germany the same type of skull occurs, showing that man in this state of culture had spread over a wide area on the continent. They are thought to have been the Iberians of history. Those people which most resemble them at the present day and who are held to be of the Iberic stock are the Basques of the Pyrenees.

In both this age and the succeeding one of Bronze, it is most probable that the greater part of what is now Northamptonshire consisted of forest and swamp, with a large tract of upland in the centre. The north-eastern side of the county lying east of a line drawn from about Market Harborough to Northampton, and extending to the Fen country in the neighbourhood of Peterborough, was one vast forest (known in later times as Rockingham Forest¹) lying between the two valleys now occupied by the fertile meadows of the Nene and the Welland, which were at this early period but marsh and morass, and through which the rivers followed their sluggish course to the sea. To the west of this line lay the upland district. In the southern part of the county probably there was another large area of woodland; part of this is now represented by the remains of Salcey and Whittlebury Forests, at that time conterminous. Northamptonshire then being under those conditions, we need not wonder at the somewhat scanty remains of this period found within the limits of the county as compared with the richness of the remains found in some of those counties which possess higher ground, upon the summits of which the earlier inhabitants placed their camps and refuges, and upon whose slopes so many remains of their habitations are still to be seen.

In the standard English work on Stone Implements² the author gives an index to the localities of the finds of Palæolithic and Neolithic weapons, etc., arranged under the counties they have been discovered in. From this index have been taken the numbers of places in those counties

¹ In a perambulation dated 14th of Edward I. Rockingham Forest is described as extending from Northampton to Stamford, and from the river Nene on the south to the Welland and Maidwell on the north-east.

² *The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons and Ornaments of Great Britain*, by Sir John Evans, 2 ed. (1897).



SPEARHEAD FOUND AT WELDON.

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adjoining or abutting on Northamptonshire which have yielded Neolithic implements. The following eight counties, Lincolnshire, Rutland, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Oxon, Bucks, Beds and Hunts have altogether provided about 40 localities, while in Yorkshire above 134 spots are enumerated, Derbyshire 57, Dorsetshire 24, Wilts over 70, Sussex 32, Kent 28, Suffolk 53 and Norfolk 48, making a total from this second group of eight counties of nearly 450 places. This great difference cannot be put down entirely to the greater diligence of local collectors, though no doubt those counties which possess so many visible evidences of early man have attracted more attention than those less favoured. It will be seen that the last group includes counties like Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Sussex, Kent, etc., which contain large tracts of downs, Yorkshire with its wolds and Derbyshire with its moorland; all these counties have within their borders many more ocular evidences of the early people through the presence of their tumuli than the central parts of England, with its gentle undulating counties, which were for the most part largely covered with woodland. We may presume that Neolithic man's more favoured spots for his settlements and camps were on the high and dry ground where the subsoil was of a porous nature, such as the chalk, in preference to those parts covered with thick forests or undrained marshes.

Northamptonshire is given in Sir John Evans' work as providing nine places where Neolithic implements and weapons have been discovered. The index at the end of this article shows a list of more than thirty localities which have yielded Neolithic remains from the county. These consist chiefly of isolated specimens of polished celts or axes which have been found in various parts of Northamptonshire. Five good specimens have been obtained from Northampton; portions of four celts, with one perfect one of a peculiar green slaty kind of stone, were found between Gretton and Kirby Hall; other specimens have come to hand from King's Sutton, Everdon, Towcester, Courteenhall, Great Harrowden, Weldon, Castor, and Eye near Peterborough. Flint arrow-heads have been found at Duston and Oundle, and a finely worked spear-head or dagger of flint was obtained at Norton by Mr. B. Botfield in 1862. This was associated with a burial in which the skeleton was in an extended position and not in the usually contracted posture. Sir John Evans attributed it to the latter part of the Neolithic period. Another very beautiful specimen of this same type was found in a field called Little Wansford, in the parish of Weldon, in 1890. Hammer-heads of stone have been found at Singlesole in the Fens and from the neighbourhood of Gretton. Worked flints, such as the so-called thumb flints, have been obtained from Borough Hill, Hunsbury Hill, Blisworth, Roade, Moulton, etc. Burials of this period have been noted at Great Houghton and at Norton; with the remains at the latter place was found an earthen vessel as well as the spearhead mentioned above. Baker describes a burial at Aynho which also might belong to this age. With these exceptions, no other traces of Neolithic

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man's burying places are known in Northamptonshire, nor have any traces of his dwelling places been found in the county, though it is possible that the camps at Borough Hill and Arbury Hill in Thenford parish and Rainsborough Camp might have been constructed in Neolithic times. All that we can say from his remains which have been found in this county is that he wandered about probably in somewhat scanty numbers. Judging from the positions of the finds of his weapons, etc., may we not conjecture that he proceeded much upon the same general lines as the exploring Englishman of to-day, that is, skirting the edges of the forests, keeping a good deal to the river courses, and avoiding as much as possible the colder districts?

THE BRONZE AGE

In this country the transition from the Stone to the Bronze age is marked by the occupation of Britain by a fresh race of men who invaded and conquered the Neolithic people, and who, if they did not actually bring the knowledge of bronze with them, were soon after in full possession of it. These men were taller than the preceding race, averaging for the adult man 5 feet 8 inches in height; their skulls were rounder and their faces more angular; they are supposed to be of Celtic origin, the first of successive waves of Celtic immigration. Among the objects that belong to the Bronze period are daggers, and later the leaf-shaped swords and spearheads, sickles and celts, which show a regular course of evolution from the oldest types to a highly effective socketed celt, as it is probable that the earliest bronze types were copied from the Neolithic stone celts.

The Bronze age in Britain has been divided by Sir John Evans into three stages, the first of which is characterized by the flat or slightly flanged celts and knife daggers often found in barrows, with implements of stone. The second contains the heavier dagger blades and tanged spearheads and daggers. The third stage is represented by the presence of palstaves and socketed celts, and the leaf-shaped spearheads and swords. In this last group he also places the hoards of broken bronze material which have been discovered in England, and which denote the trade of a travelling bronze smith. Judging by the number of these hoards and by the variety of form of the swords, spearheads, celts and other tools, he assigns a duration of about 500 years to this stage; and the two earlier stages, he thinks, probably occupied an equal length, giving a total for the whole Bronze period in this country of some ten centuries, from B.C. 1200 or 1400 to B.C. 200-400. The pottery belonging to this age is that which is generally connected with burials; it was all made by hand, and is usually grouped as follows:—

(1) Cinerary urns, for holding the ashes of the dead after cremation. These vary in height from 5 inches to 30 inches, and differ considerably in form and ornamentation. Some have an overlapping

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rim decorated with incised lines in a herring-bone pattern ; the decoration in others is formed by the indentation of a twisted thong, which was made in the clay when it was in a soft state ; this ornamentation is sometimes carried on below the overlapping rim. These urns are often found with a flat stone over the mouth. In other cases the urn has been placed upside down.

(2) Food vessels, which are supposed to be receptacles for offerings of food, are of a more squat form than the cinerary urns and wider at the mouth, but decorated in much the same way.

(3) Drinking cups. These are of superior make and are usually more decorated, the whole of the surface being covered with patterns, in some cases extending to the bottom of the vessel. In shape these drinking cups are globular in the lower part, gradually contracting towards the centre and slightly expanding at the mouth.

(4) Incense cups. This class of vessels is much smaller than any of the three other classes. They range from 1 inch to about 3 inches in height and measure from 1 inch to 4 inches in diameter, and are of various shapes.

In this age we meet with a singular change in the burial customs. In Neolithic times the dead were buried together with their implements and weapons of stone, often in large chambered tombs ; in the Bronze age cremation made its appearance, though it did not entirely supersede the older mode of inhumation. The researches of Canon Greenwell prove that the two modes were carried on simultaneously ; the reason of this may be due to the older practice being retained by the descendants of the Neolithic people, or to the fact that cremation was practised upon the remains of the great, while the lower classes were simply buried. Cremation was probably then, as it is now, a more expensive process. As one writer remarks : ‘ At this day we speak of the ashes of the great and the bones of the poor.’ The tumuli or barrows that were raised over the burying places in the Bronze age were of different shape from those which covered the Neolithic dead. The latter were long or oval in form, while the tumuli of the Bronze age were round or ‘ bowl ’ shaped ; but none of the tumuli of this age contained those structures of stone which were prevalent in the Neolithic barrows, except in some cases in the north of Scotland.

The general life of the people of the Bronze age was more advanced than that of the preceding period. Their pottery was superior and of greater variety, their clothes were better, they were more efficient in spinning and weaving, their weapons and implements show that they had attained to a great skill in the process of casting, their personal ornaments were necklaces made of stone, bone, glass, jet or amber, and in one case of gold beads. They had earrings of bronze. Their practice of burying in barrows various articles, such as their weapons, often accompanied by vessels supposed to be receptacles for food, is generally considered a proof of their belief in a future life. They possessed sickles of bronze with which they reaped their corn.

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These bronze-using people, of finer physique and possessing better weapons than their predecessors, probably came into the country from Gaul, and drove the small, long-headed people before them to the west and north, where at the present day the inhabitants show their descent, though now of course in a modified form.

Northamptonshire in the Bronze age, as in the preceding one of polished stone, was still largely covered with forest ; and here again the remains are scanty as compared with those counties so rich in the external evidences of early man in the shape of his burial mounds, as Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Wiltshire, etc. The chief discovery of this period in our county was made in some ironstone diggings near Corby in 1890. At a spot where the two parishes of Great Weldon and Corby join, the men came upon the site of a burial, from which remains of six cinerary urns of the characteristic shape and ornamentation of this age were obtained ; with them a skeleton was found in a sitting position, and associated with this find was a bronze weapon with three rivet holes. This kind of weapon is called by Sir John Evans a knife dagger, and is considered by him to belong to the early part of the Bronze age. There was no indication of any tumulus over these remains. Those urns which were found in Weldon Lordship were on the property of the late Lord Winchelsea, who kindly presented them to the Northampton Museum. The knife dagger and the skeleton with the remains of the other urns were found in Corby parish on the glebe belonging to the rectory. The skeleton was re-interred in the churchyard at Corby before any measurements of the skull or limbs could be taken. The locality of this find was adjoining the valley of a small brook which, on a plan of the Hatton property drawn for Queen Elizabeth's Lord Chancellor in the sixteenth century, shows a clearing in what was a part of Rockingham Forest ; and one may well imagine this clearing to have existed in those early times, an ideal spot for encampment or for a temporary resting-place for a few wandering members of the Bronze age. A smaller cinerary urn devoid of any decoration, and a vessel of the kind classed as incense cups, were found in other workings adjoining the site of this clearing. Two cinerary urns have been found at Brixworth ; one was a plain one, and the other decorated with herring-bone work made by some sharp-pointed instrument. Both were about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. At Desborough in 1826 a small urn also ornamented with a herring-bone pattern was obtained with osseous remains, and with this were remnants of a larger urn, of which only a fragment was preserved.

In the British Museum are two vessels found when opening a barrow near Oundle, and a cinerary urn with zig-zag marking on the top part found at Cransley. Near Wansford paper mills about 1836 was discovered a cist made of four upright large stones covered with a rough slab, in which were a quantity of partially burnt bones and an urn with some remains of bones inside. This is now in the museum attached to the Stamford Institute. Brixworth, which has proved to

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be so rich in early remains, has also yielded a rare specimen in the form of a handled cup of reddish-coloured earthenware which belongs to this age; this cup bears diamond-shaped patterns incised upon the body, made apparently by the impressions of a thumb nail. The only other handled cups of this period of which the writer has been able to obtain any information are but four in number: the first from a barrow at Goodmanham Wold in Yorkshire, which bears a different decoration from the others; out of 220 barrows opened by Canon Greenwell this was the only handled cup he obtained. One which is called the Denzell cup and is now in the British Museum was found in a barrow in Cornwall. The third was found in a cairn near Pickering in Yorkshire by Mr. Thomas Bateman¹ in 1850, and the fourth at Ely. This is apparently of superior make and ornamentation. It is of interest to note that these last three cups, though found in such widely separated parts of England as Cornwall, Cambridgeshire and Yorkshire, are ornamented with a diamond-shaped design very similar to that on our cup from Brixworth.

Of the weapons and implements of bronze our county has yielded few in number. There is a well preserved leaf-shaped sword dug up from land belonging to an old manor called Wolfage in Brixworth parish about the year 1846. Remains of two rapier-shaped blades have been discovered, one at Marston Trussel and the other at Pytchley near Kettering. The latter was found underneath the parish church when it was undergoing alteration, and at the same time some 'kistvaens' were discovered. Palstaves of bronze have been picked up at Aynho, Staverton, Aston-le-Walls and Thenford; socketed celts or axes which are supposed to have been used quite late in this period have been obtained from near Daventry, from Dallington, Castor, Rushden, Eye near Peterborough, and from the precincts of Peterborough itself, Naseby, Wappenham, etc., and there is preserved at the Hall at Canon's Ashby a fine specimen of a leaf-shaped spearhead found in the neighbourhood. A small but early form of a drinking cup, marked with a herring-bone pattern which perhaps belongs to this age, was found in the parish of Fotheringhay in the surface soil above the gravels which yielded a Palæolithic flint implement.

Mention may be made here of the discovery of two hoards of bronze, though they occurred just outside the county: one at Wymington in Bedfordshire, where more than sixty socketed celts were found on Mr. Goosey's farm in 1860; and a few years ago Mr. Whitbread of Roade purchased at a sale at Stantonbury in Bucks a lot of broken bronze weapons, etc., which he has since learnt were found at Stantonbury. In this lot (bought at the sale for 1s.) were portions of seven socketed celts, one complete palstave, a leaf-shaped sword in four pieces and the remains of two spearheads.

To obtain a fuller knowledge of man in the Bronze age we must

¹ *Ten Years' Diggings in Celtic and Saxon Grave Hills in the Counties of Derby, Stafford and York, from 1848 to 1858*, by Thomas Bateman (1868).

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not confine ourselves to the limits of a single county like our own. We cannot expect to find within the borders of Northamptonshire, which was a thinly inhabited district during the Neolithic and the Bronze ages, a full epitome of the life of the Bronze man. We must seek the aid of what Britain in general has yielded, the results of which are so ably set out in the works of Sir John Evans,¹ Canon Greenwell,² Professor Boyd Dawkins,³ and others.

PREHISTORIC IRON AGE

In Europe the Prehistoric Iron age contains two well defined stages of development, viz. an earlier period which has been termed the 'Hallstadt period,' from the discoveries made at Hallstadt near Salzburg, in Austria. At this place a large cemetery containing nearly 1,000 graves was opened, the contents of which show that both bronze and iron for weapons and implements were in use at the same time; and a later stage called the 'La Tène period,' from the finds of the numerous remains at La Tène near Marin, in Switzerland. In this stage nearly all the weapons and implements are made of iron, the only bronze articles being chiefly for ornamental purposes. About fifty iron swords were found at Marin; some of these had sheaths (also made of iron) ornamented. These swords are analogous in form to the iron swords found on the site of the ancient Alesia, where a battle was fought in B.C. 52 between the Romans under Julius Cæsar and the Gauls. It has been concluded that when the iron weapons found at Marin were made the use of iron had been thoroughly established. Over a large part of western and northern Europe the Christian era was preceded by these two successive stages of culture.

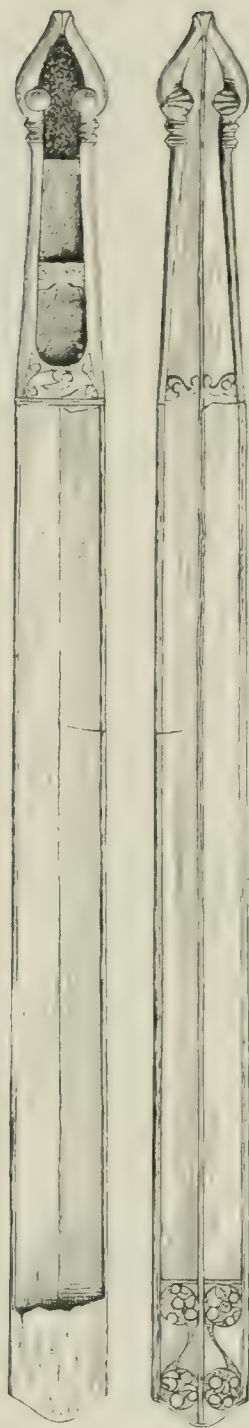
In Britain the introduction of iron was not a sudden innovation, but came as a transition in which it gradually supplanted bronze as the material for the manufacture of weapons and implements. Iron was probably first brought to Britain by the earlier Belgic immigrants, or obtained by them by intercourse with the Belgic Gauls.

In treating of the remains of Prehistoric man from Northamptonshire belonging to the two preceding periods, we have seen that they occur in isolated instances. No remains of their dwellings or refuges have been found in our county; nothing to show their domestic life, for our knowledge of which we have to study their remains from other parts of Britain and Europe. In the period with which we are about to deal we meet with a different state of affairs; the conditions are reversed, isolated specimens are rare (with the exception of some coins), and we have instead a large collection from one particular site.

¹ *The Ancient Bronze Implements, Weapons and Ornaments of Great Britain and Ireland*, by John Evans, D.C.L. etc. (1881).

² *British Barrows: A Record of the Examination of Sepulchral Mounds in various parts of England*, by William Greenwell, F.S.A. (1877).

³ *Early Man in Britain*, by W. Boyd Dawkins, F.S.A. etc. (1880).



SWORD-SCABBARD FOUND AT HUNSBURY.

See page 147.

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In this period we reach a point in the condition of the early inhabitants of Britain which is marked by the introduction of iron and by the appearance of a high development of an art which can be traced back to some of the oldest forms of art in the classical world. It is during this period that Sir John Evans considers the first coinage in Britain made its appearance. As in the case of the Stone age extending into and overlapping the Bronze age, so we find the use of bronze reaching into the Early Iron age. The weapons and implements that formerly were made of bronze were in this period manufactured of iron, but the use of bronze was retained for ornamental purposes and was applied to many objects of personal adornment, to horse trappings, scabbards of swords, etc. The later part of the Prehistoric Iron age corresponds with the Late Celtic period of the late Sir A. W. Franks, formerly keeper of British and medieval antiquities in the British Museum. It is considered that this age was not nearly so long as the preceding one of bronze or the Neolithic age. In the year 1863 was published a work called *Horæ Ferales, or Studies in the Archæology of the Northern Nations*. This was written mainly by Mr. J. M. Kemble, a well known archæologist, in the middle of the last century, and edited after his death in 1857 by Dr. R. G. Latham and Sir A. W. Franks. In this book is a series of objects described by Sir A. W. Franks under the title of 'Antiquities of the Late Celtic Period.' These consist of bronze shields, diadems, collars, pins, rings, horse-trappings (some bearing traces of enamel), iron spearheads, swords and daggers with sheaths of bronze, tyres of chariot wheels and a number of objects of different use. On many of these is a style of decoration which, as Sir A. W. Franks writes, 'is remarkable for its peculiar and varied forms,' and differing from that of either the Romans, Saxons or Danes. The chief forms of this new art are the recurrent spiral and the trumpet-shaped pattern. 'Their Celtic origin,' he states, 'is shown by the employment of coral, by the use of the boar as a symbol, by the presence of enamelled decorations, by the discovery of war chariots, the length and material of their swords and by the presence of chain mail.' He claims no very remote antiquity for these remains. 'They are probably,' he says, 'not more ancient than the introduction of coinage into Britain from 200 to 100 years before Christ, and not much later than the close of the first century after Christ,' when the Roman dominion in this country was firmly established.

Since this work was published many other remains which can be classed as belonging to this period have come to light, notably a burying-place at Aylesford in Kent which was investigated by Mr. Arthur Evans. The discovery of this 'urnfield,' as it is called by Mr. Evans, with a description of the various objects from it, forms the subject of a most interesting and valuable paper by him, published in *Archæologia*, vol. lii. The manner in which he traces the new style of pottery found at Aylesford back through eastern Gaul across the north of Italy to its prototypes of bronze whose home was the Adriatic province is most

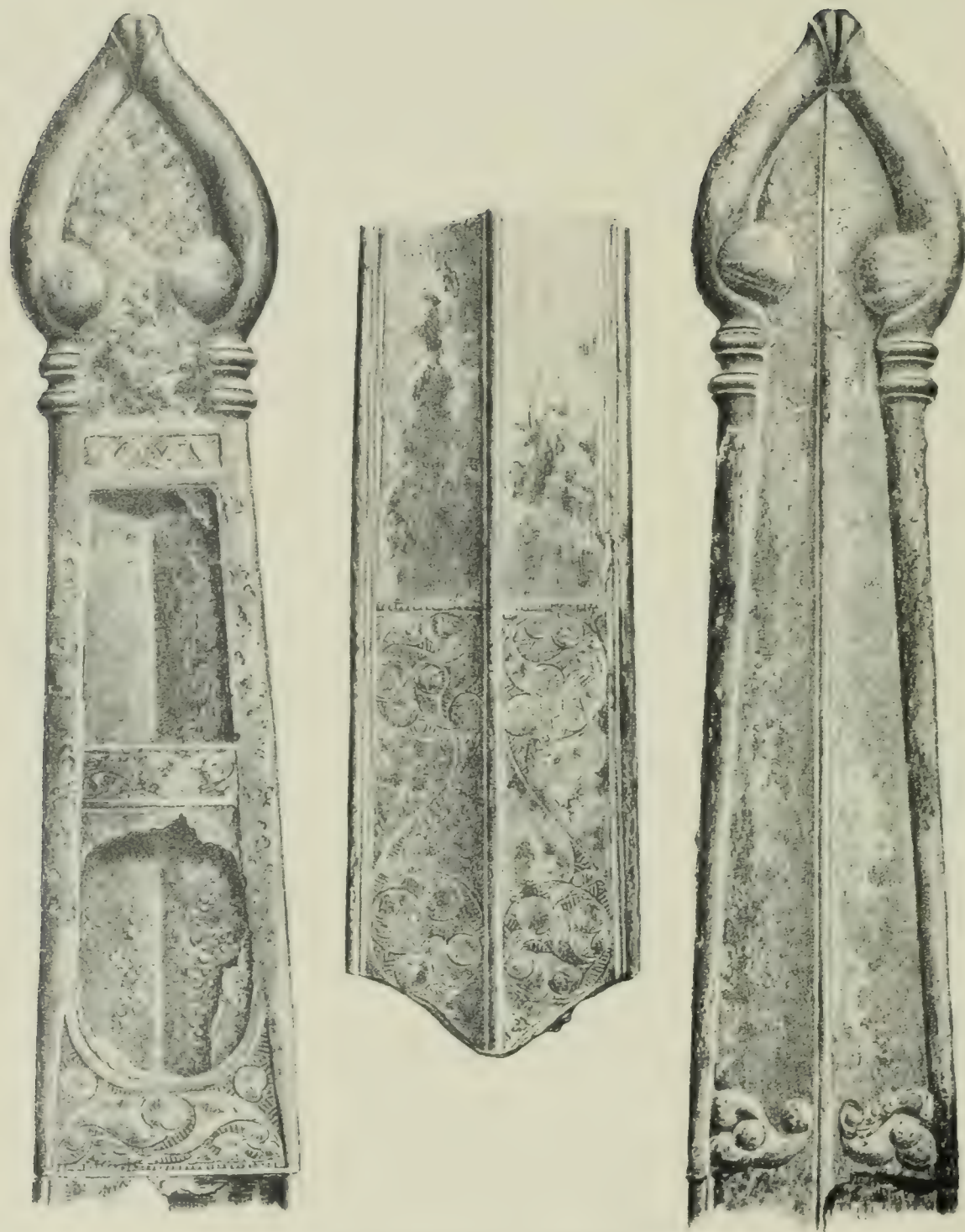
A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

fascinating, as is also his comparison of the ornament on a bronze bucket with that on some Gaulish coins. Another discovery of great import was that of the marsh village found near Glastonbury by Mr. A. Bulleid in 1892. This proves to be the remains of habitations belonging to the Late Celtic period ; they were built upon layers of brushwood and timber, held in position by numbers of small piles, until they were raised clear of the water.

Prof. Boyd Dawkins in his address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association when it was held at Nottingham in 1893, after giving a brief *résumé* of the articles found in this marsh village, concluded his address as follows : ‘ We may therefore fix with tolerable certainty the age of these lake dwellers as being just before the time that the Roman influence was felt directly in the west of England and certainly before the Roman conquest. The discovery is most important ; when fully worked out it will probably throw a flood of light on the history of pre-Roman Britain.’ The results of the excavations which have been carefully conducted by Mr. Bulleid are not yet published.

Not the least important addition to our gradually extending knowledge of this period is the fine series of articles which Northamptonshire has yielded from the excavations of Hunsbury Camp during the years 1882 to 1884, for it is to the same Late Celtic period or Prehistoric Iron age that the whole collection of remains found in the camp belongs. This earthwork locally known as Danes’ Camp is situated towards the end, and on the highest part of a broad ridge of elevated ground about two miles south-west of Northampton. It occupies a strong position, commanding on the north-eastern side the valley of the Nene and the rising ground on the northern side of the river as far as Earl’s Barton and Ecton. From that side of the camp which faces north and on the north-western side extensive views are obtained over the country towards Duston, Berrywood, Upton, Weedon, Blisworth, and as far as Roade in the southerly direction. By the side of the camp is an ancient trackway, which for about half a mile on either side is grass grown, and forms the boundary between the parish of Hardingstone, in which the camp is situated, and the parish of Wootton.

This camp has been known to successive generations of antiquaries since the days of Morton, who gave a short description of it in his work on the *Natural History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, published in 1712. Morton considered it to be a summer camp of the Danes, though he gives no very sound reason for his opinion ; as he tells us in his quaint style : ‘ I attribute it to the Danes, the rather because I see not to whom else it should belong.’ Morton apparently gave more credit to the Danes than the present school of archæologists does, for he attributed Rainsborough Camp also to them as well as Borough Hill near Daventry. In bygone days both the Devil and the Danes had a great many more things attributed to them than they could justly claim. Near Driffild in Yorkshire, at



DETAIL OF SWORD-SCABBARD FOUND AT HUNSBURY.
See page 148.

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Kilham, are some 200 mounds called in the neighbourhood Danes' Graves. Some of them being opened by Canon Greenwell and other gentlemen in 1896 proved to be the interments of people in the same state of culture as the occupiers of Hunsbury Camp, viz. Late Celtic.

The fortification near Flamborough called Danes' Dyke has been shown by the late General Pitt-Rivers not to be the work of the Danes. The earthwork in Somersetshire called Danesborough is probably pre-Roman, and other instances could be adduced.

Hunsbury Camp was scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Act of 1882, but it was found that owing to the mineral value of the ground it could not be brought under the Act. The excavation of it was due to a commercial undertaking; for underlying the soil was a bed of ironstone about 12 feet thick (this ironstone is the Northampton Sand of the inferior oolite series of beds) which the Hunsbury Hill Iron Ore Co. began to dig towards the end of 1882. No such thorough excavation of any camp of this period has been undertaken before, or is likely to be undertaken again except for a similar purpose, that is, commercial enterprise. The cost of removing the soil and obtaining the ironstone amounted to several thousand pounds, a sum which would prevent any private digging operations. Over the whole camp, that is as far as it was dug (for a small portion on the southern side was left on account of the poorer quality of the ironstone), the navvies found in what they call the 'on bearing,' that is the soil above the Northampton Sand, numbers of pits sunk in many cases to the ironstone. Most of these pits resembled in shape long beehives turned upside down; a few of the pits were walled round with flat limestone of the Great Oolite. The usual measurement of these pits was from 5 feet to 6 feet in diameter and about 6 feet in depth. They were filled with black earth and mould, and in them were found numerous articles all of which are claimed to belong to the Late Celtic period. In shape the camp is a somewhat circular oval, with an area of about 4 acres. It was fortified by a ditch or fosse from 50 feet to 60 feet in width and about 15 feet deep. This ditch with its sides has long been planted with trees, as was also probably the area of the camp previously to its being converted into an arable field. In later digging operations outside the camp on the north side remains of a second trench were found: this was much shallower than the fosse round the camp. In a paper by the late Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., published in the *Report of the Northampton Architectural Society for 1885*, he gives a plan and sections of the camp showing some of the pits, and seven plates of the more important articles obtained from them. He says: 'There is no reason to suppose the remains at Hunsbury differ widely in date from one another, and if so probably the occupiers were also the constructors of the camp.' Sir Henry in his paper was inclined to attribute the camp to the Romanized Britons, but it is only fair to state that since he wrote it various additional evidences came to light to verify and substantiate the opinion of those who hold that the remains are all pre-Roman. It is

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much to be regretted that the excavations did not receive that close supervision which so important a discovery deserved. Sir Henry himself did not visit the camp till more than half the area was dug over, thinking, as he said in his paper, 'that another person was looking after the excavations and taking notes and measurements.' The thanks of archæologists are due to the late Pickering Phipps, Esq., chairman of the company, for the preservation of what articles were obtained. Mr. Phipps made all the preparations he could to keep together anything found, and paid the men for their trouble; and when the digging in the camp was finished he generously placed the collection in the Northampton Museum. The number of pits discovered was over 300. This collection is really a valuable one, and helps us to form a very fair idea of the condition of the ancient Britons in this neighbourhood before the Romans conquered it. The collection consists of numerous iron weapons and implements, bronze scabbards, bronze ornaments, stone and bone articles, vessels of hand-made pottery, remains of more than 400 pots of different form and size (most of these were plain, but there are a few fragments which are ornamented with the characteristic spirals of the Late Celtic period), portions of more than 100 querns or millstones for grinding their corn, some of the corn which the occupants of the camp cultivated, spindle whorls used for weaving purposes, bone combs for carding the wool, bones of man, the red deer, the roe deer, the short-horned ox, the goat, the horse, pig and dog. There were fifteen or sixteen peculiar triangular-shaped bricks perforated at each corner with a hole. The use of these bricks is not yet definitely known; by some persons they are supposed to have been used as loom weights to hold the warp tight; Sir Henry thought they might have been used to hobble horses or cattle with. To enumerate these remains more fully, the iron articles comprise about twenty spear-heads, some of which are leaf-shaped, several of which correspond in make and shape to those found at Marin in Switzerland and figured in Dr. Keller's work.¹ These are very unlike the Anglo-Saxon spearheads, a characteristic feature of which is a longitudinal slit in the socket which received the wooden shaft; remains of several iron knives, some still in their haft of deer-horn. A long sword found with the remains of a scabbard mounted with bronze, pieces of two other sword-like weapons though thicker than a sword resembling some found at Hod Hill, a British camp a few miles from Blandford. Similar articles have been found in different localities, notably at Bourton-on-the-Water in Gloucestershire and at Meon Hill, Gloucestershire, in 1824. Five daggers, one still in its iron sheath, which has the heart-shaped termination peculiar to the Late Celtic period; fragments of several scabbards of swords, some showing traces of bronze binding; five saws, one remaining in its deer-horn handle. These fragments of saws very much resemble a saw in bronze figured in Keller's *Swiss Lake Dwellings*; similar saws have been found at Glastonbury; the teeth of the Hunsbury

¹ *The Lake-Dwellings of Switzerland and other parts of Europe*, by Dr. Ferdinand Keller, translated by John Edward Lee, 2 vols. (1878).

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saws are equilateral. Nails, adzes, sickles, a chisel, a gouge, spud-like objects, a key similar to one found by General Pitt-Rivers in researches at Mount Cabourn in Sussex, which is a Late Celtic camp ; rings, and a complete and perfect pothook of twisted iron. There were also some articles like large flat spoons with long handles ; similar ones have been found at Castle Yard in Farthingstone parish ; and several iron articles the use of which can only be conjectured : of these the most curious are figured in plate 7 of Sir Henry's paper. He suggests there that they might be brands for branding cattle ; they bear the characteristic pattern of the period ; the shaft of one of these is moulded and has gilt bands. In addition to the above there were portions of the tyres of chariot wheels, and a bridle with a bronze centre bit ; three shield bosses, one round, resembling that figured on a wooden shield belonging to the earlier Iron age in Denmark ; the other two at first appeared to be Anglo-Saxon, but on placing them side by side with the shield bosses from certain Anglo-Saxon interments in Northamptonshire the difference can at once be seen, those of the Anglo-Saxons being more angular in shape. Several iron drills were found ; these belonged to the lower half of the quern stone and were for the purpose of holding the upper stone in position. Out of the whole collection of iron articles that came to hand there are but two which cannot be said to belong to the people who made and occupied the camp : one is a short pickaxe of the kind used as a stock-axe for stubbing up wood ; this may have been lost when the camp in after years was cleared of the wood with which it had probably been planted in order to cultivate the soil (for previous to the ironstone operations the site of the camp had for many years been under the plough) ; the other article is a slender bridle-bit like a snaffle, which might be Roman or much later in date. It is very different from the British bridle-bit, nor is it at all like an Anglo-Saxon bridle-bit which came from a burial place about a mile and a half to the east, just outside the village of Hardingstone. The bronze articles consist of two scabbards, four fibulæ or brooches, one of which is in perfect working order at the present time, pins, rings, several articles supposed to belong to harness trappings, fragments of tubing which were perhaps used to strengthen the edges or ornament the sides of iron scabbards. One of the gems of the collection is a sword sheath 2 feet 6 inches long. It is ornamented on the upper end or locket with a finely engraved pattern, consisting of a double pair of circles filled with smaller circles and the peculiar trumpet-shaped design which is a characteristic of this Late Celtic art. Most of the smaller circles are plain, but some have a triangle with curved sides filled with cross-hatching ; the chape or termination of this scabbard is heart-shaped like many others of this age.¹

Among other articles of this period which have been found in the British Isles are remains of mirrors, the backs of which bear engravings of Late Celtic designs. Five of these are known : one

¹ See C. H. Read, in appendix to vol. lii. of *Archæologia*.

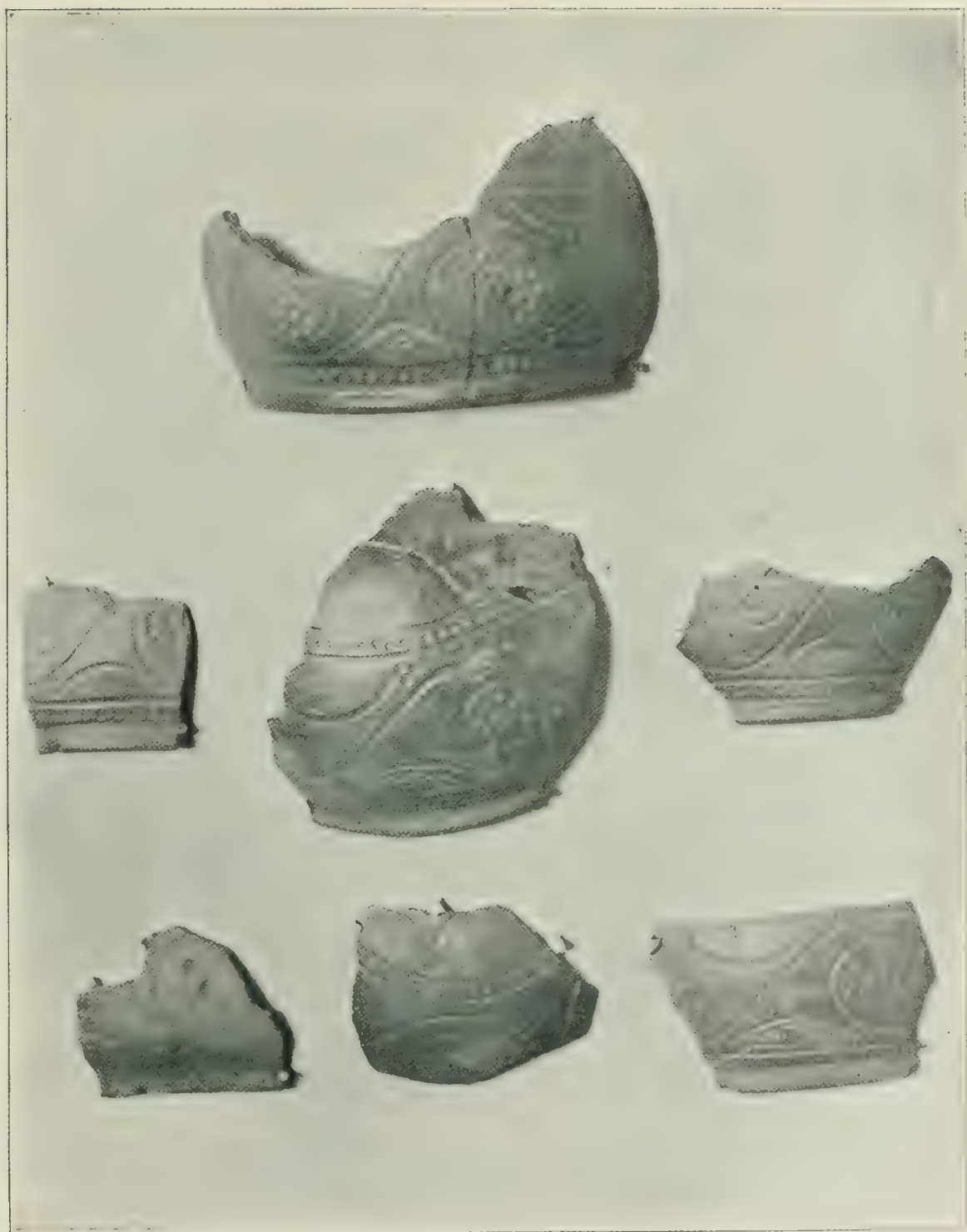
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obtained from a cemetery at Mount Batten¹ near Plymouth in 1865 is figured in *Archæologia*, vol. xl. plate xxx., one found at Sandy in Bedfordshire is now in a museum at Bedford, another one in the Gloucester Museum² was found near Birdlip Hill on the Cotswolds. The fourth came from some graves in the parish of St. Keverne in Cornwall, and the engraved pattern on the back of this specimen so closely resembles that on the locket of the Hunsbury sword-sheath that it might have been executed by the same artist. The last one is in the Mayer collection at Liverpool; it is not known whether it was found in England. There are also a bronze pin, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, having a twist in the shank which is peculiar to this period; a similar shaped pin was found in the so-called Danes' Graves near Driffeld, only the ring part bore traces of enamel; a spoon supposed to have been used for medicinal purposes; four rings (two of which are ornamented with knobs) belonging to horse harness; there are several of this kind in the British Museum among the Polden Hill remains, and another from Hamden Hill is figured in vol. xxi. of *Archæologia*; fragments of an article the use of which is not determined; this is a hollow ring enclosing a circle of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, which was filled with a thin plate of perforated bronze; two whetstones, one having a hole for suspension; light spindle whorls of various kinds of stone; and remains of more than 100 beehive querns or millstones, some having an iron drill fixed in them, which held the two portions together when grinding; and in several pits were found remains of charred corn.

Up to the time of the excavations at Hunsbury the majority of the ancient British pottery found in Britain was obtained from burial places and for the most part belonged to the Bronze age. This pottery it is usual to classify or arrange in four groups, which have already been mentioned in dealing with the Bronze age. Now nearly all the pottery from our camp was for domestic purposes with the exception of two small vessels like the so-called incense cups—these are small shallow vessels not unlike salt cellars in form; they are both ornamented with rude indentations—and one other vessel which also throws back as it were to the Bronze age. This resembles in shape some of the drinking cups figured in Jewitt's *Ceramic Art*: the lower portion is globular and ornamented with an incised pattern, it is contracted in the middle and slightly expands at the mouth; it is of much ruder make than those drinking cups of the Bronze age which the writer has seen. Of the ornamented earthenware fragments some seem to have had more care bestowed upon their manufacture than others. These are of a finer substance coated with a glossy pigment. The material of these bowls is not unlike that of the cinerary pots from Aylesford, though the shapes found at Hunsbury are wholly absent at Aylesford; only at Glastonbury do we find anything approaching in quantity and nature or decoration the collection of pottery from Hunsbury; it seems to be of a

¹ Vol. xxx. of the *Archæological Journal*, p. 267.

² Vol. xxvi. of the *Antiquary*, p. 70.



POTTERY FOUND AT HUNSBURY.

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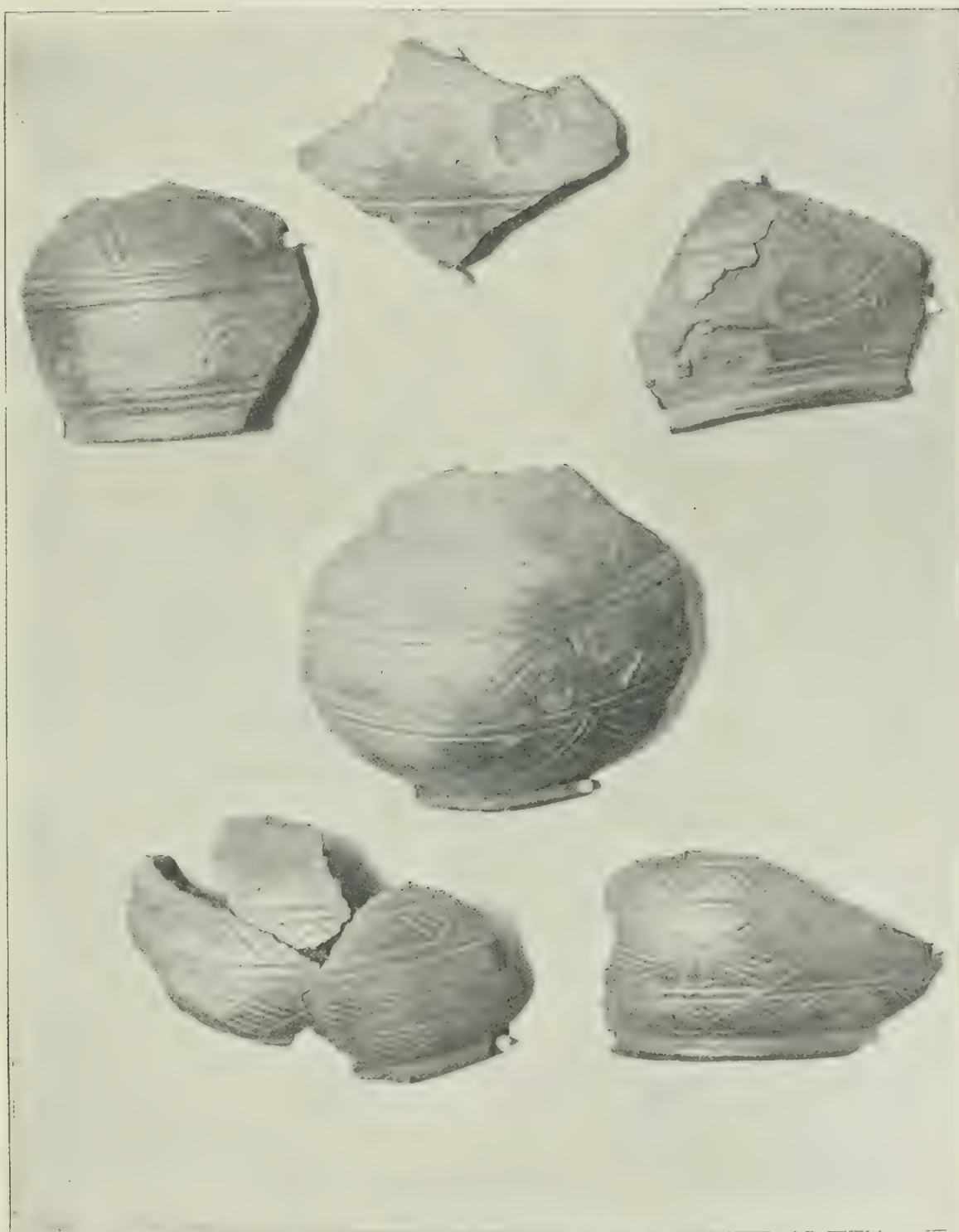
purely domestic character. I have been informed by M. Dechelette, Conservateur du Musée, Rouan, that a somewhat similar spiral decoration is found on some Gaulish pottery at Bibracte, but here the pattern is painted on and not incised. We have also pieces of another bowl-shaped vessel which was ornamented with a pattern of triangles and lozenges filled with incised lines divided by two parallel lines round the vessel. Mr. Evans considers this a descendant of the class of pottery he obtained from Aylesford; the incised bands round it which enclose the triangles and lozenges he takes as a modification of the cordons with which the Aylesford pottery is decorated. Another plain vessel possesses loops for suspension, and many of the fragments of the large ones are looped; all the plain ware is of coarser body than the ornamental fragments. The bones have already been mentioned, and there are remains of six human skulls. Of these three were figured, in vol. iii. of the late Gen. Pitt-Rivers' fine work on the excavations in Dorset and Wilts. One has three holes drilled in it, evidently after death. Can we not imagine this skull hanging outside the wattle hut of one of the camp dwellers? Dr. Garson describes it as that of an adult male; the third one he considers to be that of a young male with high and broad forehead and similar in type to the one with the holes. General Pitt-Rivers says of them, 'They may no doubt be regarded as specimens of Late Celtic crania.' For weaving purposes there are several combs formed of sections of bone. Like combs have been found at Glastonbury, at Mount Cabourn and at the large British camp of Worlebury above Weston-super-Mare. There are several pieces of red deer horn showing traces of the saw, several hollow cylinders of bone, one of which is ornamented with a series of small circles resembling a modern apple scoop. Of glass there are five rings and a blue glass bead with white knobs which was lost before the collection was housed in the museum, but since its location there another blue glass bead obtained from the camp has been secured from a neighbouring village. This one has white amulets engraved on it. Fragments of similar beads were found at Glastonbury, and others of the same period have been found in several parts of England.

What does this collection tell us? It is evident that the occupiers of the camp were not of the Neolithic age nor were they of the Bronze period, as we have a series of weapons and implements of iron and not of bronze, the only bronze articles found being for ornamental purposes. Are they Roman or Romano-British? No; for if so we should surely have found some trace of Roman influence. Adjoining the cases in the Northampton Museum in which the remains from Hunsbury are displayed are cases containing the Romano-British articles from the parish of Duston, discovered within a mile and a half of Hunsbury. If you take any article from the camp and compare it with one of a like use from Duston, the difference will be seen at once. If any one wishes still further to compare the shape and make of the iron tools, implements and weapons of the ancient Britons with those of the Romans, let him go down to Glastonbury and inspect in the museum there the

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iron remains from the marsh village, and then travel up to Reading while they are fresh in the memory and compare them with the iron articles in the museum where are displayed all the finds of the buried Roman city of Calleva at Silchester, which has lain undisturbed for centuries under the soil. But to return to our comparison of the articles from Hunsbury with those from Duston, no coin has been found at the camp, while over a thousand Roman coins ranging from Claudius to Honorius have been found at Duston. The pottery is entirely different, the brooches are made upon different systems, the spearheads and swords from Hunsbury are not represented at Duston, and if we bring in other negative evidences to help us, at Hunsbury, though there are numerous remains of the red deer and roe deer, there is not a single fragment of the fallow deer which was introduced into Britain by the Romans. Are they Saxon or Danish? No; not a single article; as can be at once proved by comparison with remains of these two peoples. The evidence goes clearly to establish the fact of its being a camp made and occupied by a tribe of ancient Britons at a time when iron had supplanted (for general purpose) the use of bronze, not going farther back than 200 years B.C., and perhaps inhabited down to the time of the Roman conquest of this part of Britain about the middle of the first century after Christ. Dr. Munro says: 'The presence of querns and long-handled combs in the Glastonbury lake village and in the Hunsbury camp associated with the débris of continued occupancy, in which no characteristic Roman remains are found, points to a pre-Roman civilization probably due to an immigration of Belgic or Gaulish tribes'; and Mr. Arthur Evans' opinion is 'that it is probable that the bulk of the objects found in the ancient British oppidum (Hunsbury) belong to the latest pre-Roman period, and are slightly posterior to those of the Aylesford cemetery.' What do we learn from these remains? That these people were no mean agriculturists, as they grew four kinds of corn; and as so many querns were found, probably each family had its own set of stones. The spindle whorls and carding combs denote a knowledge of spinning and weaving. This would show that they wore clothing, and did not travel about in a suit of blue paint, as Cæsar relates of the inland tribes. There is that fine series of iron weapons and implements to show their proficiency in ironwork, and as remains of slag have been found in the camp we may conclude that the ironstone was smelted—that same ironstone which was not re-discovered until about 1857. The remains of animals tell us the flesh they consumed; while as for their art, what can be more beautiful in design than some of the patterns of this period? Evidence goes to show that the departure from the camp was sudden, or how are we to account for the finding of all the millstones in the rubbish pits? It may be that the inhabitants of the camp put into force the old adage: 'He who fights and runs away will live to fight another day.'

Besides the camp at Hunsbury there are other camps in the county which may belong to this period or to an earlier one, viz. Rainsborough



POTTERY FOUND AT HUNSBURY.

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Camp in the parish of Newbottle, near King's Sutton, and the earth-work called by Morton Castle Yard. This lies a few hundred yards to the south of the remains of the Saxon burh, now called Castle Dykes, in Farthingstone parish. Morton mentions 'lumps of cinder' as being found here. Since Morton's date several hundredweight of scorix of iron have been found, also the iron 'socket of a spear' and an iron object like a flat spoon with a long handle. Both the spoon-like article and the scorix of iron have their analogues in the finds from Hunsbury Camp. So far as the writer has been able to learn, no Roman remains have been discovered at this spot. On Borough Hill near Daventry is a very large camp, rather oval in shape. Morton considered this a Roman camp afterwards used by the Saxons, but, like Rainsborough Camp, it was probably pre-Roman in construction.

There is also a small camp in Thenford parish called Arbury Hill. Like Hunsbury it lies at the side of the Banbury Lane which follows the old British trackway, but until researches are made into these camps the exact period to which they belong can only be conjectured. Some very slight evidence in regard to Rainsborough is forthcoming, for in the neighbourhood, the hamlet of Charlton, in which the camp is situated, was found in 1842 a bronze article of unknown use bearing Late Celtic designs; and Morton in his account of Rainsborough quotes from some MSS. of Anthony A. Wood, preserved in Mr. Ashmole's museum, as follows: 'Within the Memory of Man the Land within the inward Fortification together with the inward Fortification itself hath been plow'd up by several persons, each having his lot allow'd him, and a certain Person of Charlton who had the middle Part allow'd him, did not plow the middle part, but levelled the inward Fortification so far as his share went as in here shewed. In digging down the said Apartment or Allotment, there were discovered several Iron Pots, Glasses, Ashes.'

It has been already stated that it was during this period that coinage was first introduced into Britain. There are two kinds of British coins, uninscribed and inscribed. The earliest coins found in Britain are those called uninscribed, on account of their not bearing any trace of letters. They were copied from the coins of the nearest Gaulish tribes. Sir John Evans in his work on ancient British coins says that in the reign of Philip II., King of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great, he acquired certain gold mines at Crenides (the Philippi of the Bible) which yielded about £250,000 worth of gold per annum, and a large number of gold staters of Philip were struck. These bore on the obverse the head of Apollo with a laurel wreath, and on the reverse a man driving a two-horsed chariot, with the name of Philip underneath. At this time Marseilles was the centre of a colony of Greeks (who were then the great traders of the Mediterranean), among whom many of the gold staters were current. These coins of the Greeks were copied by the Gauls in the neighbourhood of Marseilles, or of Massilia as it was called; these in turn were imitated

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by the inland Gauls, and as they travelled further from Marseilles the poorer the copy became, until hardly any trace of the original was discernible; thus it is only by reference to a whole series that we can trace the origin of the British coins. Uninscribed coins have been found in Northamptonshire at Chipping Warden, Duston, Earls Barton, Farthinghoe, Kettering, Northampton.

With regard to the inscribed coins it is considered that they range from Cæsar's invasion, B.C. 54, to the time of Claudius, A.D. 41. They have been classed according to certain districts. Northamptonshire forms part of Sir John Evans' central district, which included Bucks, Beds, Middlesex, Essex, part of Berks, Cambridgeshire and Oxfordshire.

The Britons had at this time a well established coinage in gold, silver and copper, and the evidence which Sir John adduces from these coins in Northamptonshire is that during the reign of Augustus and Tiberius this portion of the country was partly under the rule of Tasciovanus, whose capital was at Verulamium (St. Albans), and partly under the dominion of Andocomius (a probable contemporary of Tasciovanus), who is thought to have reigned over what is now Oxfordshire, Beds and Bucks, and part of Northants, for his coins have not been found in any other county. Tasciovanus was succeeded by Cunobeline, the father of Caractacus, whose capital was Camulodunum (Colchester). No coins were discovered at Hunsbury, but in Northampton a gold coin was found about 12 feet deep in some excavations at the back of what is now the Grand Hotel, then called the Dolphin. It is of light yellow gold, plain on the convex side (British coins like their prototypes the Greek coins are saucer-shaped), and having on the concave side a rude representation of a horse. It is particularly interesting, as being of the same type as one of the only two coins associated with the Late Celtic remains at Aylesford. Coins of this type have been found in south-eastern England as well as in those parts of France formerly inhabited by the Belgic Gauls. Of the inscribed coins, gold coins of Tasciovanus have been discovered at Thrapston and Oundle, silver coins at Gayton, and copper coins at Chipping Warden and Irchester. A gold coin of Andocomius was obtained from Ecton and a silver one from Duston. Coins of Cunobeline, who reigned over the Trinobantes in Essex, the Catyeuchlani and part of the Dobuni, have been found at Castor, Oundle, Irchester, Duston, Wood Burcott near Towcester, Weston-by-Weedon, Chipping Warden, Gretton and at Dingley near Market Harboro'. One of his coins from Duston is made of copper plated with gold, showing that counterfeit coinage is not a modern institution. A gold coin of Antedrigus (who ruled over lands further to the west) that was found at Brackley is considered by Sir John Evans as a stray visitant, as are also the later silver coins of the Iceni found at Castor. A gold coin of Addedomarus was found at Great Houghton. One of the most interesting as well as the rarest of the British coins found within the borders of Northamptonshire is a gold coin of the Brigantes, the largest of British tribes, who occupied the greater part of Yorkshire and Lancashire; it

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was discovered near Corby. Altogether from Northamptonshire about forty British coins have been obtained from twenty different localities, and they belong for the most part to the central district mentioned above.

PREHISTORIC MAN IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE AND THE PLACES WHERE HIS SEVERAL REMAINS
HAVE BEEN FOUND

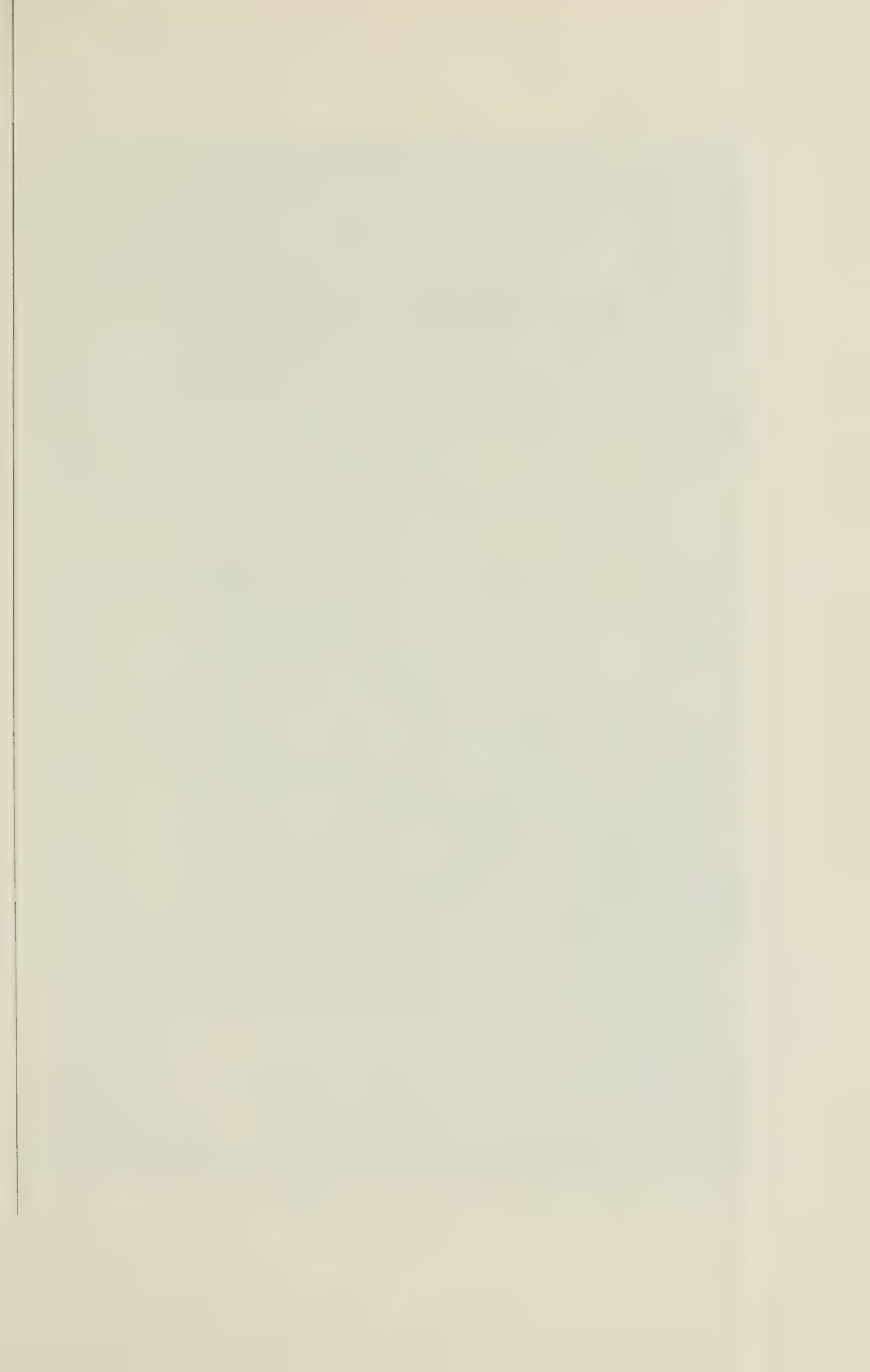
Stone Age Palæolithic Neolithic		Bronze Age	Late Celtic or Prehistoric Iron Age	Earthworks probably Pre-Roman
River Drift man	Badby	Arthingworth (palstave)	Brixworth	Charlton (Rains- bro' Camp)
	Blisworth	Aston-le-Walls (pal- stave)	Charlton	Daventry (Bur- rough Hill)
Fotheringhay	Boughton	Aynho (palstave)	Cransley	Farthingstone
Oundle	Brixworth	Brixworth (sword)	Duston	(Castle Yard)
	Bugbrook	Canon's Ashby (spear- head)	<i>British Coins have been found at :</i>	Hardingstone
	Burton Latimer	Castor (socketed celt)	Brackley	(Hunsbury)
	Castor (fig.)	Corby (knife dagger)	Castor	Thenford
	Courteenhall	Cransley (cinerary urn)	Chipping Warden	(Arbury Hill)
	Daventry	Dallington (socketed celt)	Corby	
	Duston	Daventry (palstave)	Dingley	
	Everdon	Desborough (cinerary urn)	Duston	
	Eye	Edgcott (instrument of brass)	Earls Barton	
	Finendon	Eye (socketed celt)	Ecton	
	Gt. Houghton	Fotheringhay (drinking cup)	Farthinghoe	
	Gretton	Marston Trussel	Gayton	
	Guilsborough	(rapier-shaped blade)	Gretton	
	Harpole	Naseby (socketed celt)	Gt. Houghton	
	Harrowden	Oundle (cinerary urns)	Irchester	
	Irchester	Peterbro' (socketed celt)	Kettering	
	King's Sutton	Pythchley (rapier-shaped blade)	Northampton	
	Newborough	Rushden (socketed celt)	Oundle	
	Northampton	Staverton (palstave)	Thrapston	
	Norton	Stoke Bruerne (palstave)	Towcester	
	Oundle	Wappenham (celt)	Weston-by- Weedon	
	Pythchley	Weldon (cinerary urns)		
	Road	Wellingbro' (celt)		
	Singlesole	" (3 socketed celts found in 1871)		
	Stoke Bruerne			
	Towcester			
	Twywell			
	Upton			
	Wansford			
	Weldon			

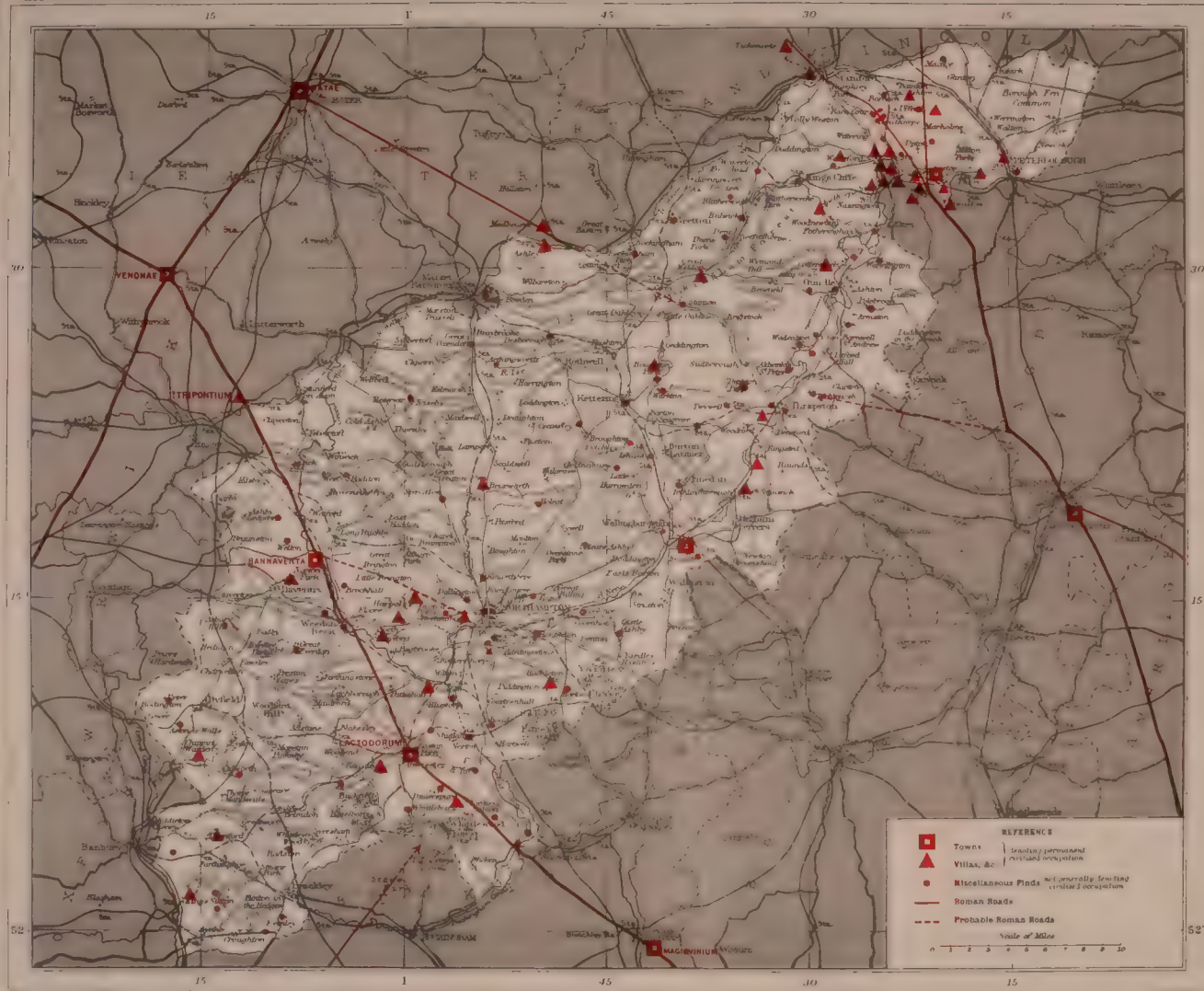
The writer has purposely refrained from saying much about the Celts on account of the widely divergent opinions held concerning them, but as the term Late Celtic has been so often used in this article, and as it is an expression which has been generally adopted by English archæologists, it may be well to state that the tall round-headed race of men using bronze instruments, who conquered the small dark-haired Neolithic people of Iberian origin, are considered to be Celts, and that the introduction of iron was due to a later immigration of peoples of the

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same Celtic race ; hence the term Late Celtic, in opposition to the bronze-using people known as Early Celtic. This period is not so widely known as it deserves to be. Historians who have already embodied the results of the archæology of the Palæolithic, Neolithic and Bronze ages in their work have not at present made use of the discoveries belonging to this period.

We have now traced the remains of Prehistoric man in Northamptonshire from his first appearance in the Nene valley while yet this country formed part of the continent, having as his contemporaries the mammoth, the woolly rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, through the successive periods of the Neolithic and Bronze ages after it had become an island, down to the Late Celtic period (characterized by the use of iron) during which the camp at Hunsbury was constructed and occupied, as perhaps some of the other camps in the county may prove to be. It will be seen that if Northamptonshire has not contributed much to the general stock of knowledge relating to the Neolithic and the Bronze ages, it has yielded its share towards our knowledge of the Britons who occupied this part of the country prior to the Roman occupation.





ROMANO-BRITISH NORTHAMPTONSHIRE¹

1. Introductory Sketch of Roman Britain. 2. Towns of Romano-British Northamptonshire : (a) Castor, (b) Irchester, (c) Towcester, (d) Whilton, Norton. 3. Villas and Rural Dwellings. 4. Roads. 5. Industries : The Castor Potteries of Native Art. 6. Military Remains : The alleged Ostorian Forts. 7. Alphabetical list of the chief places in Northamptonshire where Roman Remains have been discovered, with map.

I. INTRODUCTORY SKETCH OF ROMAN BRITAIN

As he approaches the Roman occupation the student of Northamptonshire antiquities enters upon the historic period. He ceases to depend solely and simply on archæological evidences ; the narratives or the allusions of ancient writers lend him their aid and he might perhaps be expected at this point to commence a regular history. In reality he cannot do that. Not only are his written records most unsatisfactory—inadequate in extent, inexact in detail ; other difficulties bar his path. Even if he possessed a whole library of Roman literature about Roman Britain, he could not in this section attempt to write history. Two facts which are often overlooked would limit him to a humbler though not an easier task.

The first of these facts is the character of the Roman Empire, of which Britain formed a province. Alike in its vast area and in its complex organization that Empire was constituted on a scale which dwarfs detail into insignificance. Its history—that is, its true history, apart from court scandals and imperial crimes—is a record of great developments slowly advancing among the peoples of three continents. It contains none of that continuity of individual life, that rapid succession of momentous incidents, that quick growth of tendencies which characterize the cities of ancient Greece or the little nations of modern Europe.

¹ For the following article I have searched the literature for myself, and have visited all the chief sites and museums. I have had to thank various helpers : Mr. R. A. Smith of the British Museum, Mr. T. J. George of Northampton Museum, Mr. Ryland Adkins of Northampton, Mr. J. W. Bodger of Peterborough, and others named below ; Mr. Stevenson has of course helped me in his department. I have examined also the late Sir H. Dryden's papers, preserved in Northampton Museum, and the late Mr. Jas. T. Irvine's sketches in the Bodleian Library. I may add that I quote the three chief histories of the county by their authors' names, Morton, Bridges, and Baker—the latter not to be confused with the Rev. R. S. Baker, late rector of Hargrave ; all other references will, I believe, explain themselves.

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Single men, local occurrences are the least important items in its annals and the fortunes of separate provinces are merged more or less completely in the great movement of the whole mass. We can sketch the features of each or any province, its populousness, its degree of civilization, its mineral or agricultural or commercial wealth. We can string together in a rough narrative a few events connected with it. But we cannot write a real history of it, for it had no individual existence for the historian to trace.

A second fact imposes a more serious limitation. When the Romans ruled our island it was not divided into its present counties or into any districts geographically identical with them. Neither the boundaries of the Celtic tribes nor those of the Roman administrative areas, so far as we know, agree with our existing county boundaries. The student of Roman remains discovered in any one county deals with a division of land which for his purpose is accidental and arbitrary. The phrase Roman Northamptonshire is convenient, but strictly speaking it is a contradiction in terms. We can describe, as we shall presently do, the Roman remains found in our county, but we do so not because it is scientific, but because it is convenient. The topographical history and the topographical literature of our island is grouped so largely by counties that we can hardly treat the Roman antiquities on any other basis. But all the while we shall be dealing with an area which for our purpose has no meaning or unity. We can describe it; we cannot write its history.

These facts make it desirable to diverge a little from the plan followed by most county historians. Hitherto it has been customary to narrate the chief events recorded by ancient writers as occurring in Roman Britain, and to point out which of these events took place or might be imagined to have taken place within the county. The result is always to leave on the reader an impression that somehow or other the county possessed in Roman times a local individuality and a local history. In the following pages we shall adopt a different method. Utilizing the abundant archæological evidence, now far better known and understood than a hundred years ago, we shall first sketch briefly the general character of Roman Britain and we shall then proceed to describe in detail the actual antiquities and to point out how far they agree with this general character, how far (in other words) the district now called Northamptonshire was an average bit of the Roman province.

The Roman occupation was commenced by the Emperor Claudius in A.D. 43. At first its progress was rapid. Kent and Essex were seized in a few weeks; then the army of invasion seems to have divided into three divisions, the Second Legion moving south-west towards Somerset and Devon, the Fourteenth and Twentieth Legions north-west towards Shrewsbury and Chester, the Ninth Legion north towards Lincoln. We have in Northamptonshire some remains which may be faint traces of the operations of the Ninth and Twentieth Legions; to these we shall return below (in sec. 7). The result was that within three

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or four years the Romans held all the south and midlands as far as Exeter, Shrewsbury and Lincoln ; part was annexed, part left to 'protected' princes—for instance, the princes of the Iceni in what is now Norfolk and Suffolk. Then came a pause ; some thirty years were spent by Ostorius Scapula and his successors in reducing the hill tribes of Wales and Yorkshire, and during these years the protected principalities were absorbed. About A.D. 80 the advance into Scotland began ; about A.D. 124 the Emperor Hadrian built his wall from Tyne to Solway, and henceforward the Roman frontier was sometimes to the north, never to the south of this line.

The province thus acquired fell practically, though not officially, into two well marked divisions, which coincide roughly with the lowlands conquered in the first years of the conquest and the hills which were conquered later. The former was the district of settled peaceful life, and in it we have to include the area now called Northamptonshire. The troops appear to have been soon withdrawn from this district, and with a few definite exceptions there probably was not a fort or fortress throughout this part of our island after the end of the first century. It was the Roman practice, at least in the European provinces of the Empire, to mass the troops almost exclusively along the frontiers and to leave peaceful interior districts free from garrisons, and Britain was no exception. The whole military force was stationed in Wales or in the north—that is, in the troublesome regions and on the Caledonian frontier. This military district was purely military ; it had its fortresses, roads and garrisons, but no towns or 'villas' or ordinary civilian life. The army which held it was perhaps forty thousand strong and ranked as one of the chief among the armies of the provinces. The most important element in Roman Britain was the military element.

With this military element, however, we are not here concerned. For our present purpose it is enough to note its existence in order to explain the rarity of military remains in Northamptonshire. But we may pause to examine the features of the non-military district, within which the area of our county lies. These features are not sensational. Britain was a small province, remote from Rome, and by no means wealthy. It did not reach the higher developments of city life, of culture and of commerce which we meet abundantly in more favoured lands, in Gaul or Spain or Africa. Nevertheless it had a character of its own.

In the first place, Britain, like all western Europe, became Romanized. Perhaps its Romanization was comparatively late in date and imperfect in extent, but in the end the Britons generally adopted the Roman speech and civilization, and in our island, as in Gaul and Spain and elsewhere, the difference between 'Roman' and 'provincial' practically vanished. When about A.D. 410 the Roman rule in Britain ended, the so-called 'departure of the Romans' did not mean an emigration of alien officials, soldiers and traders, such as we might see to-day if English rule ended abruptly in India or French rule in Algiers. It was

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administrative, not racial. Those who left Britain and those who stayed equally regarded themselves as 'Romani,' and indeed it is not probable that many did in reality depart. The fact is that the gap between the Briton and the Roman, visible enough in the first century, had almost become obliterated by the fourth century. The townspeople and educated persons in Britain seem to have employed Latin, as casual words scratched on tiles or pottery assist to prove, while on the side of material civilization the Roman element reigned supreme. Before the Claudian conquest there had existed in the island a Late Celtic art of considerable merit, best known for metal-work and earthenware and distinguished by its fantastic use of plant and animal forms, its predilection for the 'returning spiral' ornament, and its enamelling. This art vanished. In a few places, as for instance in some potteries of the New

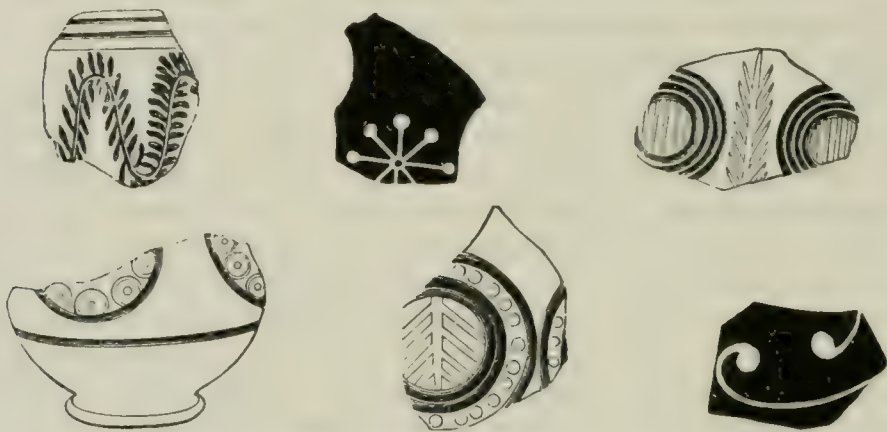


FIG. 1. NEW FOREST WARE WITH LEAF PATTERNS OF NATIVE TYPE.

Forest (fig. 1) and of the Nene Valley (sec. 5), its products survived as local manufactures, but even these were modified by Roman influences. In general it met the fate which overtakes every picturesque but semi-civilized art when confronted with an organized coherent culture. Almost every important feature in Romano-British life was Roman. The ground plans of the private houses form an exception ; they indicate in all probability that the Romans, coming to our shores from sunnier lands, accepted, as we might expect, some features of the native types of dwellings. But the furniture of these houses is Roman. The mosaic pavements and painted stucco and carved stone-work which adorned them, the hypocausts which warmed them and the bathrooms which increased their comfort were all equally borrowed from Italy. The better objects of domestic use tell the same tale. For example, the commonest good pottery is the red ware called Samian or Terra Sigillata. This was copied from an Italian original and manufactured in Gaul, and it completely superseded native manufactures as the fashionable and indeed universal material. Nor were these foreign elements confined to the mansions of the wealthy. Samian bowls and rudely coloured plaster and makeshift hypocausts have been found even in outlying hamlets,

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But though the Romanization was thus tolerably complete, it must be further qualified as a Romanization on a low scale. The more elaborate and splendid and wealthy features of the Italian civilization, whether material or intellectual or administrative, were rare or even unknown in Britain. The finest objects of continental manufacture, glass and pottery and gold-work and the rest, came seldom to the island, and the objects of local fabric attained but seldom a high degree of merit. The choicer marbles and the finer statuary are still rarer and the mosaics are usually commonplace and undistinguished. Of Romano-British literature we have very little and that little owes its interest to other things than literary excellence. Of organized municipal or commercial or administrative life we have but scanty traces. The civilization of Roman Britain was Roman, but it contained few elements of splendour or magnificence.

We may distinguish in this civilization two local forms deserving special notice—the town and the villa. The towns of Roman Britain are not few, but as we might expect they are for the most part small. Many of them appear to have been originally Celtic tribal centres; then under Roman influence they developed into towns, like the tribal centres in northern Gaul. Scarcely any seems to have attained any great size or wealth, according to the standard of the Empire. The highest form of town life known to the Roman was certainly rare in Britain: the *coloniæ* and *municipia*, the privileged municipalities with the Roman franchise and constitutions on the Italian model, were represented, so far as we know, by only five examples, the *coloniæ* of Colchester, Lincoln, York and Gloucester and the *municipium* of Verulam, and none of these could vie with the great municipalities of other provinces. But while lacking in size and magnificence, the towns of Roman Britain were in their way real towns; if a modern term be allowed, we might best describe them as country towns. Most of them had walls, at least in the fourth century. Many of them had a *forum* built on the Roman plan, providing in Roman fashion accommodation for magistrates, traders and idlers. Not only the *coloniæ* and *municipium* which were ruled by prescribed magistrates and town councils, but also the small places must be regarded as having some form of municipal life.

Outside these towns the country seems to have been divided up into estates, known as ‘villas,’ and in this respect, as in its towns, Britain resembles northern Gaul. The villa was the property of a great landowner, who inhabited the ‘great house’ if there was one, cultivated the ground close to it by slaves, and let the rest to half-serf *coloni*. The villa in fact was the predecessor of the mediæval manor. In Gaul some of the villas were estates of eight or ten thousand acres, and the landowners’ houses were splendid and sumptuous. In Britain we have no evidence to determine the size of the estates, and the houses—to which the term ‘villa’ is often especially applied—seem rarely to have been very large. A few can vie with continental residences; many are small and narrow. The landowners, as in Gaul, were doubtless the Romanized

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nobles and upper classes of the native population, with but a slight infusion of Italian immigrants. The common assertion that they were Roman officers or officials may be set aside as rarely, if ever, correct. The wealth of these landowners must have been almost solely agricultural ; their lands were probably for the most part sheep runs and corn land and supplied the cloth and wheat which are mentioned by ancient writers as exported from Britain during the later Imperial period. The peasantry who worked on these estates or were otherwise occupied in the country lived in rude hamlets formed of huts or pit dwellings with few circumstances of luxury or even comfort. But even their material civilization was Roman. Here, as among the upper classes, the Late Celtic art yielded to the strength of Italian influences.

In both town and villa a remarkable feature is presented by the houses. While thoroughly Roman in their fittings, they were in

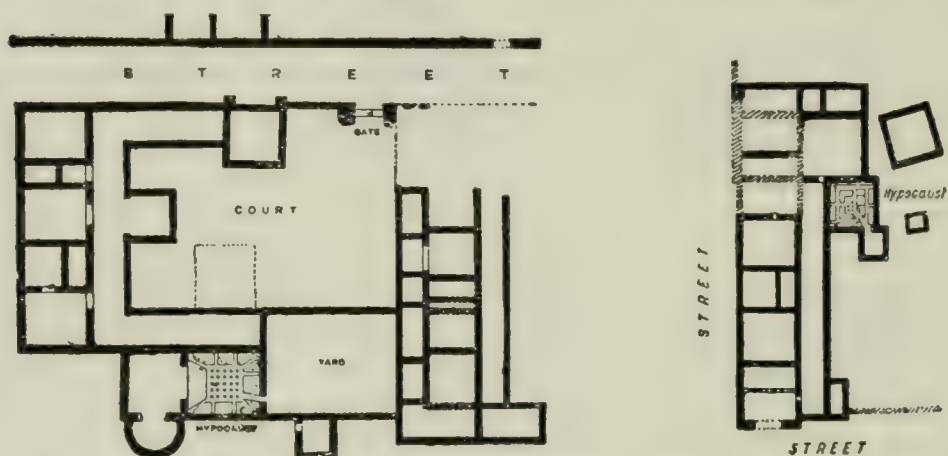


FIG. 2. PLANS OF COURTYARD AND CORRIDOR HOUSES AT SILCHESTER (scale 1 : 720).

(The left-hand block shows a courtyard house with a corridor house adjacent ; the right-hand figure a small corridor house by itself.)

respect of ground plan and therefore of general arrangement by no means Roman. They do not in the least resemble the houses of ancient Rome and Pompeii or the country houses which have been dug up in Italy. They belong instead to types which occur only in Britain and northern Gaul and by no means improbably represent Celtic fashions, altered by Roman contact but substantially native. A common type is that known as the Corridor type (fig. 2), which shows a straight row or range of rooms with a corridor running alongside of them and generally with some slight enlargement at one end or the other. Another more elaborate type shows three such rows set round a large unroofed rectangular courtyard. Very similar to this last is a type in which the buildings round the courtyard are not continuous, but stand isolated each in the middle of one of the three sides ; in such cases the blocks may consist of corridor houses, of barns, outhouses and farm buildings of various plans (fig. 3). There appears to be no great difference between town and country in the distribution of these types, but the stateliest country villas seem to

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exhibit especially the second type, and the third type, if it is to be called a separate type, occurs only in the country. In size the houses vary as widely as houses in all ages. The corridor houses are as a rule the smallest, some of them measuring little more than 40×60 feet in length and breadth, while in the more imposing courtyard houses the yards alone are sometimes three times that area.

One feature, not a prominent one, remains to be noticed—trade and industry. We should perhaps place first the agricultural industry, which produced wheat and wool. Both were exported in the fourth century, and the export of wheat to the mouth of the Rhine is mentioned by an ancient writer as considerable. Unfortunately the details of this agriculture are almost unknown: perhaps we shall be able to estimate it

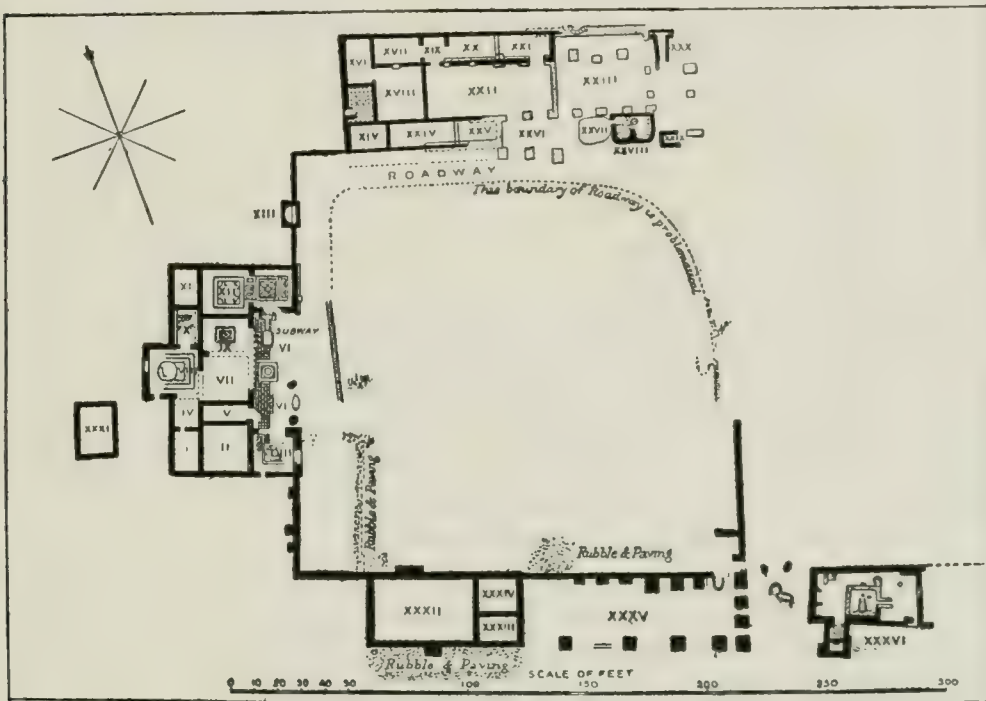


FIG. 3. VILLA, CONSISTING OF CORRIDOR HOUSE AND TWO BLOCKS OF FARM BUILDINGS ROUND A RECTANGULAR COURTYARD (BRADING, ISLE OF WIGHT). ROOM VI. IS THE CORRIDOR.

better when the Romano-British 'villas' have been better explored. Rather more traces have survived of the lead mining and iron mining which, at least during the first two centuries of our era, was carried on with some vigour in half a dozen districts—lead on Mendip, in Shropshire, Flintshire and Derbyshire; iron in the Weald and the Forest of Dean, and occasionally to a less extent elsewhere, as perhaps in part of Northamptonshire. Other minerals were less important. The gold mentioned by Tacitus proved very scanty, and the far-famed Cornish tin seems (according to present evidence) to have been worked comparatively little and late in the Roman occupation. The chief commercial town was, from the earliest times, Londinium (London). It was never, so far as we know, raised to municipal rank, but was nevertheless a place of

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size and wealth and perhaps the residence of the chief authorities who controlled taxes and customs dues. The usual route to the continent for passengers and for goods was from the Kentish harbours to Gessoriacum (Boulogne), but the discovery of a pig of Mendip lead at the mouth of the Somme suggests occasionally longer voyages.

Finally, let us sketch the roads. We may distinguish four groups, all commencing from one centre, London. One road ran south-east to Canterbury and the Kentish ports. A second ran west and south-west, first due west from London to Silchester, and thence by ramifications to Winchester and Exeter, Bath, Gloucester and South Wales. A third, Watling Street, ran north-west across the Midlands to Wroxeter, and thence to the military districts of the north-west: it also gave access to Leicester and the north. A fourth ran to Colchester and the eastern counties, and also to Lincoln and York and the military districts of the north-east. In Northamptonshire we shall be concerned with the third and fourth of these routes and with branches from them. To these must be added a long single road, the only important one which had no connection with London. This is the Foss, which cuts obliquely across from north-east to south-west, joining Lincoln, Leicester, Bath and Exeter. These roads must be understood as being only the main roads, divested, for the sake of clearness, of many branches and intricacies; and, understood as such, they may be taken to represent a reasonable supply of internal communications for the province. After the Roman occupation had ceased, they were largely utilized by the English, but they do not much resemble the roads of mediæval England in their grouping and economic significance. One might better compare them to the railways of to-day, which equally radiate from London.

Such was Roman Britain, so far as it was not military—a land of small country towns and large rural estates; permeated by the simpler forms of Roman civilization, but lacking the higher developments; not devoid of natural resources, but not rich; a comfortable country perhaps, but an unimportant fraction of the Empire.

With these general features of the province, or rather of its southern portion, we have now to compare the details of Roman Northamptonshire. The comparison will both illustrate the preceding sketch and at the same time show the proper significance of the Roman remains found in the county. Let us briefly anticipate the results. Our detailed survey will show us a district that closely resembles the larger part of southern non-military Britain, both in the abundance and in the character of its remains, but which does not lack one or two features of special interest. There were, in the area which is now Northamptonshire, one considerable town and three small ones. There were numerous villas and rural dwellings. There were roads; and two of these roads were specially important in the road system of the province. There were industries of some small local moment—probably ironstone diggings, certainly extensive manufactures of earthenware at Castor—and the latter, the Castor potteries, merit special notice, because they preserved in

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Roman days some faint traditions of the old native Celtic art. In short, the antiquities of our county present to us, fully and freely, the features which characterized the ordinary settled life of Roman Britain, and they add one feature which is less usual, the survival of Celtic traditions in art. We have before us a typical area, varying only in one small individual trait. But to these details, which exemplify the permanent and regular life of the district as it was through two or three centuries, we must append one more of a different nature. We shall not be able to conclude our survey without noticing some vestiges—partly real, partly (I fear) imaginary—of the military operations by which Roman Britain was first conquered. These vestiges are not characteristic of the district: their presence in it is accidental, and their date is a special and transitory period. Therefore we place them at the end of our survey, outside the limits of the normal civilization which we shall first describe.

This normal civilization however was not equally developed over all parts of Northamptonshire. The eastern end of the county differed markedly in this respect from the centre and west. In the east we find something like a real town, a flourishing industry, and signs of wealth and luxury. In the centre and west the towns are hardly more than villages, and evidences of high civilization are scanty. This is not mere chance. The eastern part of our county belongs to the region of the fens and the hills adjoining them; the west and centre belong to the midlands, and in the Roman period the civilization of the midlands was lower than that of the surrounding districts. In the latter we meet striking developments of Romano-British life; for instance, a ring of country towns, Verulam, Chesterford, Castor, Wroxeter, Gloucester, Cirencester, Silchester, each in its degree a place of note. The midland area contained no such elements. Except Leicester, its towns were far too small to be matched with any of those just named; indeed, they are hardly towns at all, and the whole Romano-British life of the region was simple and plain, and devoid of character and salient features. The reason for this may perhaps be found in physical facts. The midlands, though often described by geographers as the central plain of our island, are not in reality a plain in the ordinary sense of that word. They form a complex district which is especially notable for the low scale and small size of its various physical features. Little of it is flat, but it has no high hills or distinct ranges. Woods abound in it, but there are no continuous tracts of forest. Many rivers rise within it, but they reach no size till they have passed its borders; their valleys are small and shallow, and even their watersheds are faint and ill-defined. It is a pleasant land, alike to those that dwell in it and those that wander through it, but it contains very little that might aid the growth of large towns or of an extensive agricultural population. Its mineral wealth attracts a dense throng of inhabitants to one part of it to-day, but that wealth was unknown in the Roman period. Then too the woods were perhaps thicker than now, and the little valleys less carefully drained. It is not hard to understand why the midlands, and among

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the midland districts, the west and centre of Northamptonshire, should have possessed a less richly developed civilization than many other parts of the Roman province.

2. TOWNS OF ROMANO-BRITISH NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

(a) CASTOR

The most interesting and the most important of these towns is in the east of the county, but it does not lie wholly within it. The remains discovered at Castor on the north bank of the Nene, four miles west from Peterborough, form only part of a larger whole which stretches out south of the river and belongs no less to Huntingdonshire than to Northamptonshire. Here as elsewhere the student of Roman Britain must ignore the territorial divisions of later England. For our present purpose it is a mere accident that the Nene at Castor separates two English shires. The remains on its north bank cannot be sundered from those on its south bank : the two together constitute one extensive straggling settlement.

The Roman name of this settlement is generally and confidently asserted to be Durobrivae. That was the view of Camden, and it has been the dominant view, if not the universal view, ever since. Probably it is also the true view. But the arguments adducible in its favour are in reality very unsatisfactory and demand some examination. They rest on two pieces of evidence, (i.) one supplied by the Antonine Itinerary and (ii.) the other by an old English appellation of Castor.

(i.) The Itinerary mentions a route from London by way of Colchester and Lincoln to the north, and inserts as 'stations' between Colchester and Lincoln the following : Villa Faustini, Icini (or Iciani), Camboritum, Durolipons, Durobrivae and Causennae.¹ The determination of these places and of the route connecting them is a well known problem in Romano-British topography. We should expect the route to run north-west from Colchester and then skirt the Fens by way of Cambridge, Huntingdon and Peterborough. But no Roman road can be traced issuing from Colchester in the direction of Cambridge ; none of the Roman names are otherwise known to us, and the mileage of the Itinerary is irreconcilable with any reasonable identifications of them. If however we start in the north we can trace a road running south from Lincoln and passing Roman sites at Ancaster, Castor and Godmanchester near Huntingdon. Its further course is complicated and obscure ; but so far it may well represent the Itinerary route, and the Roman sites along it may be the Itinerary 'stations.' That is to say, Ancaster may be Causennae and Durobrivae may be Castor. Certainly this road

¹ *Itin. Ant.* 474, 475 ; *Ravennas*, 429, 12-7, probably names some of these stations, but with very distorted orthography. Some of the places (e.g. Villa Faustini and Icini) may belong to a branch route (see *Victoria History of Norfolk*, i. 300). It used to be thought that the similarity of names fixed Camboritum at Cambridge and thus gave us a definite point on the route. Mr. Skeat has however shown that the names Cam and Cambridge are comparatively modern and for our purpose useless (*Placenames of Cambridgeshire*, p. 30).

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runs in the required direction ; it is practically the only one that does so, and the sites along it are the only sites suitable for our purpose. The difficulty however remains that the Itinerary mileage is wholly irreconcilable with the distances between these sites. This difficulty has induced Gale, Reynolds and some others to seek both road and stations elsewhere. But their remedies are worse than the disease. In the present state of our ignorance it seems preferable to suppose, at least provisionally, that the Itinerary numerals are wrong.¹ Such a conclusion however cannot be called certain, or even approximately certain, without some external evidence to support it.

(ii.) Such evidence it has been proposed to find in one of the old English names for Castor. This name appears in two forms : Dormeceastre mentioned by Henry of Huntingdon about 1130 A.D., and Dormundescastra mentioned two centuries later by John of Tynemouth. Unfortunately neither of these forms can be connected philologically with Durobrivae. The shorter of them is an abbreviation of the longer,² and the longer is derived simply from the English masculine name Dēormund. They afford no proof that Castor was called Durobrivae in the Roman period.³ If we believe that it was so called we must rely solely on the consideration urged above—that the Itinerary route by Durobrivae and Causennae to Lincoln seems, despite all difficulties, to be the Roman road still traceable by Castor and Ancaster to Lincoln.

Whatever doubts may obscure the name, none affects the place. For nearly eight centuries it has been recognized as a Romano-British site. The twelfth century antiquary, Henry of Huntingdon, leads the way. Native and resident in this part of England, and possibly himself acquainted with the spot, he alludes to the ruins on the south bank of the Nene as those of a British city *penitus destructa* ; further, he invents for it a name Cair-Dorm out of the contemporary English name Dormeceastre, and he inserts it thus labelled in the list of British cities which he adapts from Nennius. Medieval writers copied him freely ; Camden added a few details and the name Durobrivae, but the site first became well known in the early years of the eighteenth century. Then it was visited by Horsley and others, and notably by Stukeley, who lived close by, and these visitors recorded numerous finds made sporadically, both during the construction of the great turnpike road in 1739 from Water Newton to Wansford and at other times. Eighty years later, in 1820-7, Mr. Edmund T. Artis, F.S.A., then house steward to Lord Fitzwilliam at Milton, made extensive though unsystematic excavations, which he

¹ See p. 205.

² Compare the two forms Godmanchester and Gumicastre.

³ Henry of Huntingdon, i. 3, referring to the remains on the south bank of the Nene ; John of Tynemouth in MS. Bodl. 240 (fo. 621a) copied by Capgrave, *Legenda nova Angliæ* (London, 1516, fo. ccxiii.), referring to Castor. Camden quotes a name Dornford, but I cannot trace it, nor could Morton two centuries ago ; it is possible that Camden invented it. The idea, due to Camden, that Normangate Field at Castor is a corruption of Dormangate is of course absurd ; it deserves notice only because it illustrates the wilfulness of sixteenth century etymologizing. A British name for the site, Cair-Dorm, is sometimes adduced, but it is an invention of the twelfth century. I am naturally indebted to Mr. W. H. Stevenson for guidance in dealing with these names.

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illustrated in a sumptuous volume of plates and plans issued in 1828.¹ Unfortunately he wrote no text to this volume, and though the plates to some extent explain themselves and a few details have been recorded otherwise, the absence of any coherent account has seriously lessened the value of his work. In 1844 the discoveries recommenced. The construction of the Peterborough and Northampton railway led to finds near Sibson at the Wansford station, and Mr. Artis then made some

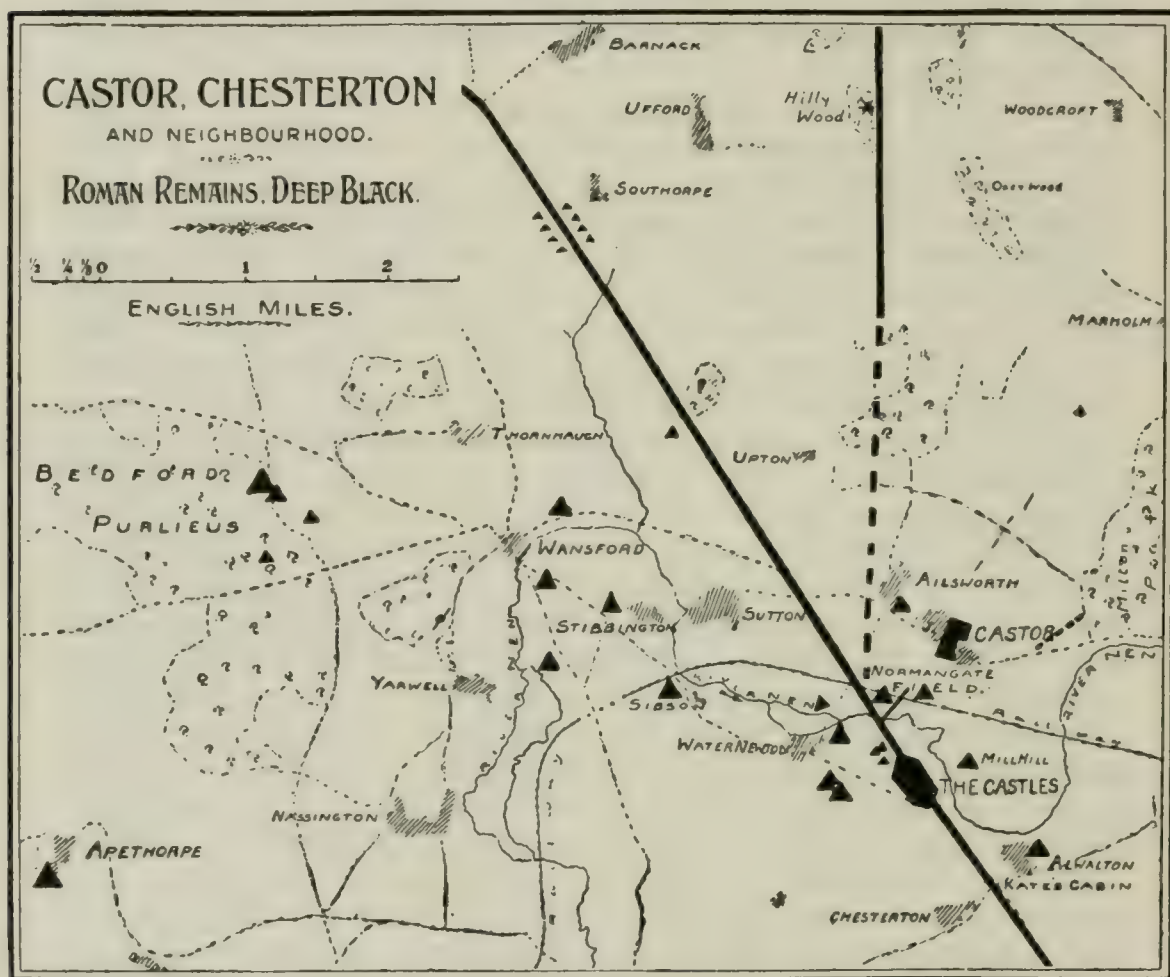


FIG. 4.

slight further search. There is much more to be done and much that is singularly well worth doing. The area once occupied by buildings is wide and mostly unexplored. The foundations of the buildings are well preserved, and their walls, according to Mr. Artis, may be found in some

¹ *The Durobrivae of Antoninus identified and illustrated in a series of plates exhibiting the excavated remains of that Roman station in the vicinity of Castor*, by E. T. Artis. London, 1828, folio 60 plates and plans. Artis is not the only archæologist who has found digging with the spade easier than describing with the pen. A summary of what can be deduced from his plates was contributed by the late Archdeacon Trollope to the *Archæological Journal*, xxx. (1873), 127-40. His collection was dispersed by sale after his death in 1847; some of his finds were presented to the Peterborough Museum by Mr. A. Sykes in 1893, and sketches of these by Jas. T. Irvine are in the Bodleian Library. A good collection of pottery, made by Mr. Knipe, late rector of Water Newton, is in the Archæological Museum at Cambridge.

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places standing ten or eleven feet high. The individual remains—houses of various types, pottery works, numerous portable objects—are abundant and notable. There is perhaps no other site save Verulam throughout the non-military parts of Roman Britain which would better repay extensive, systematic and scientific excavation. It is greatly to be hoped that those interested in local archæology will see that such an excavation is soon made.

As a whole the site may be described roughly as extending four miles from east to west and two from north to south (fig. 4). The winding Nene bisects it, the Roman high road from the south to Ancaster and Lincoln cuts straight across it in its unswerving north-westerly course and, as it crosses the river, throws out a branch which runs due north into Lincolnshire. Along these roads and east of them lie those portions of the site where the houses are thickest and the semblance of a town most definite. The rest of the site, particularly its western part towards Sibson, Wansford and Sutton, was less densely occupied. We may conveniently divide our closer description into three parts: the 'town' south of the Nene, that north of it near Castor, and the remainder which we may provisionally style suburbs.

On the south side of the Nene, between the river and the modern highroad, lie some fields known as 'the Castles,' where the visitor can yet discern the outline of a once fortified enclosure and the traces of Roman occupation, brick and tile and potsherds, lying on the surface. In shape the enclosure is an irregular hexagon, more oval than round; in area it measures 45–50 acres; the Roman highroad traverses it from end to end. It has never been explored. Stukeley tells us that the foundations of the south gate, constructed in hewn stone, were discovered by drainers in 1739; he adds, apparently on similar evidence, that the place was girt with a stone wall and a ditch 50 feet wide, but his observations were hardly minute enough to do more than confirm the fact, still obvious enough, that the enclosure had some sort of rampart and ditch around it. In the interior were dwellings. Artis marks the sites of twenty-two scattered up and down the area, and indicates in one of his plates that there were hypocausts and rooms whose walls were lined with thin slabs of local marble from Alwalton—sufficient signs of domestic comfortable life.¹ Close outside the north end of the enclosure and the north gateway were other buildings—houses and potters' kilns, and three noteworthy objects have also been found here. An inscribed fragment, **MARTO**, was discovered, as Artis tells us, in 'removing a part of the old wall on the north side of the fortified ground.' Unfortunately he does not add whether this old wall was the Roman rampart or some other structure.² A rude bas relief of Hercules, also recorded by Artis, was

¹ Stukeley's *Letters* (Surtees Society's publications), iii. 60; Artis, pl. xxiii, xxvi. (1) and (2). Trollope erroneously transfers the south gateway to Castor. Alwalton marble resembles Purbeck marble, but is more shelly in texture, lighter in colour and perhaps more durable; it was used in the Middle Ages, e.g. for Peterborough Cathedral.

² Artis, pl. xv. (1); *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vii. 79; *Ephemeris epigr.* vii. 841.

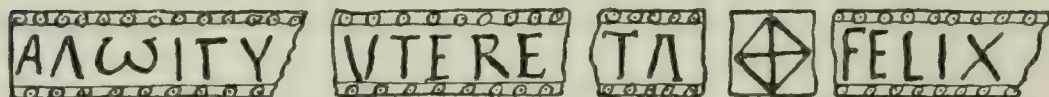
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found near it outside the enclosure. Lastly a milestone was dug up in 1785 from the ditch of the enclosure, in a field called Bridge (or Brick) Close and in the immediate neighbourhood of the north gate. It is a cylindrical stone of a shape usual to Roman milestones, 3 feet 4 inches in height and from 10 to 15 inches in diameter. It is now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, where I have examined it.

IMP·CÆS
M· ANNI O
FLORIANO
P·F·INVICTO
AVG
M·P·I·

‘In the reign of the Emperor Marcus Annus Florianus, Pius Felix Invictus Augustus: one mile’ (A.D. 276).

It marks the distance of one mile from some place from which mileage was counted, and that as we shall see (pp. 177, 203) can hardly be any other than Castor.¹ Several burial grounds are also recorded. Stukeley mentions urn burials near the north gate. Artis places stone coffins at the same spot and skeletons near the south-east corner, but the principal cemetery was apparently to the south, near the Roman road which led into the south gate. Here stone and lead coffins, urns, human bones, coins of all periods in the Roman occupation and other objects were ploughed up in great numbers when the turnpike road to Wansford bridge was constructed in 1739.² One stone coffin is specially recorded as containing the bones of a mother and unborn babe. Another, discovered in 1754 in digging for a foundation, contained a skeleton, three glass ‘lachrymatories,’ a few jet pins, a seventeenth century seal which must have got in by accident, some coins (one Faustina, one Gordian, the rest illegible), and five thin bits of ‘white wood’ (bone?) with an inscription which a correspondent of the Society of Antiquaries read thus:—



The pieces apparently belong together, but they are imperfect and they have been copied in the wrong order. We can only discern the formula so often engraved on objects of common use, *utere felix*: ‘use (me) and prosper’; the rest of the inscription was seemingly in Greek.³

¹ Note by the Rev. Mr. Tench, then rector of Chesterton, dated March 22, 1785, printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, (1795) ii. 741, and in Kennet Gibson's *Castor*, p. 163; *Gentleman's Magazine*, (1786) ii. 1034, (1788) i. 36, (1795) ii. 841, 916; Artis, pl. xv. (2) with wrong provenance; *Corpus inscr. Latin.* vii. 1156. Editors have differed about the numeral of the mileage, giving usually L or LI, but the actual figure is certainly I, as I ascertained by personal inspection and by a squeeze. Hübner actually read I but put L in his text, thinking he had erred. M·P·I· however, though it may sound odd to a grammarian, is by no means without parallel and here makes good sense.

² Stukeley's *Letters*, ii. 213, 222, iii. 59; *Reliquiæ Galeanæ*, ii. (2) 183; Kennet Gibson's *Castor*, 81-4; Minutes of the Peterborough Gentlemen's Society, printed in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, new ser. v. 150-1.

³ Manning, *Minutes of the Soc. of Antiquaries*, vii. p. 122; Gibson's *Castor*, p. 84; Gough's *Add. to Camden*, ii. 257 (inaccurate); *Corpus inscr. Latin.* vii. 1264; Stukeley's *Letters*, ii. 218 (reading Αλωσει).

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These remains on the south bank of the Nene—a small town or village inside a rampart and ditch, with graveyards and potteries round it—are balanced by similar remains on the north bank. The Roman road which traversed the southern settlement helped to connect the two. It crossed the water by a bridge of stone and wood, traces of which were found and removed in 1715; thence, while it itself pursued its north-westerly course towards Stamford, one or more branches diverged to the north and north-east.¹ These gave access to an extensive settlement, stretching from Normangate (or Normanton) Field by the river up to Castor and the rising ground, the distance of nearly a mile. No trace has yet been detected of any rampart or ditch enclosing it or any part of it,² but the dwelling houses in it seem to have been numerous and have been more fully explored than those south of the river. Morton, Stukeley, Gibson and others have recorded frequent accidental finds of walls, pavements, small objects, partly in Normangate Field and still more in Castor village near the parish church.³ Artis largely increased our knowledge by excavation. In Normangate Field he found houses with baths, tessellated floors and gaily painted walls, placed somewhat indiscriminately with numerous potters' kilns in the same quarter. Nearer Castor he thought to detect regular streets, and in Castor village he dug up parts of interesting houses scattered over an area of about twelve acres round the church. The surviving records of his work do not unfortunately enable us to understand precisely the character of all his discoveries. A correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1822, i. 484), who visited the site in 1822, mentions a house with at least 56 rooms occupying a space of 500–600 feet square, but this is probably an error. Certainly it cannot be identified in Artis' plans. We can however realize that he found many houses, and we have his plans of one complete building and parts of three others. The complete building is a detached bath-house (fig. 5) situated near the Peterborough and Wansford road about a hundred yards south of the church; it is 93 feet long by 58 feet at its greatest breadth,

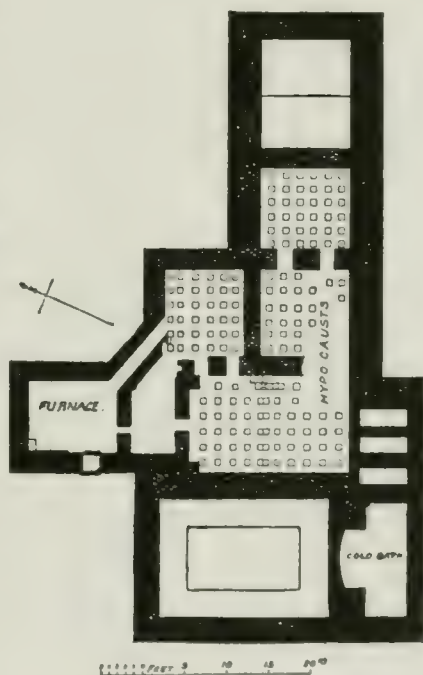


FIG. 5. BATH-HOUSE AT CASTOR.

¹ These branches require further examination. Artis marks two running north-east to Castor. The road due north to Lolham Bridges (p. 204) must also have diverged here.

² Stukeley alleges foundations of a town wall (*Itinerarium Curiosum*, p. 82), but his account is not satisfactory. Probably he saw part of a house afterwards examined by Artis.

³ Morton, p. 509; Stukeley's *Letters*, ii. 213, iii. 56–9; Gibson's *Castor*, p. 86. A mosaic was found in the churchyard in 1733, Minutes of the Peterborough Gentlemen's Society, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, new ser. v. 147.

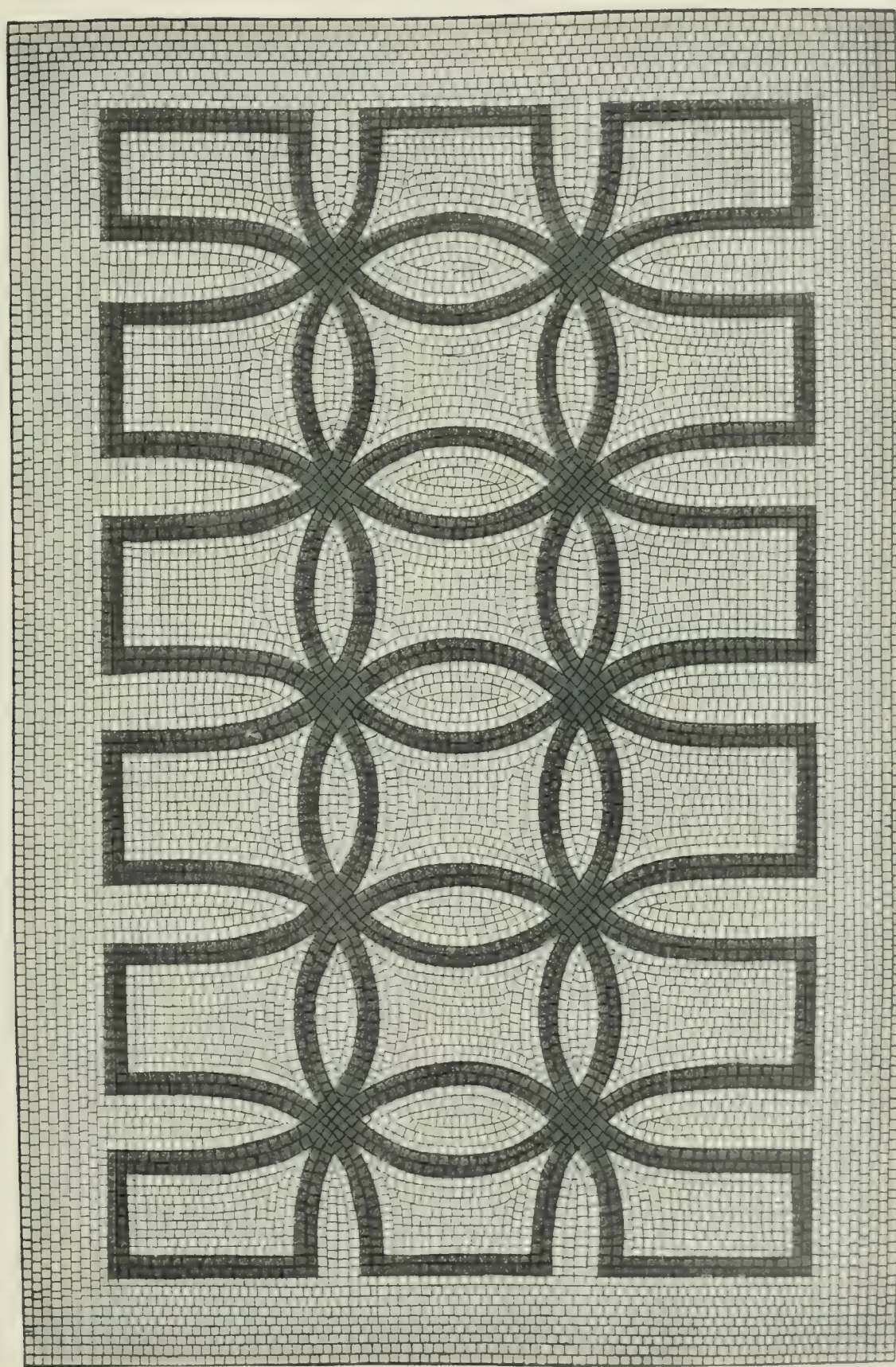
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and contains the usual furnace, hypocausts and hot rooms and cold baths (Artis, pl. v., vi.). The partially explored buildings are : five rooms of a house north of the church (pl. ii., xi.) ; a structure which Artis very rashly called a temple (xi.) east of the church ; and six rooms with two hypocausts and a mosaic pavement of plain but graceful geometrical pattern—interlacing lines of white, yellow, blue and red (pl. viii., iii., iv.). Two other mosaics are figured by Artis from buildings of which he gives no details. One is a plain pattern in straight lines of yellow, white and dark grey, found on the north side of the churchyard in 1827 (pl. vii.); the other is a more ambitious work in white, yellow, red and grey, in the centre a conventional flower with eight heart-shaped petals set in a square bordered with lozenge devices and guilloches. This was found south-west of the church and removed to the ante-room of the dairy at Milton (pl. xii.). Imperfect as our knowledge is, we can see that the site of Castor village was once occupied by substantial Romano-British dwelling-houses fitted with all the usual comforts. Lesser finds of portable objects have not been minutely recorded, but they are of the usual character—coins of all dates, pottery and the like.¹

We have now described the two chief sites, one on each side of the Nene, in the area which we are discussing. It remains to describe the more scattered habitations within the same area which we provisionally styled suburbs. These are dwellings or groups of dwellings which are too near together and too near to Castor and the Castles to be classed as separate villas in the fourth section of this chapter. We shall take first those which are best known, referring to the map for geographical order (fig. 4, p. 168).

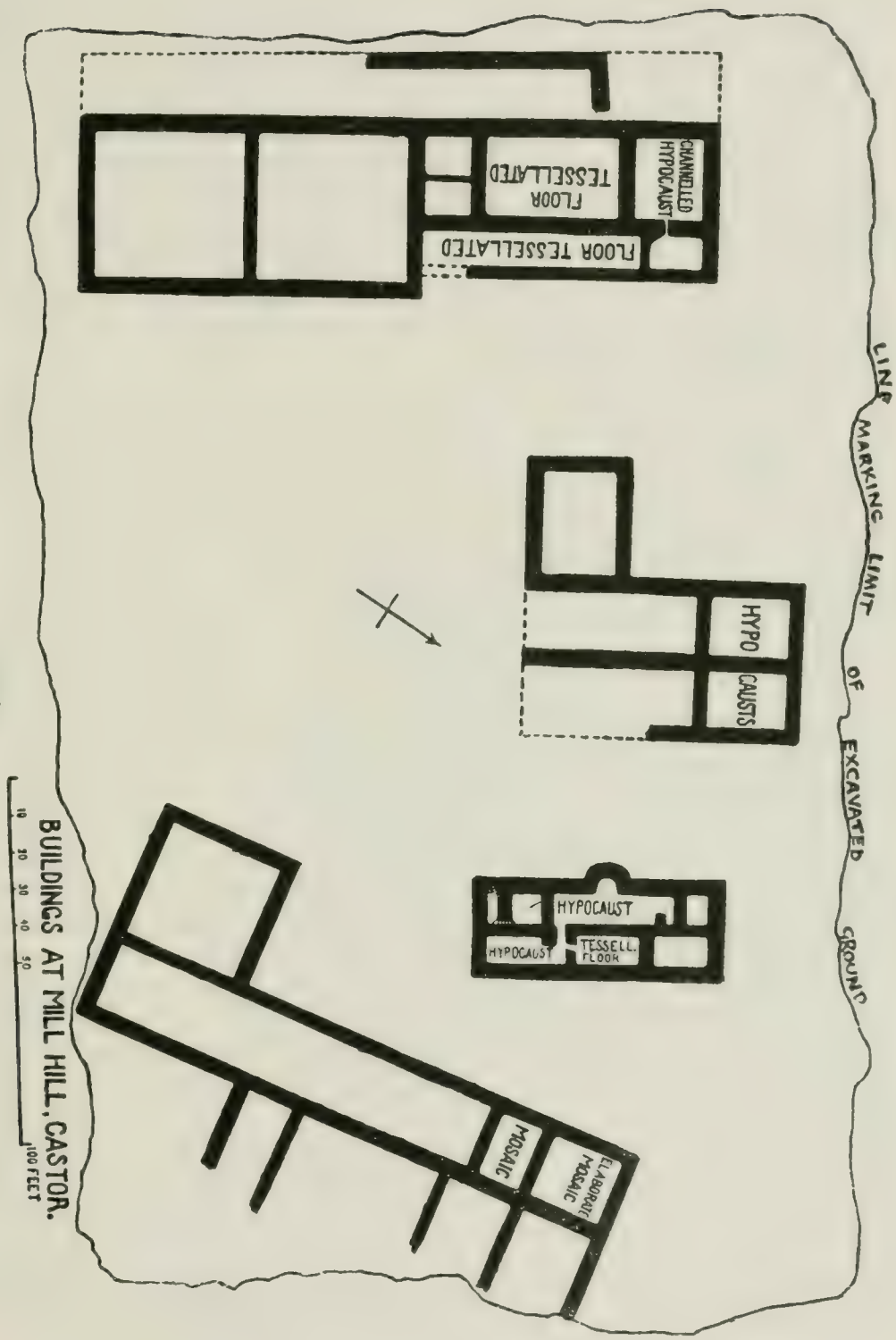
(1) Mill Hill or Mill Field, about a quarter of a mile north-east from the Castles, across the Nene. Here Morton and Stukeley recognized Roman buildings, and Artis in 1822 excavated an area of 70 by 100 yards. He found four buildings, or parts of buildings, arranged unsymmetrically (fig. 6). The easternmost of the four may have been a house of the corridor type. A room at its north end contained an elaborate mosaic in red, white, yellow and gray—a geometrical pattern with a cup in the centre, framed in an octagon and that again in a square with considerable intricacy of device. Next to it was a room with a simpler but far more successful mosaic of rather unusual design—circles and semicircles worked in red on a stone-coloured ground (fig. 7). The next building to it may have been a detached bathhouse ; it measured 25 by 67 feet and contained seven rooms, the two largest heated by hypocausts and a third floored with plain tessellation, while the smallest room of all, at the south corner, was approached by steps descending to it. Of the third building discovered, too little probably is known to justify comment ; the fourth, 60 by 170 feet with a hypocaust at the north end and two plainly tessellated floors, may

¹ Roman vestiges are still visible in the village—cores of walling, built herringbone fashion, in two or three lanes ; columns in the north wall of the chancel of the church ; tiles, etc.



MOSAIC PAVEMENT, FOUND ON MILL HILL, CASTOR, IN 1822.

FIG. 6.
(The smaller mosaic in the westernmost building is reproduced in colours, in fig. 7.)



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have been a dwelling house in which the rooms were arranged along a corridor.¹

(2) Sutton Field, in the parish of Ailsworth, on the north bank of the Nene, close to the water and nearly half a mile east of the Roman bridge. Here Artis found a house of some size. His plan (pl. xxxiii., xxxv.), which represents only the north-east side (as he tells us), shows some fifteen rooms with a corridor along them, four of them paved with mosaic, two and the corridor tessellated plainly, four warmed with hypocausts, and one, at the east end, fitted with a drain, as if a bath. From the east end also a wall ran out to what Artis calls the chief entrance. Presumably this entrance led into a courtyard, and the house as a whole resembled the 'villa' at Apethorpe. In plate xlix. Artis figures some pottery found here by him. He also marks a building further north, on Sutton Heath.

(3) Water Newton, south of the Nene and west of the Castles. Here Artis found, in 1826-7, two houses, one immediately east of Water Newton and near the river, the other 500 yards south of it. Only a small part of either was excavated. They contained tessellated and mosaic floors and hypocausts and were obviously comfortable dwellings.² Water Newton gravel-pit has since yielded various remains—pillars and other worked stones, pottery and the like.³

(4) Sibson, near the Wansford railway station and south of the Nene. Artis in 1820-8 noted here houses and potteries which he has not described. At the construction of the railway in 1844 building débris, potsherds, and three mutilated statues were discovered close to the station.⁴ The statues, all hewn from local 'Barnack rag,' represent Hercules, Apollo and Minerva. The first showed Hercules with his club and lion skin; it was destroyed by the frost shortly after its discovery. The second, an undraped torso of Apollo, seems to have possessed little interest. The third, though much weathered, headless and footless, merits a word. The goddess, nearly life size, rests on her left leg with the right knee slightly bent. She is draped in a long tunic or *chiton* and a mantle which is passed over the left shoulder and round the legs. On her breast is a large oval ornament which may be an ignorant copy of the Medusa's head usual to Minerva. With her left hand she holds the top of a small round shield which originally rested on a pedestal; a snake is coiled round this pedestal. With her right hand she holds a spear (now nearly all broken off), and at the hand there are traces of her familiar bird, an owl. The statue is obviously local work. Its general adherence to classical types illustrates the general Romaniza-

¹ Morton, p. 510; Stukeley, *Itinerarium*, p. 83; *Gentleman's Magazine*, (1822) i. 484 (alleges a house of twenty-two rooms 230 by 300 feet in extent); Artis, pl. xvi.-xxii.

² Artis, pl. xxviii., xxx., xxxiv., li.

³ Now in the collections of Dr. Walker and Mr. Bodger in Peterborough; sketches by Jas. T. Irvine in the Bodleian. The Knipe collection at Cambridge comes mostly from this vicinity.

⁴ Hence probably the leaden 'thumb-vase' with fluted sides, colander, Samian and other pottery, coins, etc., mentioned in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xlvii. 187, xlviii. 167.

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tion of Britain, while its bungled copy of Medusa's head may be due to provincial ignorance.¹ A fragment of a fourth statue seems to have been found at the same spot and about the same time—a hand, somewhat larger than natural size, holding a patera.² In consequence of these discoveries Artis excavated further, but found no buildings or other noteworthy objects of the kind already described. He met with some curious potters' kilns, to which we shall return (p. 207). It may be proper to add here that a cemetery was met with in the construction of the high road in 1739 somewhere not far from Sibson.³

(5) Stibbington, at the crossroads near the present schoolhouse. Here Artis marks buildings and potters' kilns in his map issued in 1828; ⁴ he also found kilns here in 1844.

(6) Wansford, on the south side of the Nene, between the high roads to Oundle and Chesterton, close to their union. Here Artis marks buildings.

(7) Yarwell, on the north (west) side of the Nene, near the water. Here Artis marks buildings.

(8) On the south (east) side of the Nene, opposite Yarwell. Here also Artis marks buildings.

(9) East of Wansford on the north bank of the Nene. Here Artis marks buildings close to the village and half a mile east of it and again half a mile east of that, all three sites being immediately north of the Wansford and Peterborough road. The middle one seems to have been the largest house.

(10) Alwalton, south of the Nene and east of the Castles. Here remains of bricks, pottery and coins have been several times noticed and a 'fortification' has been conjectured. But a 'villa' seems most probable.⁵ The Romans, like later builders, quarried and used the Alwalton marble.

We might extend this list by the inclusion of other dwelling houses in the neighbourhood—in particular, a large villa in Bedford Purlieus, two miles west of Wansford; and a villa at Longthorpe, two miles east of Castor. The area which we have been considering has no definite bounds: the thickly inhabited sites at Castor and the Castles fade imperceptibly into open country. In such a case compromise is inevitable, and we have fixed our limits so as best to illustrate the district.

Before we pass on to estimate the general character of that district, we have to describe briefly various lesser finds made in it which possess

¹ Now at Woburn Abbey, where, by the kindness of the Duke of Bedford, I have been able to examine it. See *Archæologia*, xxxii. 13 (the illustration on pl. iv. is not at all accurate); *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries*, ser. 1, i. 60; Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 724; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of the Sculptures at Woburn Abbey*, No. 60, the two latter with excellent descriptions. I had thoughts of introducing here an illustration of the statue as a specimen of provincial art; it is however too much weathered for the purpose.

² *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries*, ser. 1, i. 71.

³ Stukeley, *Letters*, ii. 222, iii. 60.

⁴ Artis' map is coloured by hand, and in some copies some of the following (5–9) are omitted.

⁵ Gibson's *Castor*, pp. 62, 171.

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no precise record of locality. These are, for the most part, the ordinary finds made in fair-sized Romano-British towns—fragments of columns and pedestals and other worked stone, bronze, bone and iron objects, fibulæ, beads and much pottery. Specially notable are a small bronze statuette of Hercules, a finely enamelled blue fibula (fig. 8) and some

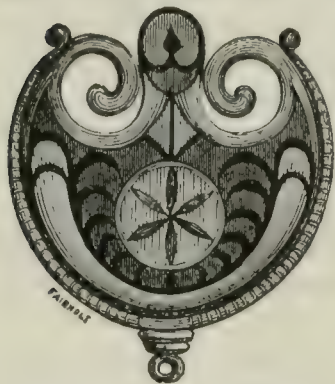


FIG. 8. ENAMELLED FIBULA
FOUND NEAR CASTOR.

coin moulds, one found with a small coin of Severus Alexander still in it, another intended for casting 'first brass,' and therefore, in its way, a great rarity.¹ Here too we must mention the coins. A British coin of an Icenian type was found in 1845 at Castor when the railway was made. Coins of the Roman Republic are not uncommon—slightly commoner perhaps than on most Romano-British sites.² Coins of the earliest Empire have also been found here, and the ordinary imperial issues from Claudius to the end of the Roman occupation abound everywhere in our area. Those of the first century are

naturally a little rarer than those of the second, third and fourth centuries, but all are common, and the Castor district was obviously inhabited quite early in the Roman period. But, so far at least as our records show, no distinction can be drawn between various sites in the district with respect to the dates of the coins found in them. We cannot argue that any one part of it was occupied or abandoned before any other.³

Probably we ought also to include here some inscribed or sculptured fragments found in 1884 and 1888 during the restoration of Peterborough Cathedral. These fragments are firstly a bit of an inscription in large letters, 18 inches long by 15 inches wide, too scanty for completion or explanation (fig. 9); secondly, the lower part of an attached half-column finely ornamented with leaf carving; thirdly, a piece of stone plinth; and lastly two Roman bricks. These may with reason be attributed to Castor and the Castles. The Roman remains found in Peterborough (p. 188) indicate an occupation of the site which must have been far inferior to the comparative magnificence of a large inscription and carven columns. The Peterborough monks owned the site of the Castles and other land around, and as water carriage down the Nene was

¹ See the plates in *Artis'* volume. For the statuette of Hercules see *Artis*, xxxi. (5); for the fibula, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, i. 327; for the coin mould with the coin of Severus Alexander, *Artis*, xxxviii.; for the 'first brass' moulds, *Proceedings of the Numismatic Society*, December 21, 1854.

² Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, p. 401; *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, ii. 192. For the Republican coins see Stukeley, *Letters*, iii. 58 (Antony, LEG XVII. CLASSICAE) and *Itin. Curiosum*, p. 83. (Antony, leg vi., Cohen 33; Pompey, Cohen 1; Babelon, Tituria 2; Julia 4; and Junia 18 or 19); *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, ii. 192 (unidentified, from Stibbington). Stukeley quotes three coins of Augustus, Cohen 43, 99 or 100, and 144.

³ Details as to the coins will be found in Stukeley's *Letters*, iii. 58, 60, and *Itin. Curiosum*, p. 83; *Gentleman's Magazine*, (1822) i. 485; *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, ii. 192, 265, l. 64, and new ser. v. 148-51. Some specimens are in Peterborough Museum.

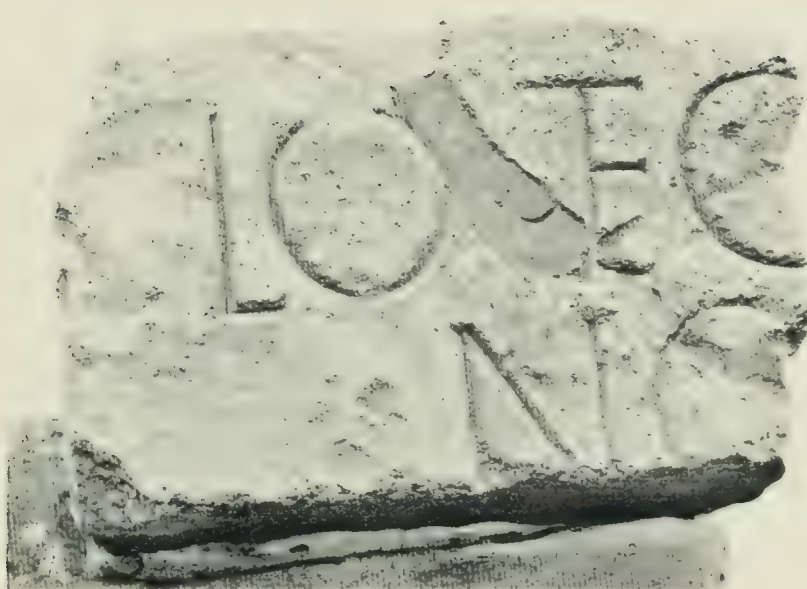


FIG. 9. INSCRIBED FRAGMENT FOUND IN PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

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easy they may well have brought down worked stones from our district.¹

The detailed survey which the last paragraph concluded has probably made clear the character of the Romano-British life which existed in this district. Castor has been styled by some writers a 'municipium' and a legionary fortress; others consider the Castles a smaller fort for the garrison of the town. But there is no trace at either spot, or anywhere in the vicinity, of municipal institutions or of military occupation, not even of the smallest garrison. Here we may rather think that the Roman and British civilizations meet. The Roman civilization centred in its towns; the Celt was a dweller in the country and learnt town life chiefly from his conqueror. On the banks of the Nene in the neighbourhood which we have been surveying we see the Celtic country life condensing into a town. At two spots, at Castor and at the Castles, the houses were dense enough for the life of a town, and at the Castles they stood within a wall. But they were planted, many of them, in irregular fashion, not ranged along straight streets nor all facing one way, and they were surrounded by extensive suburbs which were very far from resembling the arrangements of an Italian town. We do not yet know whether in any part there were actual streets like those of Silchester, and we cannot as yet decide what precise stage in the development towards town life we have before us. But the general character of the site is plain. It was an extensive straggling settlement, half town, half country, that was no longer country and not yet perfectly town.² But even without this interesting feature the site would be one of considerable importance. The number of the buildings, the comfort of their fittings—mosaics, painted stucco, marble wall-linings—the extent of the potting industry to be described below, all testify to this; and while in a special sense we may say that Castor and the Castles do not form a full-grown town, in more general language we may class them as one of the more considerable town-centres in Roman Britain. Certainly they far surpass the sites which we shall mention further on in this article. Neither Towcester nor Norton nor even Irchester can rank with the remains near Castor.

The evidence of coins indicates that the district was inhabited perhaps in British and certainly in early Roman times and throughout the Roman period, and we may safely assume that Roman influences early affected it. Its most important part was probably Castor. A milestone discovered outside the north gate of 'the Castles' (p. 170) marks the end of the first mile from some *caput viæ*, and this *caput* can only be Castor, which is just a mile away. Whether the precise spot whence the mileage started was among the buildings round Castor

¹ *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xli. 419, l. 51; *Associated Archit. Societies' Reports*, xvii. (1884), 281; *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*, iii. 179, 495. For the inscription in particular see *Ephemeris*, vii. 842; *Archæological Journal*, xlvii. 239, xlix. 187; *Archæological Review*, iii. 136; *Antiquary*, xix. 76 (inaccurate). I have seen the stone and had a squeeze from Mr. J. T. Irvine, the finder. The material, I am told, is Barnack rag.

² Compare *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, xix. 58.

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church or somewhere else near them cannot be decided, and for the moment does not matter. In any case the mileage was counted from Castor, not 'the Castles,' and Castor must have been the chief place at some time or other, either when the mileage was first calculated or when the milestone was erected in A.D. 276. But the relation of Castor to the walled enclosure on the other bank of the Nene is not at all clear, and indeed can only be determined by excavation. At present we know of the southern settlement that it was walled and contained dwelling houses, but we know very little about those houses; while of the northern settlement we know much about the houses but we do not know whether it was walled. Our evidence leads us however to believe that in character of civilization the two were substantially the same.

The inhabitants of the district were ordinary civilians, strangers to Roman official and military life. Their chief employment probably and their chief source of wealth lay in the pottery works so often mentioned in the preceding paragraph.¹ These works were very extensive; they produced a remarkable ware which was in origin native or Celtic, though in detail it shows Roman influences. Its peculiar features may more fitly be described in a separate section (p. 207); here we are concerned with it only as illustrating the economic character of the place. It is interesting to note the occupation of the dwellers round this imperfectly constituted town; it is no less interesting to note that in a place where Celtic and Roman systems of habitation seem to meet we can also trace a fusion of Celtic and Roman ceramic traditions. But in general the population was doubtless Romanized thoroughly. Mosaics and hypocausts show the usual Italian types; Samian pottery was freely used; the Roman gods were worshipped. On this Romano-British site we can trace more native elements than on many similar sites. But the Roman element has triumphed over them.

(b) IRCHESTER

Irchester is a village and parish two miles east-south-east from Wellingborough on the south bank of the Nene. Here, half a mile from the village, is a large arable field called Burrow Field, which slopes gently northwards to the river's edge; immediately east of it are the buildings of Chester House. The Roman 'camp' occupies Burrow Field and a little more, and Roman remains found outside it stretch away eastwards past Chester House. The Roman name of the site is unknown—no serious student has even ventured to guess at it. The English name affords no clue; the first half of it probably embodies an English personal

¹ Two other industries have been alleged. (1) Artis thought that he had discovered iron works, especially near Wansford and beyond it towards Bedford Purlieu (p. 189), and he figures one of the iron furnaces (pl. xxv.). But Mr. William Gowland tells me that this furnace is certainly not an iron furnace; it may be connected with pottery works. Until further evidence is obtained therefore Artis' iron works must be considered doubtful. (2) Stukeley had a wild idea about a service of cornboats down the Nene, which still finds credence with some writers. No manner of evidence for it exists and there is no special probability in it. I doubt whether in Roman days the Nene is likely to have had at the end of the corn harvest a sufficiency of continuously deep water for the purpose.

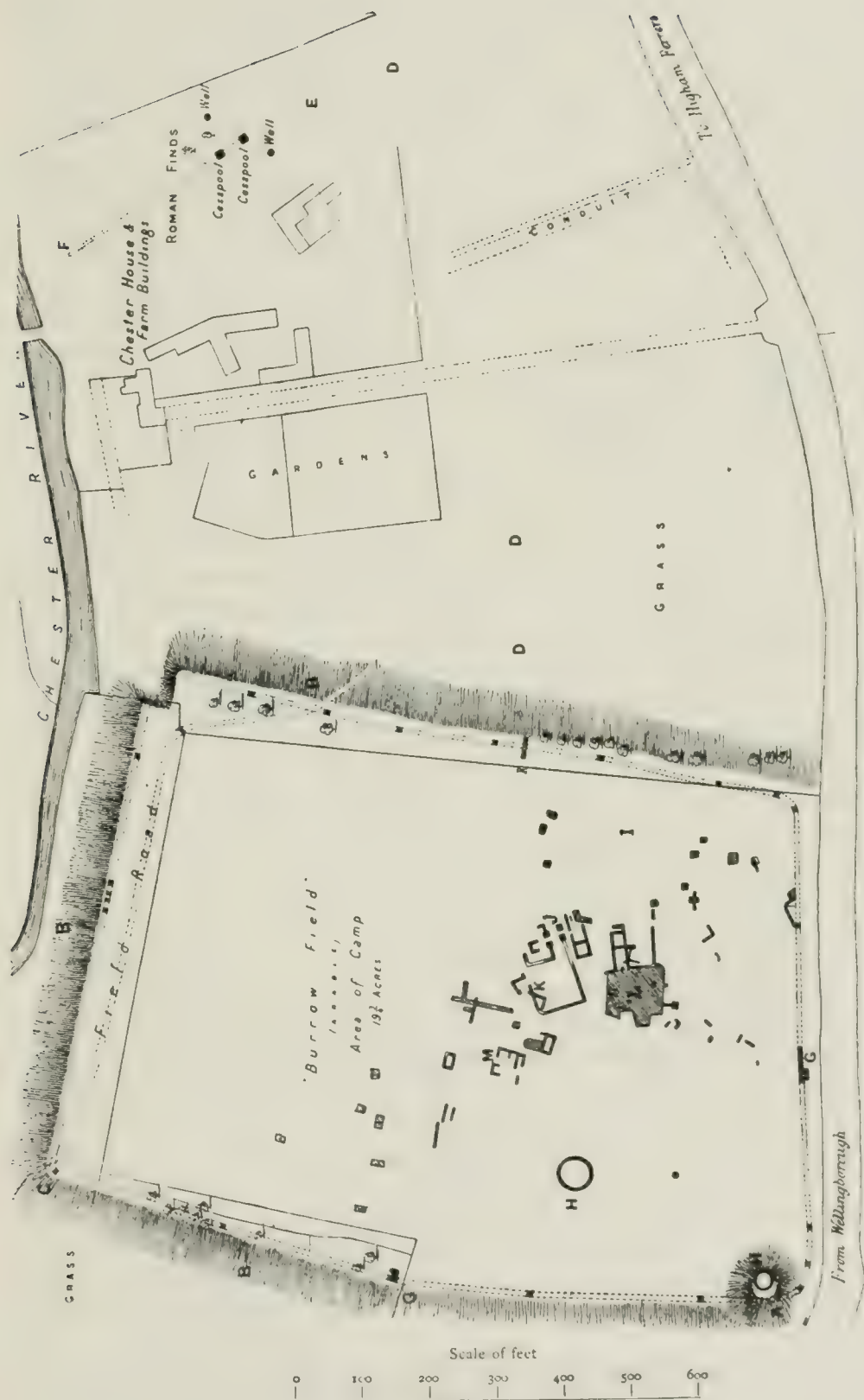


FIG. 10. IRCHESTER

A mound marked on some maps as tumulus; BB line of rampart; CC ashlars work at rounded corner; DD road; EE foundations, not explored; FF drain; GG gates; HH circular foundations; I tombstone, found in 1853; K capital of column and torso; L octagonal (?) sculpture: this was the only area completely cleared in 1879; M here painted wall plaster in abundance.

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name, Ira, and the second half, chester, is merely the term used in early times to designate Roman sites of all kinds, and sometimes even sites that are not Roman. The place has however long been known as a Roman site. Camden mentions it; Morton has much to tell of it, and in his day, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the walls were apparently still standing. Discoveries made by ironstone diggers in 1873-4 called fresh attention to the spot, and in 1878-9 some excavations were carried out by the Rev. R. S. Baker, late rector of Hargrave.¹ These excavations were unfortunately not very successful. Only a tiny fraction of the site (just $\frac{1}{160}$ part) was thoroughly uncovered; much was merely probed with iron bars; buildings accidentally encountered were not traced out; the excavators do not appear to have understood what they were finding, and their records of the results are not at all satisfactory. When the work was done the farmer who rented the field was permitted to remove some of the foundations, and the difficulties of future explorers have thus been seriously increased. We cannot therefore in the present state of our knowledge offer any complete or final account of the place.

The 'camp' itself forms an irregular oblong of about 20 acres (fig. 10). It was surrounded by a stone wall 8 feet thick, of which Morton tells us that 'the outcours were, as usual, set flatways, while the inner part of the wall consisted of stones pitched on end and inclining southward'—not an unusual feature in the town walls of Roman Britain. The angles were apparently rounded; but except perhaps for a puzzling circular foundation 31 feet in diameter near the south-west corner (plan, H) we have no indications of turrets or bastions. Foundations of the south and west gates and traces of beaten roads leading to the south and east gates were noted in 1879 (plan, G and D). Of the interior the northern or lower part was thought by Mr. Baker to contain few buildings, though roof slates were found especially towards the west gate (marked on the plan by shading). A long trench dug between the east wall and the eastern hedge of Burrow Field showed some pits or depressions with flint arrowheads and scrapers—vestiges probably of occupation long ages before the Romans. The southern or upper part of the interior contained many buildings in stone. The plans which we possess of them are confused and imperfect and permit no certain judgment, but the indiscriminate grouping and irregular orientation show that they do not belong to a fort, and the buildings themselves are certainly not of any military type. Painted wall plaster found in 1879 (plan, M) and plain brick and tile pavements, noted by both Morton and Baker, indicate civilian dwelling houses. Possibly the building east of the letter K on the plan may have been a shrine inside a little enclosure, and a sculptured stone to be described in the next paragraph may have stood in it. But it is rash to speculate further about a site which has been so little and

¹ Morton, p. 517, copied by Bridges, ii. 181, and Gough, *Additions to Camden*, ii. 282. For the later finds see R. S. Baker, *Reports of the Associated Archit. Societies*, xiii. (1875) 88-118, xv. (1879), 49-59. Mr. W. Hirst Simpson of Chester House kindly lent me a large map of the excavations on the scale of 33 feet to an inch, with notes by Mr. Baker, from which I have derived some useful details.

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so unsatisfactorily explored. We do not even know what roads led to Irchester. A roadway ran east a little way (plan, D), another has been traced issuing from the south gate and was very conjecturally laid down on the older ordnance maps as continuing southwards, but we have no indication of where it went. We must be content to leave these details alone till better evidence appears. The judicious expenditure of a few hundred pounds in excavation here would be well worth while, and should commend itself to those in the county who care for the past.

Various discoveries made within the walls in 1879 or earlier deserve our notice. Fragments of columns, some seen by Morton, one capital found in 1879 and now at Chester House (plan, K, fig. 11) indicate a building of architectural pretensions. A headless, legless, much weathered torso of a nude male figure, not badly executed in local stone, was found in 1879 built into an ancient wall, and is now at Northampton Museum (plan, K).

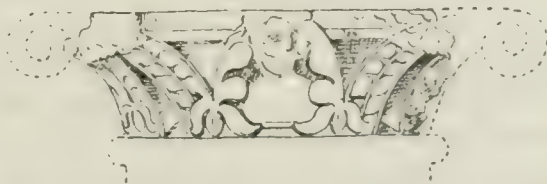


FIG. 11. CAPITAL FOUND AT K ON GENERAL PLAN.

Still more interesting are two fragments of sculptured stone found in 1879 and now at Chester House (plan, L, fig. 12). They may, as the

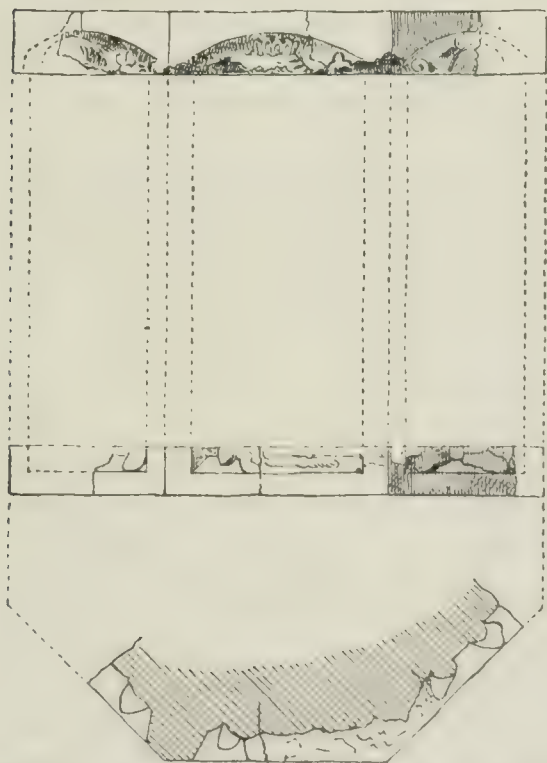


FIG. 12. FRAGMENT OF OCTAGONAL SCULPTURE FOUND AT L ON GENERAL PLAN.

late Sir Henry Dryden suggested, belong to an octagonal monument which originally represented in eight panels the deities of the days of the week. Most of the ancient European peoples divided the lunar month into four quarters of seven days each; the Romans preferred four quarters of eight days. The notion of connecting these days with certain deities was familiar to the Romans at least as early as the first century of our era, and representations of these deities occur in various parts of the empire, notably in Roman Germany. The deities are Saturn, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter and Venus, with Fortuna or Bonus Eventus or the like for an eighth; the first seven appear to be the

real deities of the weekdays, the last is added either because the Roman week had eight days or because eight figures can be arranged more

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symmetrically than seven. Representations of these deities are however not very common in Britain, and representations in stone seem to occur only, or almost only, in Germany. In the mutilated condition of our Irchester fragments it may be advisable not yet to ascribe them very confidently to this series of monuments.¹

A fourth discovery, made about 1853, also possesses considerable interest. It is a Roman tombstone found at or near the point 1 in the plan, lying with the face downwards over a rough cist or sepulchre which contained some bones and broken urns. Those who found it thought it a Roman grave which had at some remote date been rifled and the tombstone overturned. But a Roman grave is hardly possible inside the walls, and it is for other reasons probable enough that the grave is the work of later men who brought the Roman tombstone from its original site, presumably outside the walls and near the road marked D in the plan. The tombstone itself is a plain slab with a sunk panel, measuring in all 42 inches in length and 20 inches in height. It is now in the British Museum, where I have seen it. It bears in plain large letters, which afford no clue of date, the inscription:—

D ▲ M ▲ S ▲
ANICIUS SATVR/
STRAT@ C@S·M·S·F

‘To the memory of Anicius Saturn(inus) *or* Saturu(s), strator to the governor. . . .’ The ‘strator’ was a soldier selected to have the charge of the horses of a high officer—usually the governor of a province or the general of a legion. The sense of the last three letters M·S·F is uncertain. Possibly MS stands for Moesia Superior, and in that case Anicius at some time in his life was strator to some governor of that province; otherwise we should suppose him strator to some governor of Britain. What he was doing at Irchester, whether he had horses to look after there, or died while accidentally at the place, or settled there after his discharge from military service, are questions which it is useless to ask. If however he was at some time strator to the governor of Moesia the third conjecture is not unlikely.²

Other objects found inside the walls include Samian, Castor and other wares, glass, enamelled³ and other fibulæ (fig. 13), painted wall plaster—one piece with illegible writing on it, in Northampton Museum—iron tools, lead weights, small objects in bronze and Kimmeridge clay, bones of animals, tiles and bricks of various kinds, including flue-tiles, roof-slates from the Colly Weston quarries, and, in short, all

¹ See Wright, *Celt, Roman and Teuton*, p. 322; *Victoria History of Hampshire*, i. 308; F. Haug, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, ix. 17. A fragment of an octagonal stone showing Mars, Mercury, Juppiter and Venus, found at Chesterford and now in the British Museum, is quoted by Wright as a parallel in stone, and perhaps rightly, though there are one or two doubtful points about it, and it may have had only seven figures of gods. Mr. Baker says (*Arch. Assoc. Reports*, xv. 57) that he found also some arms and legs, besides the two pieces shown in fig. 12; these seem to have disappeared.

² C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, iii. 251, iv. pl. xiv.; C.I.L. vii. 78. For the Stratores see *Ephemeris*, iv. 406–9.

³ *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, iii. 251. Many of the objects mentioned in the next few lines are now in the Northampton Museum.

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that we might expect on an ordinary Romano-British site without indications of wealth or luxury. The coins range from Claudius to Honorius and thus cover the whole Roman period, but so far as can be judged from sadly imperfect lists, only a very small proportion belongs to the first century.

The occupation of the site was not limited to the walled enclosure. A road of gravel and pebbles laid on limestone rubble was traced in 1878-9 running eastward from the walls, and about 350 yards away, on the other side of Chester House, Mr. Baker found in 1878 what he took to be débris of buildings, two wells, and two stone cesspools connected by an underground drain with the buildings and with the river.¹ Still further east, near the Midland Railway embankment, ironstone diggers in 1873 broke into a cemetery of over 300 graves containing skeletons, three stone coffins and one leaden one; no evidence of date was found in any of them. Among the graves was found also a packet of eight bronze vessels, strainers, saucers, etc., packed one inside the other and all into a bucket which was probably a copper pail edged and

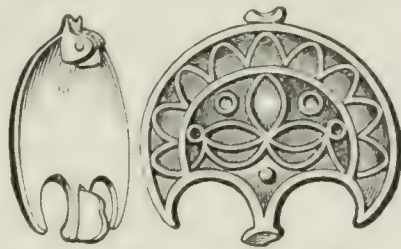


FIG. 13. ENAMELLED FIBULA FOUND AT IRCHESTER.

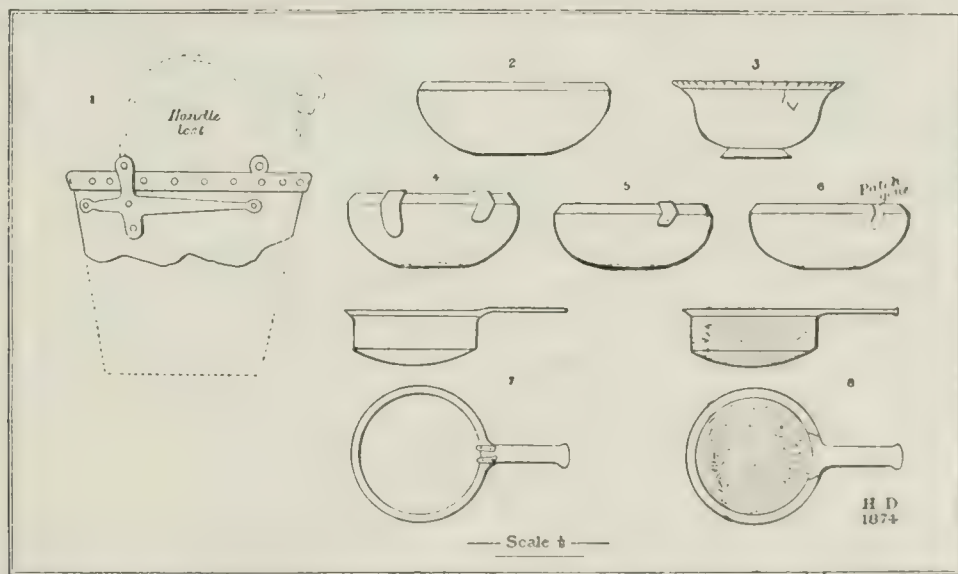


FIG. 14. BRONZE VESSELS FOUND AT IRCHESTER IN 1873.

mounted with iron (fig. 14). Both graves and vessels have been taken to be Roman, but it seems more likely that both, except the leaden coffin, are early English.²

Such, briefly sketched, are the Roman remains of Irchester. They have usually been explained as the remains of a fort built about A.D. 48

¹ *Assoc. Arch. Reports*, xv. 53.

² *Ibid.* xiii. 88; Franks, *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries*, vi. 476. The vessels are now at Knuston. For the leaden coffin see C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vii. 192, and pl. xix A.

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by Ostorius Scapula, the second governor of Britain, to protect the then frontier of the province. But we have seen that they reveal no signs of military occupation ; we shall see below that there is no reason to ascribe to Ostorius any forts in this part of Britain. The coins suggest that the site was hardly inhabited till late in the first century, and the walled enclosure, 20 acres in extent, is either too small or too large. Had it been a legionary fortress it would have been double that area ; had it been a fort garrisoned by auxiliaries it would have been one third or one quarter of it. We may with more reason suppose that Irchester was a little Romano-British country town or village, less important and less wealthy than Castor. For the rest we must be content to be ignorant. A Roman official, either in active service or in retirement, came there to die. Possibly there was a small shrine there. With these two items its history ends. When its walls were erected—whether at the time when it grew into something like a town, or late in the Roman period when barbarian inroads threatened—we cannot now determine. We do not even know by what roads it was reached. Further excavations, much to be desired, may some day tell us more.

(c) TOWCESTER

Towcester is a small English country town situated among pleasant meadows on the south bank of the winding Tove, close to the water ; Watling Street runs right through it from south-east to north-west. Here, coinciding closely with the modern town, stood a small Romano-British town or village. The mileage of the Itineraries permit us to identify it fairly confidently with Lactodorum, or (as perhaps it was originally spelt) Lactodurum, and this identification, first suggested by Horsley, is now universally accepted.¹

The area of the place is not quite certain. Sixty years ago Baker was able to trace ramparts enclosing an irregular quadrilateral of about 35 acres (fig. 15), and some vestiges of these ramparts may still be seen, particularly in a grass field behind the police station and in gardens south of that. It is not unreasonable to think that these ramparts represent the Roman lines. But they have never been explored. We have written evidence of fortification building at Towcester in 921 ; we have at Berry Mount, on the east side of the town, a post-Roman earth-work ; and in the present state of our knowledge we cannot fairly exclude the possibility that the ramparts seen by Baker may also be post-Roman.² The remains found in the place are numerous, but not specially noteworthy. Foundations and roof-tiles have been often met with. Two pavements, one plainly tessellated, the other brick in herringbone pattern,

¹ Camden made Towcester Tripontium, but, to prove his case, invented new forms, Torcester and Torpontium. It is a characteristic example of how names were played with in his time. Neither form has any existence in fact.

² See Baker, ii. 318 foll. He and others have called Berry Mount Roman, but that is most improbable. It is not quite easy to make out, from the accounts of antiquaries, whether Roman remains have been found in the soil of the mound or only at and round its base. If however they have been found in the soil, that only proves that, as at Worcester (*Victoria Hist. of Worcestershire*, i. 207) and elsewhere, the mound has been heaped up from soil which already contained Roman remains.

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were discovered during the restoration of the church in 1883, and others appear to have been noticed elsewhere but not recorded. Tiles and bricks, glass and pottery of all sorts—Samian, Castor and other—abound. Special note may be taken of two objects which are probably cheese



FIG. 15. PLAN OF TOWCESTER ABOUT 1830 (G. BAKER).

strainers, and a lamp marked with the familiar maker or seller's name, **FORTIS**. The coins include five Republican coins, a good many first century coins (among them a gold Tiberius), and many of the second, third and fourth centuries down to Honorius. Remains which may belong to a cemetery were found outside the town in 1747, 'in digging

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of stone for repairing Watling Street.’¹ But no mosaic floors, no costly ornaments, or other traces of wealth and luxury have as yet been detected, nor have we any reason to believe that such will ever be discovered there. In short, Towcester was a little Romano-British town or village, possibly larger than Irchester, distinguished from it by its position on the great Roman highway of Watling Street, but resembling it, and indeed exceeding it, in the general simplicity of its remains and the absence of objects that indicate riches and splendour.

(d) WHILTON, NORTON

The Itinerary of Antoninus mentions a place called Bannaventa as the next station from Lactodorum, 12 Roman miles on the road to Viroconium, and another place called Tripontium as 12 miles further on.² The road in question is that which we now call Watling Street, and these two ‘stations’ ought to be found on or near that well known way. Their exact identification has however been a matter of much dispute. Talbot, the first Englishman to comment on the Itinerary, put Bannaventa at Weedon Beck, and Camden, Morton, Stukeley and others followed him. But Weedon is too near Towcester to agree with the Itinerary mileage, and it has yielded hardly any Roman remains. Others, attracted by the coincidence that the five letters *avent* occur in both names, have placed Bannaventa at Daventry, and have tried to substantiate their etymology by citing the remains on Borough Hill and at Burnt Walls (p. 195). But these lie well away from Watling Street. Horsley probably hit the truth when he suggested that Bannaventa might be found on Watling Street itself, not far from Whilton Lodge. The position suits the mileage of the Itinerary, and considerable remains have been noticed here at various dates. Morton, two centuries ago, observed that, ‘in that part of Whilton Field which adjoins Watling Street old foundations, the stones of ruined walls and the like have been ploughed and dugged up, and amongst the ruins some pieces of Roman money.’ Baker records the discovery in 1813 of a skeleton and some Constantinian coins in a field called Great Shawney near the footpath to Whilton, and states that near a farm called Thrupp Grounds, in the north of Norton parish, ‘thick foundation walls and fragments of ancient pottery’ were frequently turned up over a space of nearly 30 acres.

¹ Camden, ii. 266; Morton, p. 508; Stukeley, *Itin. Curiosam*, p. 40 (denarius of Hadrian); *Minutes of Soc. of Antiquaries*, January 19–26, 1748 (graves); Bridges, i. 272; Gough’s *Add. to Camden*, ii. 274; Baker, ii. 320; *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vii. 109, xxi. 186 (inscribed lamp); the late Sir Henry Dryden, *Antiquary*, vii. 87 and MSS. in Northampton Museum; a large collection of pottery, coins, etc., made by the late Mr. Tite, now in Northampton Museum. The ‘cheese strainers’ resemble one figured (without exact provenance) in the *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries*, xiv. (1892) 173, and one found at Birdoswald in 1896 (*Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Arch. Soc.* xiv. 426, pl. iii.). Similar objects have been found elsewhere (Bursian, *Aventicum*, pl. xiii., etc.). A Bactrian coin of King Menander was picked up at Towcester in 1882 (*Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*, i. 99); doubtless it had been dropped by some returned Anglo-Indian.

² *Itin. Ant.* 470, 477, 479. The MSS. of the Itinerary give several varieties of spelling, Bannaventa, Bennaventa, etc., and even Isannavantia; but there can hardly be any doubt that all are corruptions of the one form Bannaventa. The theories built on the hypothesis of two place names, one commencing with B and the other with Is (*Archæologia*, xxxv. 392, etc.) are baseless.

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Finally, in 1837, the alteration of a road from Norton to Watling Street revealed great quantities of Samian and other pottery, including an amphora handle stamped ACIRC and a *pelvis* (ALBINVS), a fibula, and some 'small coins of the lower empire.'¹ Evidently the locality was definitely inhabited in the Roman period, and with the evidence of the Itinerary to help us we may reasonably place a 'station' here. But we must wait for further evidence before we can decide what kind of 'station' stood here, whether a little town or a village, or possibly something that was hardly a village.

It is possible, though it cannot be called by any means certain, that Norton may possess a higher title to fame, as the early home and presumably the birthplace of a celebrated man in the latest Romano-British days. The most ancient and trustworthy account of St. Patrick's life, the 'Confessio,' which claims to have been written by himself, states that he lived as a boy, and implies that he was born, at Bannavem Taberniae. As it stands that name is totally unintelligible. But it is easy to redivide it into Bannaventa berniae, and thus one recognizable name at any rate emerges. The last three syllables unfortunately remain as puzzling as before, and our suggested interpretation of the first four syllables must therefore be admitted to be doubtful. But if the occurrence of the name Bannaventa is a mere accidental coincidence, it is a very striking accident, and it certainly deserves a mention in this context.²

The other 'station' to which we alluded above, Tripontium, has often been placed on the extreme edge of Northamptonshire at Dow-bridge, where Watling Street crosses the Avon and enters Leicestershire. No Roman remains however have been found here, and it is more likely that the 'station' was a mile further north, near Cave's Inn farm.³

3. VILLAS AND RURAL DWELLINGS

From the country towns we pass to the country outside them. The soil of Northamptonshire has revealed to us many 'villas' and vestiges of Romano-British rural life; doubtless it still hides many others for future archæologists to detect. Those which are known to us, some twenty-seven in number, are distributed somewhat unevenly over most parts of the county, except the central district north of

¹ Morton, p. 532 (copied by Bridges, i. 541; Gough, *Add. to Camden*, ii. 276); George Baker, i. 423, 425; *Archæologia*, xxxv. 392; M. H. Bloxam, *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries*, viii. (1880) 325. Mr. Radburne of Thrupp Grounds showed me some twenty coins (two Hadrian, two Pius, mostly Constantinian and later) found on or near his farm, and told me that he had met with foundations, pavements and fireplaces in the fields.

² The idea has occurred to myself (*English Historical Review*, 1895, p. 711) and to others independently, and has been accepted recently by Zimmer in his article 'Keltische Kirche in Britannien' in the *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie*, x. (ed. 3, 1901). There appear to be palæographical and other difficulties in the way of explaining *berniae* as a misread contraction of *Britanniae*, nor can it stand for *Hiberniae*.

³ *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries*, viii. 319-25 and *reff.* there given. See also the Index, s. v. Lilbourne. It may be as well to add that the Brittones Tripontienses, a regiment recruited in Britain and quartered on the Rhine, have nothing to do with Tripontium. Their name refers to the place in Germany where they were quartered.

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Northampton and west of Kettering. We may distinguish in particular a group of 'villas' near the thickly occupied town and 'villa' district of Castor, another small group near Thrapston, and a third between Northampton and Watling Street. Very few of these remains have been excavated even in part; of many we know too little to be sure of their exact character. But it is worth while to attempt, what has never been attempted before, to tabulate the principal recorded finds. Thus only can the reader form some faint idea of this vanished rural civilization, which consisted of 'country houses,' perhaps also (as at Peterborough and Duston) of villages, and also of insignificant dwellings. The total number of sites is not inconsiderable when compared with the numbers of other counties. Some of the houses seem to have been large and luxurious, though none can match the splendid mansions found in Gloucestershire or Hampshire and west Sussex. Of the plans of the houses we know sadly little. Two or three were 'courtyard' houses, and no doubt the normal types prevailed. One feature of some interest is presented by the mosaics. Not a few noteworthy mosaic floors have been from time to time discovered, but not a single one contains any figure of man or god or animal. The scenes usual elsewhere—Orpheus with his lute, Hercules and Antæus, Bacchus, the Four Seasons and the like—do not appear in Northamptonshire. There the mosaic designs are purely geometrical, and even conventional foliage is rarer than we might expect. Instead we meet a somewhat unusual feature. The geometrical designs are not infrequently outlines, sketched by thin rows of red or blue tesserae on grounds of grey or straw colour. A different artistic tradition prevailed in our county from that which we find on the shores of the Severn or along the English Channel. Roman Britain was not a mere uniform land, crushed into monotony as part of a great empire. It, like other provinces, had its little local fashions.

(1) Peterborough. Roman remains have been found here in some quantity during the last twenty or twenty-five years, on the north and north-west of the town, near the Westwood and Spital bridges over the Midland and Great Northern united railway lines. These remains include forty or more skeletons, Samian and other pottery, coins, brooches, rings, a curious little equestrian statuette in bronze, tiles, an iron hinge and bolt, animals' bones, and so forth. The coins comprise three British, a Republican denarius, a 'second brass' of Augustus, and many others earlier than A.D. 230 and some of later dates.¹ Some wells or pits, and what may have been a ditch or earthwork, were also noted. Coins, mostly of the fourth century, have been found in various other parts of the town. Probably there was on the north of the town some village or other habitation, of which the cemetery, many domestic

¹ Mr. Bodger has shown me also two Egyptian coins of pre-Roman date, one of Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 285–247) and one of Ptolemy Euergetes II. (146–117), found in Peterborough in 1871. Whether these were lost by a Roman collector or a modern, or reached our shores by some early trader, is not easy to decide.

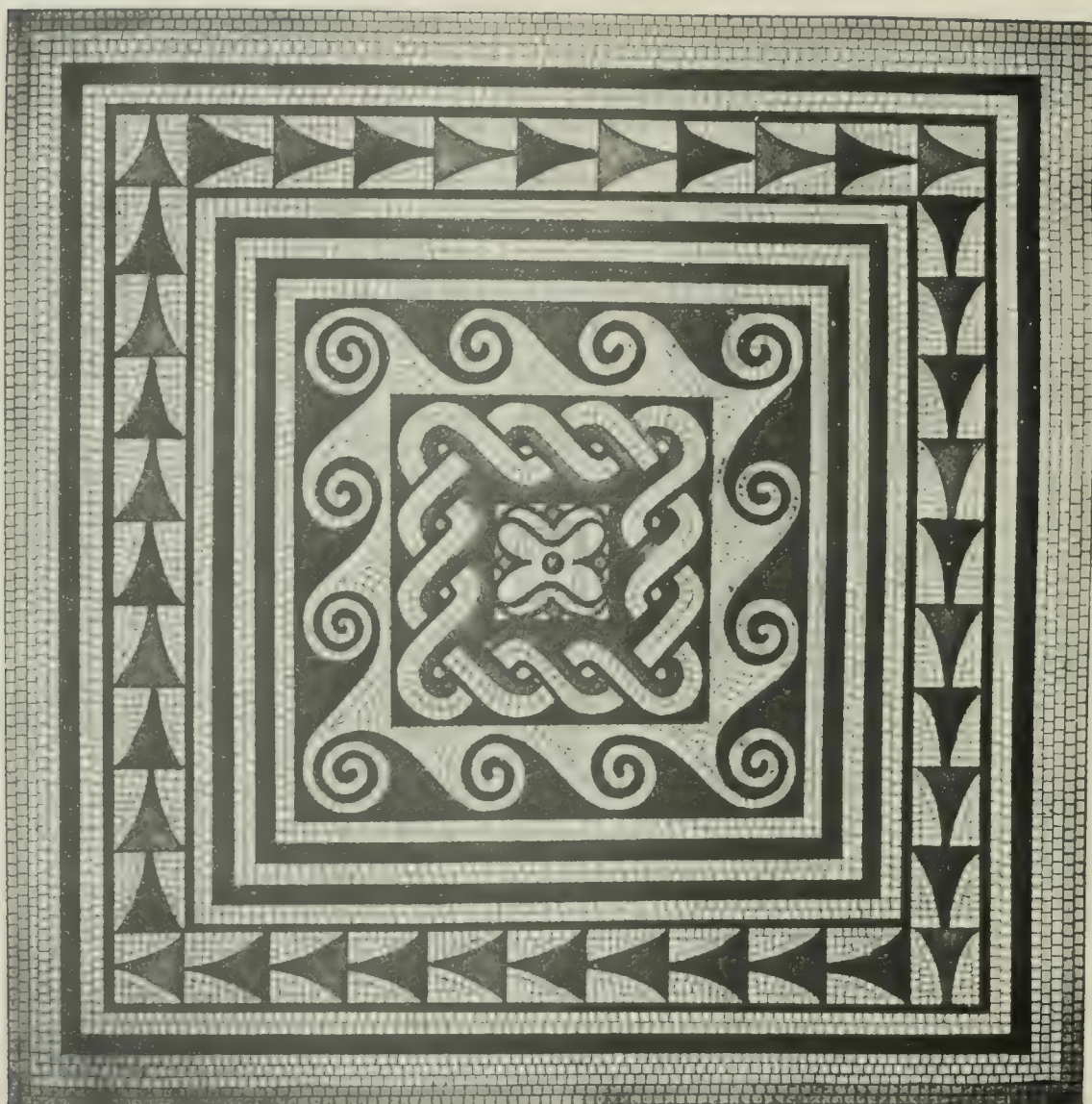


FIG. 16. MOSAIC FOUND AT PAIL GROUNDS, HELPSTONE (Artis, pl. xxiv.).

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objects, and perhaps a faint trace or two of buildings (tiles, iron hinge), have alone been as yet discovered.¹ It will be noticed that this site, like all the neighbourhood of Castor, seems to have been early occupied.

(2) Thorpe or Longthorpe, till 1850 in the parish of St. John Baptist, Peterborough, between that town and Castor. Here Stukeley says that a mosaic was found in 1720 on the land of Sir Francis St. John, and coins are attested by other writers—one Republican, some of Augustus, Claudius ('first bronze'), Aelius Verus, etc. One could wish that one had some further authority for the mosaic than Stukeley, but, as he gives place and date, it may be rash to reject his testimony.²

(3) Helpstone. Here in a field called Pail Grounds, near Oxe Wood and Wood Lane, about a mile south of the village, a mosaic, with a geometrical design in red, white, dark blue and yellow, was discovered in December, 1827, and copied (fig. 16); but the house to which it must have belonged was not explored, or if explored no record seems to exist. The Roman pavement in the chancel of Helpstone church, mentioned by Bridges and therefore found probably before 1700, may have come from this site; but the villa in Ashton Lawn Wood is equally near.³

(4) Ashton, 4 miles north of Castor, on the east side of the Roman road called King Street. Here 'the foundations of a square structure supposed to be Roman once existed, and perhaps are still visible, in a little wood called Ashton Lawn' in the south of the parish.⁴ It is impossible to assert confidently that these foundations belonged to a villa, especially as a noteworthy tile of the Twentieth Legion was found a quarter of a mile south, in Hilly Wood (p. 214). But it seems best to include them in this list provisionally.

(5) Bedford Purlieus, 2 miles west of Wansford Bridge, in Thornhaugh parish and partly in a detached portion of Wansford parish. Here traces of permanent occupation have been noted in the large covers known as Bedford Purlieus, between the existing roads from Wansford Bridge to Uppingham and to Kingscliffe. Artis marks on his map 'an extensive Roman building of the second class,' some other buildings and some 'iron works' along the eastern edge of the wood facing Cooke's Hole, but he gives no details except a picture of an 'iron furnace,'

¹ J. W. Bodger, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xliii. 3-2, xlv. 8-, xlviii. 167, l. 57; Dr. Walker, *ibid.* new ser. v. 58; fifteen coins in Peterborough Museum from various parts of the town; private collections of Dr. Walker and Mr. J. W. Bodger; sketches by Mr. Jas. T. Irvine in the Bodleian Library (*Northants*, iv., vi.). The carved pillar, inscribed fragment and plinth found in the cathedral in 1888-9 probably came from Castor (p. 176).

² Stukeley, *Itin. Curiosum*, p. 84 (hence Gough, *Add. to Camden*, ii. 287; Reynolds, p. 466). For the coins see Morton, p. 515; *Soc. of Antiquaries' Minutes* (October 24, 1722), i. 69; Gough, ii. 287.

³ Artis, pl. xxiv.; Bridges, ii. 515 corrected by Gibson, *Castor*, p. 62; Evans and Britton, p. 228. The vicar of Etton and Helpstone, the Rev. J. Thomas, informs me that the pavement is still there; when the chancel was recently repaved the mosaic was rearranged.

⁴ Trollope, *Associated Archit. Soc. Reports*, ix. (1868) 156. Since 1887 Ashton has been included in Bainton parish, but I have preferred to mention the old boundaries, which are on most of the maps now in use.

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which was certainly never intended by the Romans for iron smelting.¹ More has been recorded about a find made on the other side of the wood, in its south-west corner, called St. John's Wood, close to the Kingscliffe road. Here, in the spring of 1841 (not 1844), were found by accident two headless and legless torsos, the one 29 inches high, the other 32 inches, carved in local Barnack rag, and representing two youths in short tunics, each grasping a whip and obviously forming a pair (fig. 17). With them was discovered a large full-bellied urn of

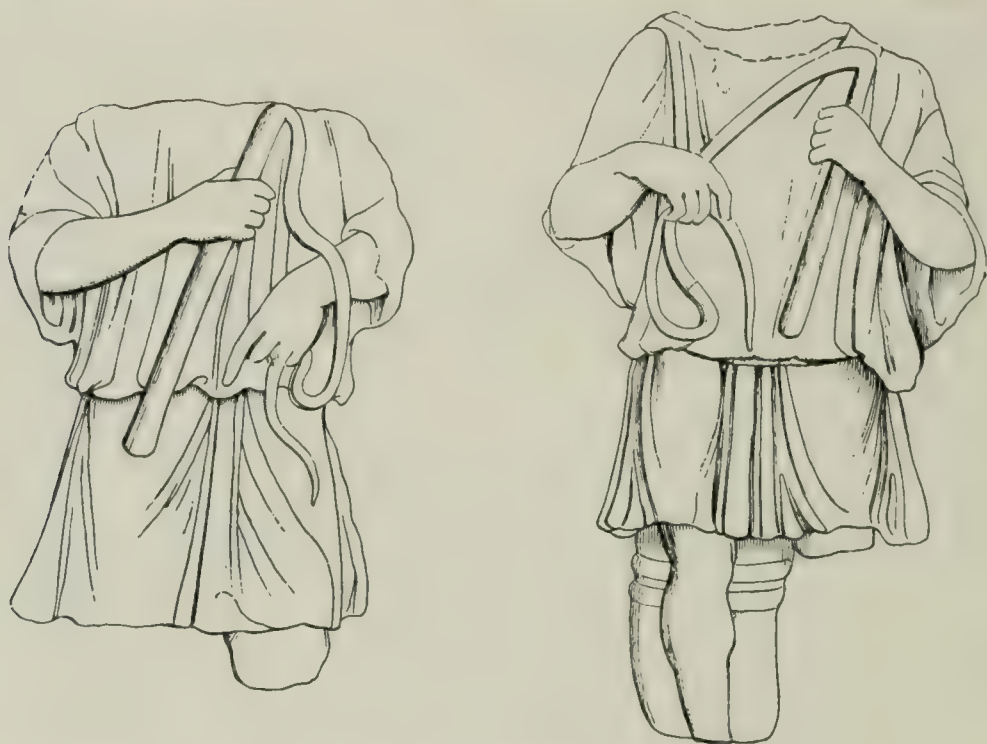


FIG. 17. STATUES FOUND IN BEDFORD PURLIEUS, 1844.

local clay, 30 inches high and twice as much in circumference, which contained human bones, some glass, Samian ware (AVITI-MA, METTI-M, RVIFI-MA) and a characteristic piece of Castor ware ornamented with hunting scenes, partly broken, partly perfect (fig. 18).² The interpretation of these remains is not easy. The pottery and ashes must however represent a burial, and it is possible that the statues formed flanking figures to some largish funeral monument, which was not discovered, or at least not recognized, in 1841. What precisely they denoted, whether charioteer servants of the dead, I do not know, nor can I discover any

¹ Communications to the Spalding Club, 1710-50, printed in Nichols' *Bibl. Topogr. Brit.* iii. 91; Artis, *Durobrivae*, map of Castor and vicinity, 1828. I assume that these two references concern the same remains, though the earlier record is vague about the exact locality. With respect to the iron works see p. 206.

² *Gentleman's Magazine* (1841), ii. 528; *Proceedings of Soc. of Antiquaries*, ser. 1, i. 151; C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, iv. 90 (plates of pottery); *Archæologia*, xxxii. 1-13, with plates of statues and pottery; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of the Sculpture at Woburn Abbey*, Nos. 70, 76. The statues are now at Woburn, where, by the kindness of the Duke of Bedford, I have examined them.

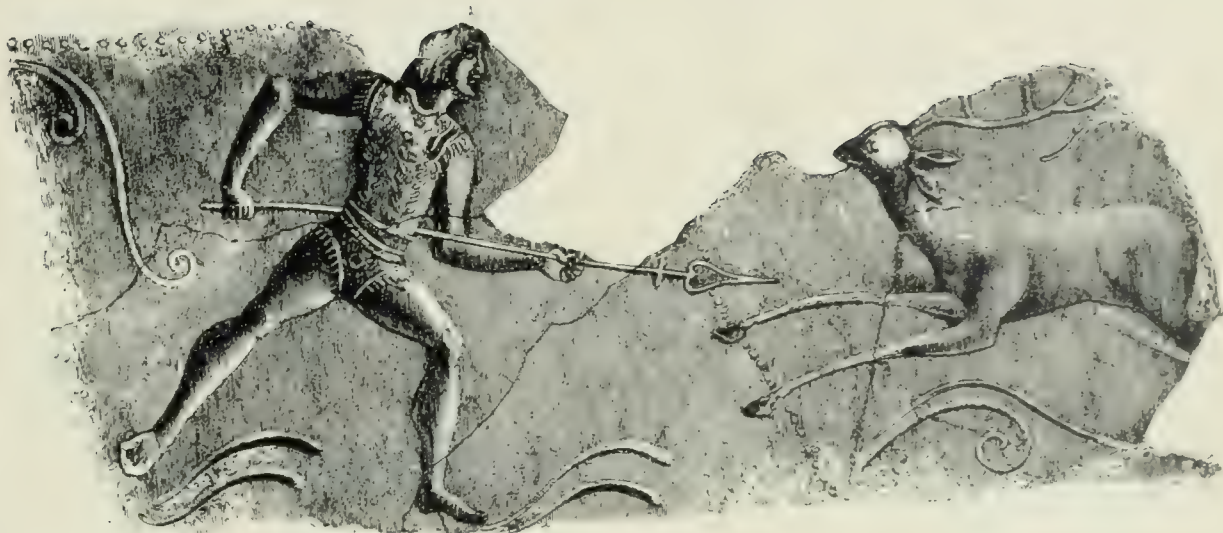


FIG. 18. CASTOR WARE FOUND IN BEDFORD PURLIEU, DETAIL ENLARGED.
[The urn to which these belong is figured below in the text on p. 192]

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exact parallels. But flanking figures of various sorts are not uncommon, and provisionally this explanation may suffice.

(6) Apethorpe, about 4 miles south-west from Wansford Bridge. Here in 1859 a 'villa' was found in the park, situated on low ground

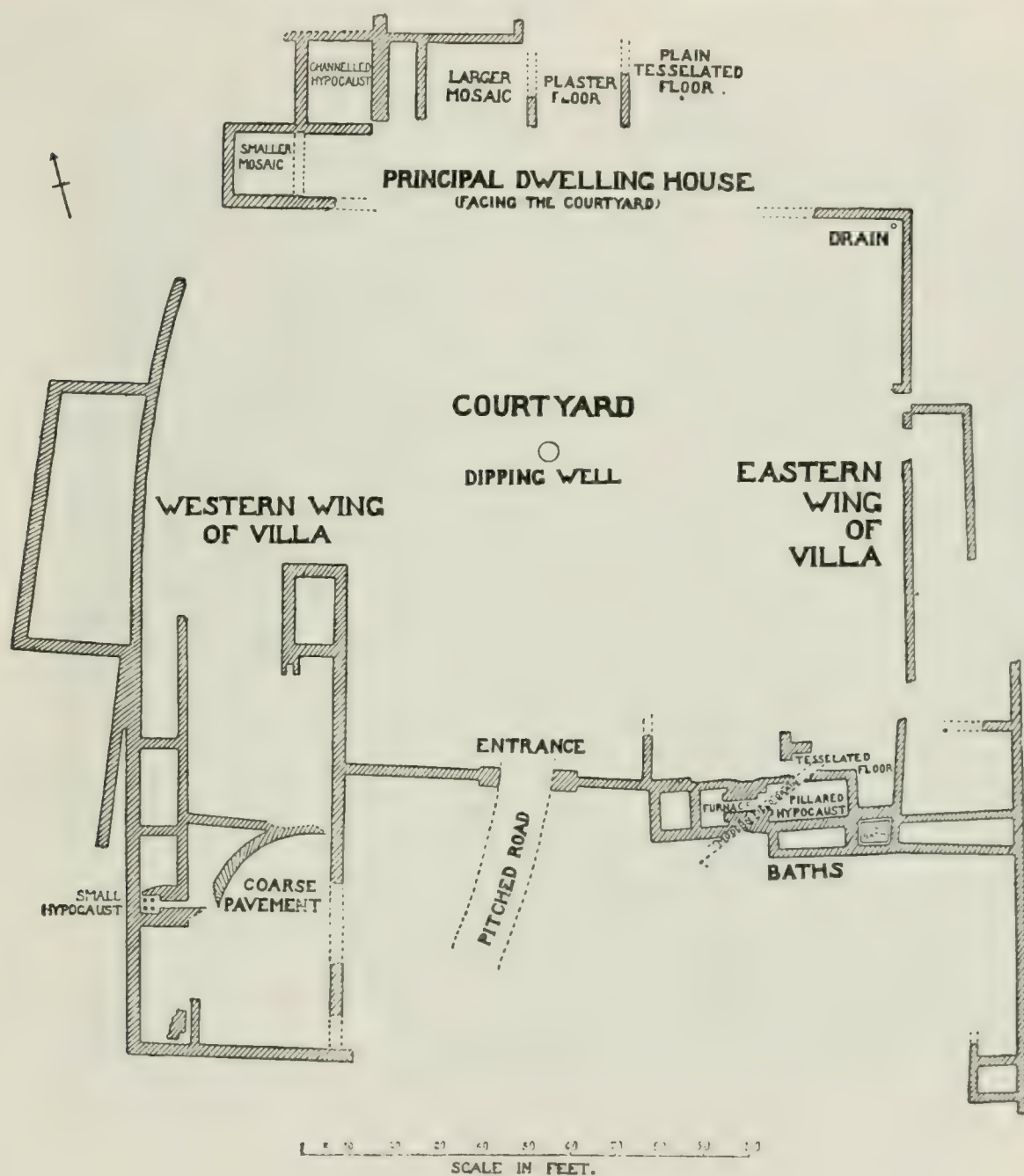


FIG. 19. APETHORPE VILLA.

close to the little Willow Brook, which skirted its eastern side. The whole area covered by buildings seems to measure about 230 by 240 feet. The general plan resembles that of the slightly larger villa of Brading, mentioned above (p. 163, fig. 3)—a central courtyard, faced on east,

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north and west by three detached or almost detached blocks of buildings, furnished with a well in the middle and closed on the south by a wall, through which was a carriage road approach (fig. 19). The principal block of buildings was on the north, fronting the approach across the



FIG. 18. CASTOR WARE FOUND IN BEDFORD PURLIEUS, 1844.

[For detail see fig. opposite p. 190]

courtyard. This contained hypocausts, two mosaic floors of geometrical design—the larger a somewhat unusual pattern (fig. 20)—and a smooth plaster floor, painted with a linear design in red, white or brown, and doubtless other mosaics which have perished. Here we may suppose that the owner resided. The east and west blocks, less intelligible in detail, may have been servants' quarters and stores, while near the entrance to the courtyard were the baths, annexed to the east block, and thus, as often, situated at some little distance from the main dwelling rooms. Smaller finds included part of a column in stone, Colly Weston roofing slates, flue and other tiles, Samian, Castor and other wares, glass, a lead weight, animals' bones and other small objects, such as usually occur. Two

small uninscribed 'house-altars' are slightly less common but still well known features of Roman life. The coins include a 'denarius' of Septimius Severus, but are mostly of the Constantinian period. We may perhaps infer that the 'villa' was occupied at least during the first half of the fourth century.¹

(7) Cotterstock, on the Nene, three-quarters of a mile north of Oundle. Here, in the eighteenth century, traces of what was probably a fine villa were discovered in a field called the Guild or Gilded Acre, situate in the west of the parish, towards Hall Wood and Glapthorn, but the remains were never seriously excavated. In July, 1736, a mosaic pavement was found in ploughing—a panel 10 feet square, set in the middle of a larger, plainly tessellated floor. The design shows four small hearts—possibly conventionalized petals of a flower—set in an intricate geometrical pattern of rectilinear character, the whole framed in a guilloche border. At the same time more mosaic seems to have been discovered but destroyed, or at least not copied. Potsherds, ashes, animals' bones, bricks and tiles, hewn stones, and five or six coins of Valentinian were also found. Sixty years later, in 1798, another mosaic was found at the same spot—a square panel, showing a two-handled cup crowned with leaves, with a border at top and bottom of Asiatic shields, the colours being red, white, yellow and dark grey (or blue ?) (fig. 21).

¹ Trollope, *Associated Archit. Soc. Reports*, v. (1859) 97-107; hence a brief note in C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vi. 250. There appear to have been no outbuildings seen or suspected. Part of the remains has been roofed with a hut.

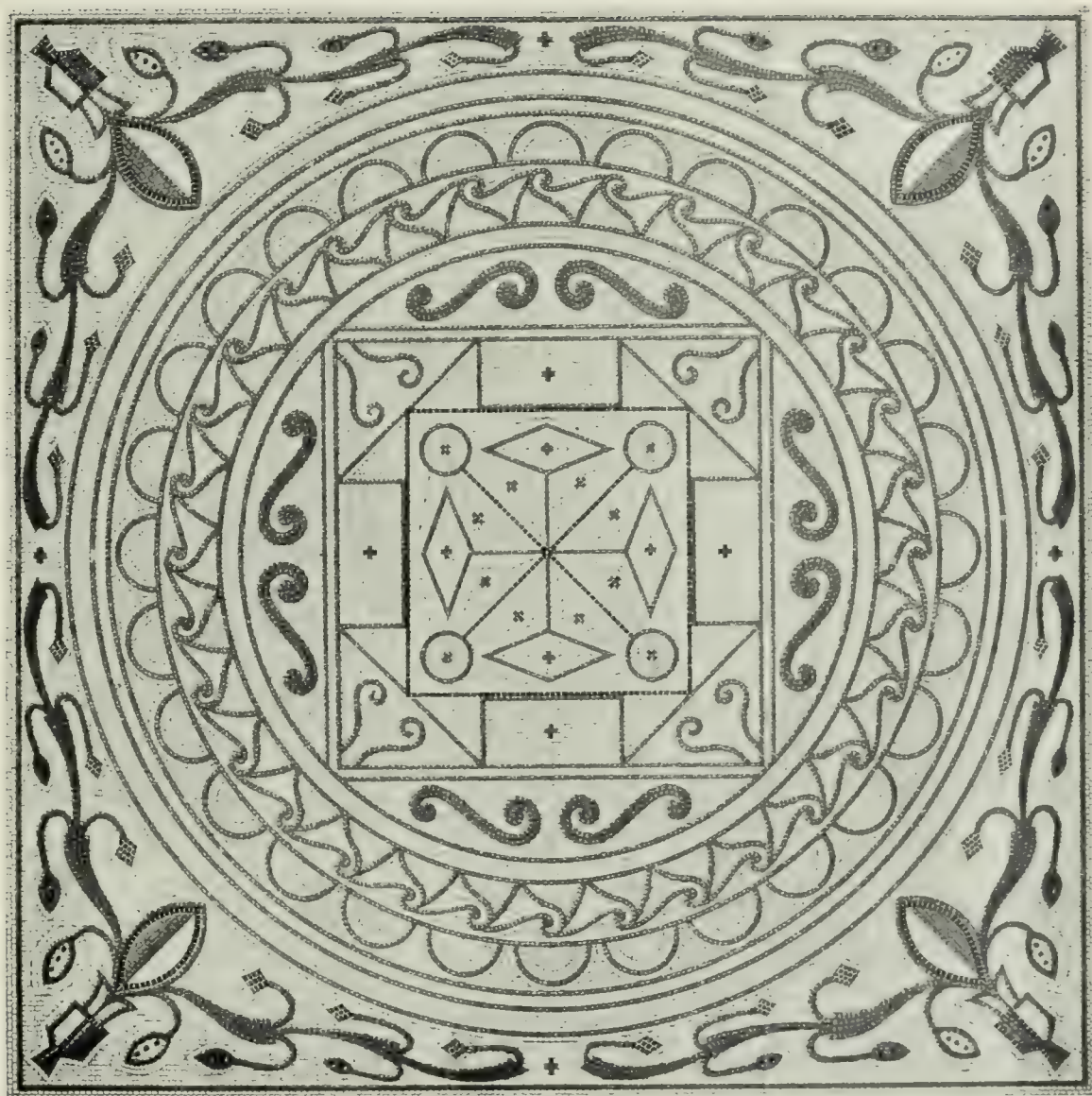


FIG. 20. APETHORPE VILLA : LARGER MOSAIC.

[Brown and a little black on a white ground. Scale, 1 : 25]



FIG. 21. MOSAIC FOUND AT COTTERSTOCK IN 1798 (Artis, pl. lix.).

To face page 192.

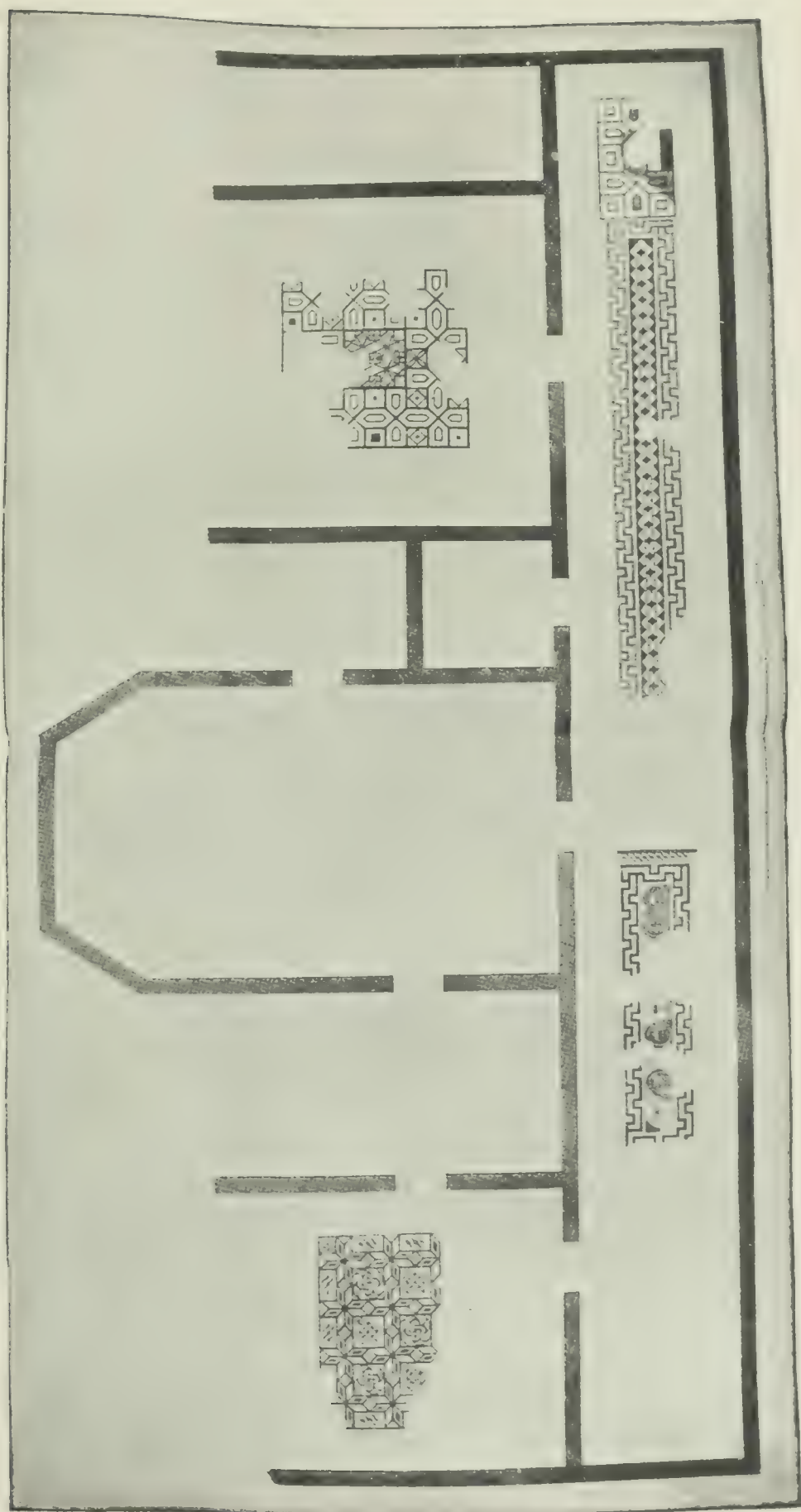


FIG. 22. PLAN OF ROMAN VILLA FOUND AT WELDON IN 1738.

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With it were found coins of Agrippa ('second brass,') Vespasian and others—nearly all fourth century—some other pavements of inferior character, two cisterns or cesspools, and other smaller objects. The 'villa' was obviously a comfortable one.¹

(8) Great Weldon. Here was a fine 'villa,' placed on gently rising ground to the north of the Willow Brook, in Chapelfield—not an uncommon name for sites containing Roman or other ancient foundations. It was detected and partially uncovered in the spring of 1738. The building excavated measured 45 by 96 feet and comprised a corridor 10 feet wide, which formed the entire eastern (or rather south-eastern) face of the building, and six rooms, which opened westwards out of the corridor (fig. 22). The foundations of the building were of local Stanion stone; the walls were thought to have been constructed in wood. Higher up the slope more foundations were noticed, and it is plain that the excavated portion was but a fragment of a large house. Four mosaics—all imperfectly preserved—were found and copied. They all formed centre panels for floors of plain *tesserae* and were all geometrical in design. Two of them were long ornamental centre strips, each 5 feet wide, in the corridor. One of these, at the north end of the corridor, was a purely geometrical design in blue, white (or yellow) and grey; the other, at the south end, had a conventional foliated pattern outlined in blue and red on brown and yellow grounds. A third pavement in one of the northern rooms showed a design which was outlined in red on the outside and in blue in the centre on a ground of grey. The fourth, in the southernmost room, had an intricate pattern of knots, Asiatic shields, squares and diamonds, in red, white and blue. The coins found on the spot range from about A.D. 260–353; most of them are Constantinian, and we may suppose that the villa was occupied, at any rate, during the first half of the fourth century.²

(9) Ashley, 4 miles east of Market Harborough, close to the Welland, which is the Leicestershire boundary. Here pavements, pottery, coins and other objects were found in a field called Alderstone when the Rugby and Stamford railway was constructed.³ The site is hardly a mile from Medbourne in Leicestershire, where mosaics and other evidences of permanent occupation have several times been noted. A Roman road can be traced from Leicester to Medbourne, but its continuation into Northamptonshire is uncertain.

¹ For the finds of 1736 see *Northampton Mercury*, March 23, 1737; *Daily Gazetteer*, April 1, 1737; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1737, p. 256; Stukeley's *Letters*, iii. 33, 49 and Carausius, i. 170; Gough, *Add. to Camden*, ii. 286; Gibson's *Castor*, p. 173; *Vetusta Monumenta*, i. pl. 48; Artis, pl. lx. For the finds of 1798 see Gibson's *Castor*, p. 173, with a plate *topsyturvy*; Artis, pl. lix.; Wm. Fowler's *Tessellated Pavements*; the Wollaston drawings in the South Kensington Museum. Part of the pavement found in 1736 was taken to Dene House (Stukeley, *Diaries*, iii. 67).

² Stukeley, *Letters*, iii. 40, 58 = *Reliquiae Galeanae* in Nichols' *Bibl. Topogr. Brit.* ii. 460; hence Gibson's *Castor*, p. 172; Gough, *Add. to Camden*, ii. 284, etc. A plan was made by Lens and engraved by Cole at the time of finding; coloured copies of this are in the library of the Society of Antiquaries and in the Bodleian (Gough Collection). It was enlarged by Lysons (i. 3, pl. vii.), but his colouring is apparently inexact. The rather different plan given by Gibson and Gough is from a rough inaccurate sketch by Stukeley, of which I have a MS. copy.

³ F. Whellan, *Hist. of Northamptonshire* (ed. 2, 1874), p. 781. The site was known earlier as a Roman site (see Nichols' *Leicestershire*, i. p. cliv.).

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(10) Weekley, near Kettering. Here foundations, tessellated pavements and potsherds have been found on the north side of the village at Castle Hedges near Boughton House, and coins have been dug up in front of Boughton House and at the bowling green (Vespasian, Trajan, etc.). On the south side of the village, near the Kettering boundary, many coins, ranging from Vespasian to Valentinian, have been found in a field called Blackmiles, and an earthwork has been traced, more or less conjecturally, connecting the two sites.¹ Neither site has been explored.

(11) Lowick, near Thrapston. A piece of tessellated pavement, $1\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 feet in size, is said to have been found in 1736 in this parish near Drayton House.²

(12) Woodford, near Thrapston. 'On the south side of the river Nyne (Nene) in Woodford field are manifest signs of a place possessed by the Romans. On that called the Meadow Furlong we now find abundance of the Roman dice-like bricks, as also many pieces of oddly engraven tiles.' So Morton. One or two fourth century coins and an urn have also been found here.³

(13) Raunds. Here a spot once and perhaps still called Mallows Cotton, on slightly rising ground between the Hogdyke and the boundary of Ringstead parish, has yielded evidences of permanent occupation—foundations, coins, pottery. Potsherds may still be picked up there and surface indications of buildings are visible. The site has been described as that of a 'camp' or fort. But nothing has ever been found to support this view; the alleged earthworks bear not the least resemblance to a camp or fort, and we may most naturally suppose that the remains belong to a 'villa.'⁴

(14) Stanwick. Here a mile and a quarter south of Mallows Cotton, fragments of a tessellated pavement are said to have been found at the further end of 'the meadow furlong.' I was told on the spot that the site is west of the village, between it and the Nene, and near the south end of a green lane (sometimes fancied to be a Roman road), which runs north towards Mallows Cotton.⁵

(15) Brixworth. Here reused Roman bricks may be seen in the walls of the Saxon church, and Roman pottery has been found—for instance, in Lodge Leys field, a quarter of a mile north of the church—and Roman coins of Pius, Carausius and others have been picked up. These evidences seem adequate to prove the existence of some dwelling. But the often

¹ Morton, p. 530; Bridges, ii. 344; Stukeley, *Letters*, iii. 64, 72 (with a wild idea of a camp of Ostorius); Charles Wise, *The Compotus of the Manor of Kettering for 1292* (Kettering, 1899), p. 82.

² Gough, *Brit. Topogr.* ii. 48, referring to the Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries, which I have searched in vain; from Gough, Evans and Britton, p. 1810. Gough says that the mosaic was engraved by Vertue for Lady Germaine.

³ Morton, p. 529, hence Bridges, ii. 265, 269, and Gough, *Add. to Camden*, ii. 282.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 516 (hence Bridges ii. 190; Gough, *Add. to Camden*, ii. 275; Reynolds, p. 475, etc.); Whellan, p. 925. The earthwork at Mill Cotton near Ringstead Station is sometimes coupled with this site, but it seems not Roman at all.

⁵ Bridges, ii. 194; hence Reynolds, p. 463, etc.

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repeated assertion that the church is itself a Roman building is quite wrong.¹

(16) Near Daventry, at the north end of Borough Hill, a mile east of the town. Here the remains of a Roman villa have been found inside the great prehistoric earthworks, and a portion has been excavated, first by George Baker in 1823 and subsequently by Beriah Botfield in 1852. A block of buildings 70 feet wide by 145 feet long has been uncovered (fig. 23). This seems to have contained the baths of the villa; foundations were noticed to branch off from it, for the most part in a westerly direction, and it is obvious, as indeed the character of the plan suggests, that we have only a portion of a larger whole. At least two of the rooms had mosaics. One mosaic discovered and removed in 1823 from room *κ* had a design 9 feet square, consisting of a central circle fitted into two interlacing squares and framed in a larger square, the ornament in each case being guilloche. The other, in room *j*, had an outer border of Vitruvian scroll and an inner one of guilloche; the centre was destroyed. The minor objects found were of considerable interest—painted wall plaster; Samian, Castor and other wares; pewter and iron articles, including some curious keys; fragments of local marble; window glass and glass vessels, and so forth. The coins found were few and late.²

About a mile south of this, and just under the south end of Borough Hill, is a spot which has borne the name of Burnt Walls for at least six centuries. Here, along the north side of the Weedon and Daventry road, the surface shows signs of extensive disturbance, and Morton records the occurrence of foundations and ruined walls, while Baker states that Roman bricks and tiles have been found south of the road, and a building close by on the site of the now vanished Daventry Wood. Excavations on the north side of the road, made in 1900,

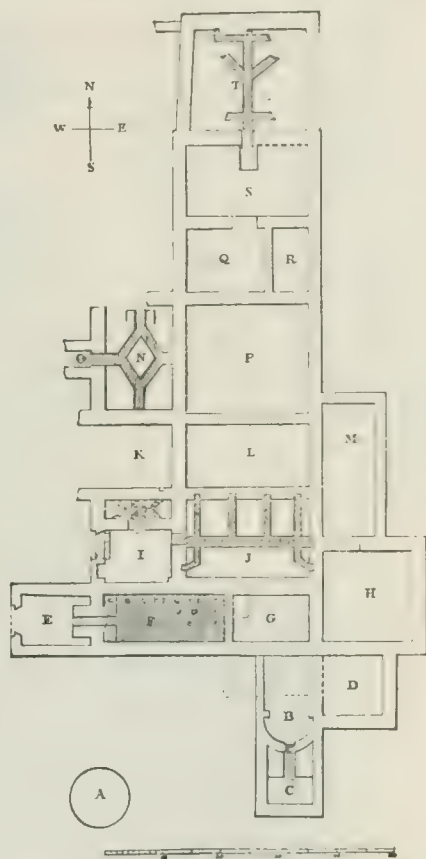


FIG. 23. BOROUGH HILL, DAVENTRY.

A well; B I hot baths; C E I O T furnaces (O unfinished); F I J N T hypocausts; J K mosaic floors; M N E P Q R plain tessellated floors; L S opus signinum floors; K T painted stucco walls.

¹ Sir Hy. Dryden, *Associated Archit. Soc. Reports*, xx. 345, xxii. 78 (compare xix. 408); Sir Hy. Dryden's MSS. in Northampton Museum; fragments of pottery in the same museum: *Gentleman's Magazine* (1841), i. 305; Murray's *Guide to Northants*, p. 181; for the church see Micklethwaite, *Archæological Journal*, liii. 300. A carved eagle built into the church has been called Roman (*Archæologia*, xliii. 119), but is apparently of later date.

² George Baker, i. 345; Botfield, *Archæologia*, xxxv. 383; C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, i. 113 (illustr. of pavement *κ*), iii. 208; remains in Northampton Museum and British Museum.

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produced no result, and as no smaller objects—coins, potsherds, and the like—seem to have been discovered anywhere in the vicinity, I am doubtful how to class the site.¹

(17) Nether Heyford. Here a villa was found in 1699 in the Horestone or Horsestone meadow. The principal discovery was part of a mosaic showing an elaborate geometrical design in red, white, blue and yellow, in pattern not unlike the southernmost mosaic at Weldon, but fringed in addition with a guilloche border (fig. 24). Some other rooms

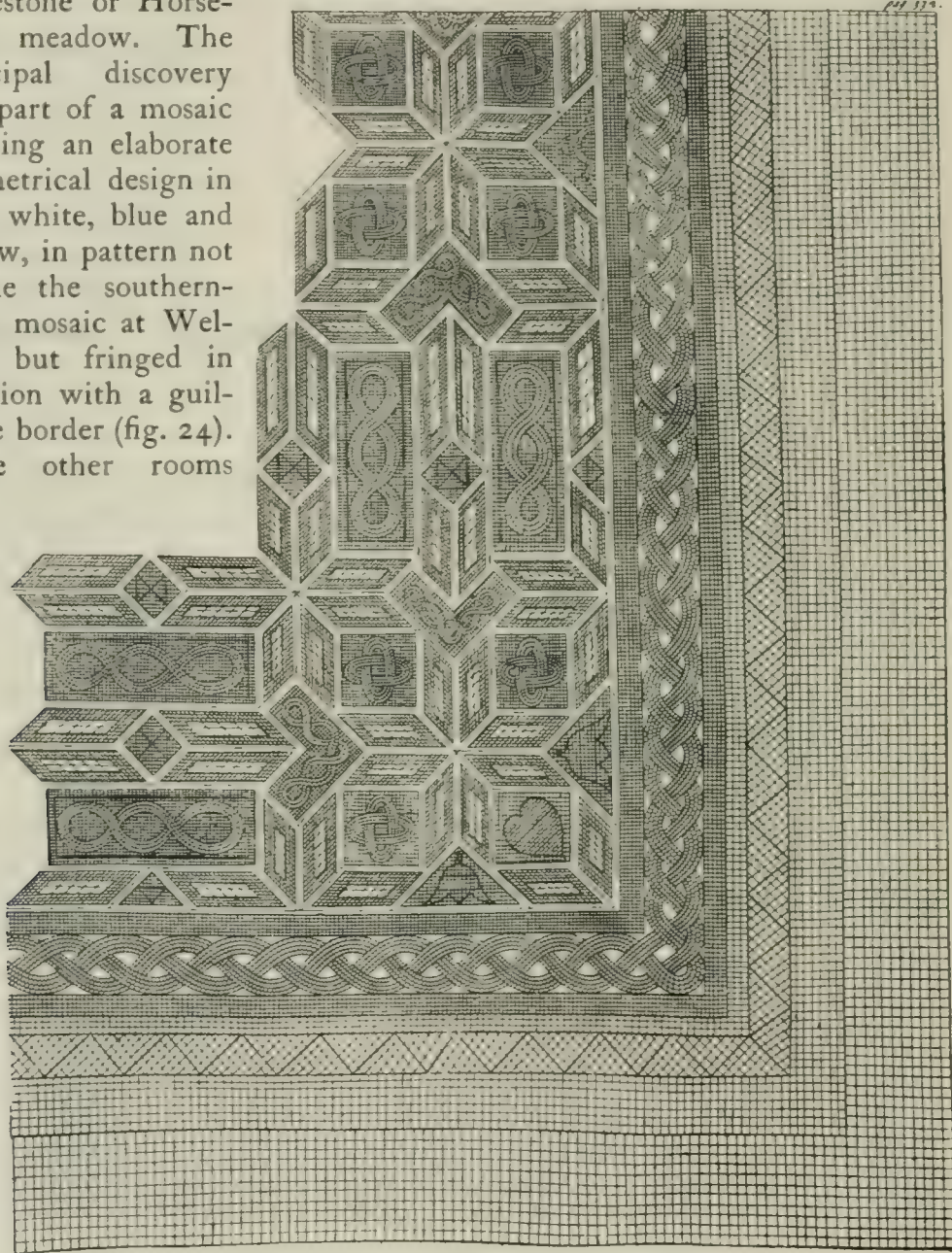


FIG. 24. MOSAIC FOUND AT NETHER HEYFORD IN 1699 (Morton, pl. xiv.).

were observed to have white plaster floors coloured along the sides with straight stripes of red, yellow and green; and, as usual, roofing slates and tiles, painted wall plaster and Samian and other potsherds

¹ Morton, p. 521 (hence Bridges, i. 42; Gough, *Add. to Camden*, ii. 275); Baker, i. 339; information from Mr. T. J. George.

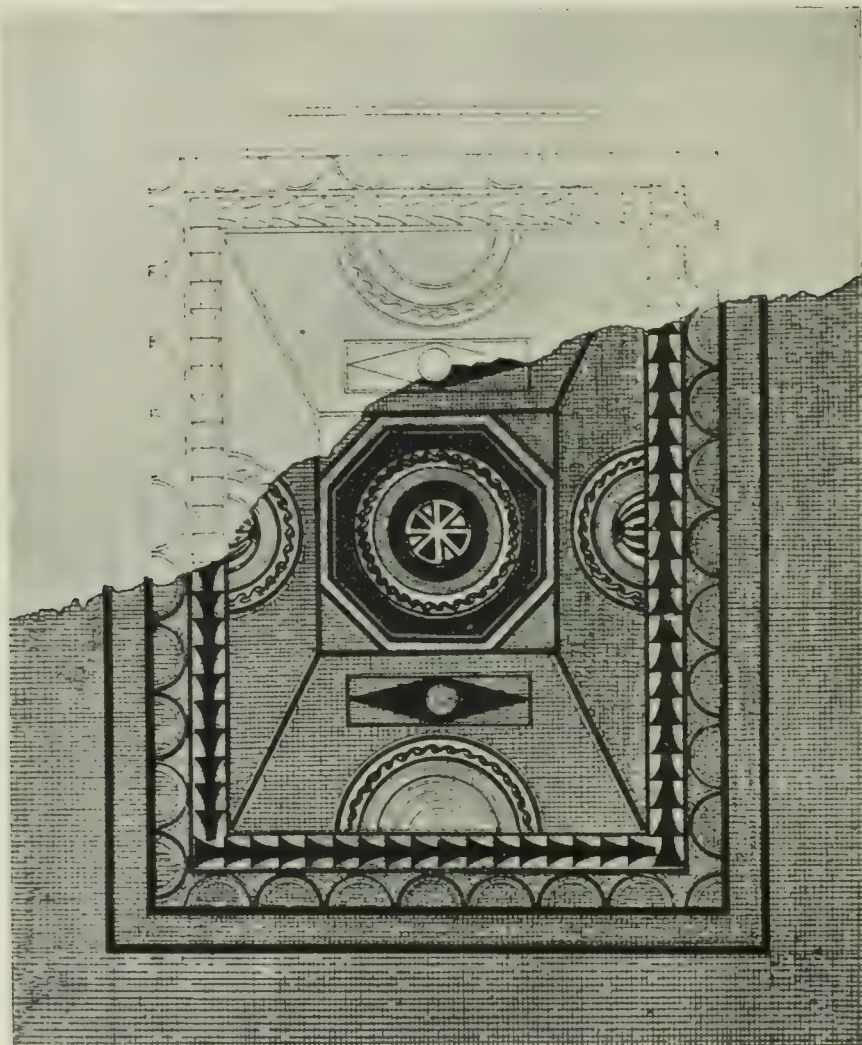


FIG. 25. MOSAIC FOUND AT HARPOLE.

The central octagon is mostly red and white ; the rest black or red on a straw-coloured ground.
(Scale, 1 : 48)

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abounded. In 1780 the mosaic was taken up and used to mend the roads. In 1821 the site was re-examined with no important results. Baker estimated the whole area of the building 'as marked by the disturbed surface and discoloured vegetation' at no more than 100 feet.¹

(18) Harpole, south-west of the village. Here, in a field adjoining the Weedon and Northampton road on the north, near the Halfway House (Red Lion) inn and the fourth milestone, a 'villa' was detected in 1846 and a small part uncovered in 1849. The principal discovery was a mosaic floor with a geometrical design in red, white, buff and black, which may have measured 12 by 18 feet when perfect (fig. 25). Its central ornament, a red circle divided into eight parts by four white diameters, has been taken to contain a Greek cross and hence to indicate Christianity. So far however as I can judge, this central ornament, like the whole pattern, is merely conventional and possesses no Christian or other significance. The site was not explored beyond this mosaic, but *tesserae* of other pavements, tiles, bricks, potsherds were noticed and indeed can still be seen lying around on the surface for some little space.²

(19) Harpole, north of the village. On the rising ground north of the village, Whellan attests the discovery of an extensive villa and in particular a floor of rough unornamented tessellation (p. 318).

(20) Duston, near Northampton. Numerous remains have been found here in the south-east of the parish, a little west of the western suburb of Northampton called St. James' End, and for the most part south of the present Daventry road. Burials and Roman pottery were noticed in 'Arbourfield' in 1849; a vase and some coins (a 'second brass' of Claudius, a denarius of Severus and about thirty-five of A.D. 250-380) were found hereabouts in 1854. But the principal discoveries were made in 1860-70 when the Duston Iron Ore Company was working the ironstone on land once the property of Lady Palmerston (since of Lord Cowper). The remains were found to be spread over eight acres; the site, south of the Daventry road and near a large artificial pond, is still strewn with potsherds. No proper observations of the discoveries were kept, except to a limited extent by the late Mr. Samuel Sharp, but many of the objects unearthed were preserved and presented by him and by Lord Cowper to the Northampton Museum. The principal finds were a large number—probably more than a hundred—of burials, some inhumation and some incineration; nails, probably from coffins; a lamp; pottery of all sorts, Samian, Castor and the rest; tiles; many ornaments, domestic utensils and implements in iron, lead and bronze; and coins in abundance. Special mention may be made of a small silver bowl; six large plain pewter dishes, a two-handled pewter

¹ Morton, p. 527 and pl. xiv. 3 (hence Bridges, i. 519; Gough, *Add. to Camden*, ii. 277, etc.); Baker, i. 191.

² *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, ii. 364, v. 375, vi. 126 with plate; Wetton's *Guidebook*, p. 148. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, i. 39, accepted the mosaic as Christian.

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bowl and a pewter *patera* $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter ; a bronze head which had once belonged to the handle of a bronze-mounted bucket ; ornaments in Kimmeridge clay from far away Dorsetshire ; enamelled objects (*fibulæ*, a 'sealbox,' etc.), some with classical and some with Late Celtic patterns ; pottery with Late Celtic affinities, and other pottery which might be called 'black Samian' (one piece stamped *AVLLIOS*). The coins included four or five British and a fairly continuous series from Claudius to Honorius, but the earlier coins were all much worn, and only those of 280–400 A.D. were really common. A well excavated in November, 1870, yielded also a crucible and a 'pint of earthen coin moulds,' intended for casting *folles* (large copper) of the Emperors Diocletian, Maximian, Chlorus and Galerius—probably to be assigned to the opening of the fourth century. Whether any buildings were discovered is not quite clear. Mr. Sharp, writing in 1862, records the discovery in that year of 'numerous black and white tesserae,' and concludes that 'undoubtedly near this spot stood a Roman house.' In 1870 he stated that 'no tesserae or foundations of houses' had been met with at all. I will not presume to decide between these assertions. But more than twenty wells were discovered on the site ; tiles were also found (though these might have been used to cover graves), and the number and character of the domestic objects and ornaments indicate inhabitants at no great distance. These inhabitants may have belonged to either or both of two dates—the commencement of the Roman period, indicated by British coins and pottery with Late Celtic affinities, or the fourth century, indicated by the vast majority of the coins. Whether these inhabitants dwelt in a 'villa' or a village our knowledge at present does not enable us to determine. We know only their portable objects, their graves and a few imperfectly recorded traces of their houses. It is possible enough that there was a village on the site in early days and a 'villa' later. But whether 'villa' or village the site demands inclusion in this list.¹ The singularly straight road from Duston to the Foss near Whilton Lodge (p. 203) may be connected with these remains.

(21) Piddington. Here, close to Preston Wood and the London and Newport road, remains were found in 1781—a mosaic, chiefly black and white, said to have measured 50 feet square but destroyed as soon as found, many large tiles, foundations, pottery, coins, a gold ring and a skeleton. The site has not been since explored.²

(22) Gayton. On the south-east edge of Gayton parish and close to the Blisworth boundary, traces of a building were discovered in 1840 in a field called the Warren. The foundations uncovered showed a portico with four column bases, 66 feet long, with a wall running at

¹ For the finds of 1849 see Wetton's *Guidebook to Northants*, p. 243 ; for those of 1854 the *Proceedings of the Numismatic Society*, November 23, 1854 ; for those of 1860–70 S. Sharp in *Associated Archit. Soc. Reports*, vi. (1862) 222 (*tesserae*), *Numismatic Chronicle*, ix. 167, xi. 28 (coin moulds), and *Archæologia*, xliii. 118–30 ; and the Sharp and Cowper Collections in Northampton Museum.

² Reynolds, *Iter Britann.* p. 458, who saw himself the black and white *tesserae*. The other details are from F. Whellan, p. 277.

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right angles to it on each side and other walls, not traced, running in various directions. The smaller finds included a silver fibula, a bronze figurine of a Cupid, much Samian and other pottery, tiles and twenty-two coins ranging from Marcus ('first brass') to Gratian, but principally of the fourth century. The site was not further explored,¹ but in 1849 pottery was dug up 70 yards south of the foundations.

(23) Foscoete. Here, about a mile and a half on the road from Towcester to Abthorpe, close to a little delf, a sawpit and the road itself, numerous bricks, building and roofing tiles, Samian and other potsherds, including a pelvis stamped *PERTVI·M*, and a coin of the 'Lower Empire' were found about 1846-8. The site was not explored.²

(24) Whittlebury. Here a 'villa' was found and partially excavated in 1850 near 'the Gullet,' in Holton Coppice, three miles east of Whittlebury village and a quarter of a mile west of Watling Street. The plans and records of the excavations are not wholly satisfactory ;

they are not quite free from discrepancies, and they omit to indicate how much of the site was excavated and how much may contain undiscovered buildings. It appears however that, as often, a square entrenchment surrounded the building area. The plan of the buildings (fig. 26) included a walled yard, not rectangular, in size 150 by 195 feet, with a gateway in the middle of the south-east side and another opposite it in the north-west side. On the south side of this yard was a block of rooms, measuring 50 by 100 feet, so far as explored, and containing hypocausts and bathrooms. One of the rooms had in the centre of

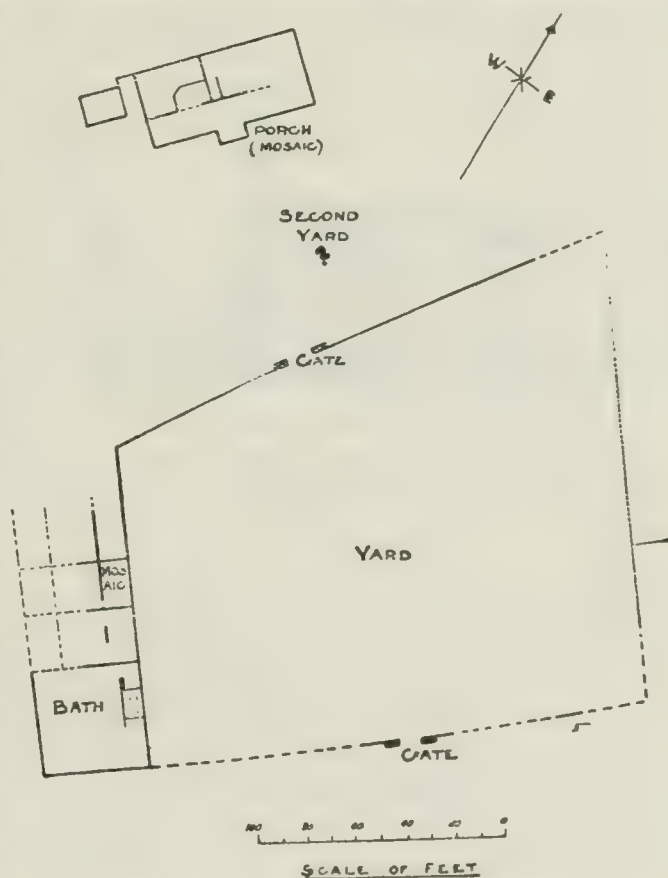


FIG. 26. VILLA IN WHITTLEBURY FOREST.

its floor a small panel of mosaic, 4 feet square, representing a head in a square guilloche border. Outside the yard, and facing its northern gate at 100 feet distance, was another block of rooms, covering, as far as

¹ *Archæologia*, xxx. 125-31, with plan and illustrations ; the plan is too fragmentary to be worth reproducing. Wetton's *Guidebook*, p. 167.

² *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, ii. 355, iv. 396, vii. 109 ; Wetton's *Guidebook*, p. 194.

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excavated, about 30 by 90 feet. Its entrance was a projecting porch or doorway decorated with a mosaic panel 6 feet square—a pattern of red crosses outlined between squares of red and grey, the whole enclosed in a guilloche border of red, white, drab and grey. Another mosaic in this block consisted of squares divided by double lines of red. If we may assume that the excavations left a good deal of building undiscovered, we might suppose that this block formed part of a range of rooms facing on to a second or inner yard and adjoining the bathrooms on the south. I have ventured to mark it in the plan, with an appended query. Minor discoveries in one part or other of the site include a column base, tiles, painted wall plaster, some good fragments of glass, Samian and other potsherds, three stone weights, iron knives and implements, animals' bones, etc.¹

(25) Chipping Warden. Here considerable traces of buildings exist half a mile east of the village, on the north side of the Cherwell, on a sheltered site with a southern aspect, sloping gently to the stream. Only one building has been actually excavated—a detached bath-house,

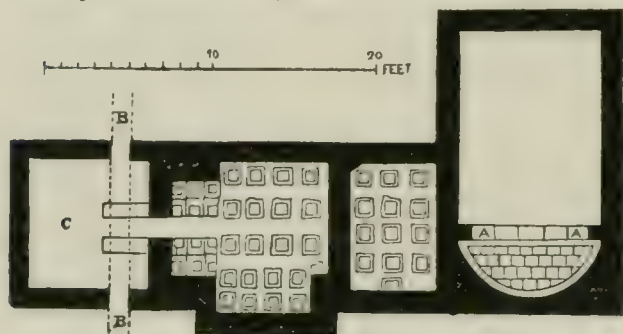


FIG. 27. BATH HOUSE AT CHIPPING WARDEN.

A raised stonework ; B modern drain ; c furnace.

36 feet long by 18 feet wide (fig. 27), found in 1849 close to the water in a field once known as Caldwiths (or Caudwells). But remains of walls have been noticed also in the fields called Blackgrounds, which adjoin Caldwiths on the north (away from the river), and Samian, Castor and other potsherds,

glass and the usual small objects have been picked up, and indeed still abound, over a considerable area. An urn with human bones was found in 1826 and four skeletons in 1849. Many coins have been recorded—three British of the class which Sir John Evans calls the Central District coins, and numerous Roman, ranging from Domitian to the end of the Roman period, but belonging mostly to the later empire (A.D. 250–390).² The place has frequently been called the site of a Romano-British town, and the name Brinavis has been ascribed to it. But the remains hitherto discovered do not justify us in supposing more than a villa, perhaps with extensive outbuildings. Fragments of pottery have been found, it is true, over an area much greater than that

¹ *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vi. 73, vii. 107 (plan and plates) ; *Archæological Journal*, vii. 172. The mosaic with red crosses has been needlessly supposed to be Christian. One of the mosaics was given by the landowner, the Duke of Grafton, to Queen Victoria and relaid in a dairy at Windsor.

² Morton, p. 526 (hence Bridges, i. 111 ; Gough, *Add. to Camden*, ii. 272 ; Reynolds, etc.) ; Baker, i. 531 ; *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, ii. 346 (coins), v. 83, 168 (excav. of 1849) ; Beesley's *Banbury*, 27–9 ; *Numismatic Soc. Proceedings*, November 23, 1843, January 27, 1845, February 25, 1846 ; a few objects in Northampton Museum. I have assumed, after visiting them, that the earthworks, Arbury Banks and Wallow Bank, west and north respectively of Chipping Warden, are not Roman : compare *Archæol. Journal*, ii. 82.

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of a single 'villa,' but potsherds are easily diffused in the course of cultivation, and are not by themselves adequate evidence to prove the extent of buildings. The name Brinavis is even more unsatisfactory. It occurs in the lists of the *Ravenna Geographer*, in a context which gives no clue to its actual position; thence it was borrowed by Bertram, when forging the Itineraries of 'Richard of Cirencester,' and located vaguely in the Midlands; it rests therefore on the worst authority.¹

(26) Thenford. Here there appears to have been a 'villa' half a mile east of the village in fields called Flaxlands and Stonegreen, on the top of a slope which falls away steeply westwards and immediately south of the walled garden belonging to Thenford House. The recorded remains comprise foundations, hypocausts, tessellated pavements, tiles, bricks and several coins—a denarius of Vespasian and copper of Tetricus and the Constantine period. The surface of the site is still strewn with bits of brick and pottery, and an old labourer in Thenford told me that he had ploughed along the top of a pavement and found one or two 'fireplaces.' An urn with ashes was dug up long ago in the churchyard, but I do not know whether it is Roman. Remains have also been found at Seabridge, to the west of Thenford, on the edge of Middleton Cheney parish, near the barn called Cold Harbour—skeletons, a cup, and according to local tradition some armour; but I see no reason for classing these as Roman.² None of these sites have been explored.

(27) King's Sutton. Here at a spot called Blacklands, on rising ground half a mile north of the village, a considerable patch of soil is unusually dark in colour, and foundations, pottery, including a curious colander, knife and other objects in iron, and coins of the second, third and fourth centuries—the last being the commonest—have been noted by various writers. The site has never been explored. Roman coins of 270–330 A.D. have been found also in other parts of the parish.³

4. THE ROADS

From our description of country towns and country we pass to the roads which provided communications. This is the natural order of subjects. It is not perhaps the usual order. In general English topographers have tended to emphasize the roads at the expense of the life to which the roads subserved. The study of Roman Britain has now and again been treated as though it were merely a study of roads and of placenames connected therewith. The character of towns or villas

¹ *Ravenna Geogr.* 428, 429. It is extremely probable that this, like most of the names in the *Ravenna* lists, is corruptly spelt.

² Morton, p. 529 (hence Bridges, i. 203, etc.); Baker, i. 717, who quite unnecessarily thinks the site too extended for a villa; Beesley's *Banbury*, pp. 31–2; F. Whellan, p. 498; a flanged tile in Northampton Museum.

³ Morton, p. 531 (coins called Blackland pence); Baker, i. 703; Beesley's *Banbury*, p. 33; *Numismatic Soc. Proceedings*, November 23, 1843; *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries*, ser. 2, i. 323, ii. 75; *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xvii. 70; *Worcester Congress of Archaeological Institute, Catalogue of Museum*, p. 11. Mr. Dagley of King's Sutton has about fifty coins, found mostly at Blacklands—a denarius of Domitian, another of Hadrian, and copper of the second, third and especially fourth centuries. Fragments of Roman pottery still lie about on the surface of the site.

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on or off these roads has been treated as comparatively immaterial and unworthy of serious discussion. This is to invert the true relation of the two subjects. In this as in other volumes of the *Victoria County History* we have preferred to describe the sites first and proceed from them to the roads.

Our sources for determining the roads are of two kinds—written and archæological. The archæological evidence is supplied by actual remains, as when we dig up ancient metalling along a line where a Roman road might be expected, or when we find a still existing track which runs with persistent straightness from one Roman site to another. The written evidence is more elaborate. Charters tell us of ‘streets’ bounding estates in early days. Placenames like Stratford, if of established antiquity, suggest ancient and usually Roman roads.¹ Parish and county boundaries sometimes preserve curious information. But our chief written evidence is the *Itinerarium Antonini*, a Roman roadbook which gives the distances and ‘stations’ along various routes in the empire. Its exact age and its object are uncertain and do not now concern us; its accuracy, which matters more, is by no means unfailing, and it is sometimes more useful in testifying that a road ran in a particular direction, as for instance from Colchester to Lincoln, than in telling us the precise course of the road and the precise sites of the ‘stations’ along it. For our present purpose two of the Itinerary routes are important. We give the distances as given in the original in Roman miles, thirteen of which may be reckoned as equivalent to twelve English miles.

(1) Part of route from Carlisle through Wroxeter and London to the Kentish ports: Venonae (High Cross, Leicestershire) to Bannaventa, 17 miles; B. to Lactodorum, 12 miles; L. to Magiovinium, 17 miles; M. to Durocibrivæ, 12 miles (*Itin. Ant.* 470, 471). This route recurs in a route from London to Lincoln: Durocibrivæ to Magiovinium, 12 miles; M. to Lactodorum, 16 miles; L. to Bannaventa (misspelt Isannavantia), 12 miles; B. to Tripontium, 12 miles; T. to Venonae, 8 miles (*Itin. Ant.* 476, 477); and again in a route from York to London: Venonae to Bannaventa, 18 miles; B. to Magiovinium, 28 miles; M. to Durocibrivæ, 12 miles (*Itin. Ant.* 479). The three versions agree substantially.

(2) Part of route from London by Colchester to Lincoln and the north: Camulodunum (Colchester) to Villa Faustini, 35 miles; to Icini, 18 miles; to Camboritum, 35 miles; to Durolipons, 25 miles; to Durocibrivæ, 35 miles; to Causennæ, 30 miles; to Lindum (Lincoln), 26 miles, or according to a less well attested reading, 16 miles (*Itin. Ant.* 475). With this we may compare a list of names given by the *Ravenna Geographer* (429–30): Manulodulo Colonia, Durcinate, Duroviguto, Durobrisin, Venta Cenomum, Lindum Colonia. Corrupt in spelling as these names are, we may regard them as somewhat the same as the Itinerary names.

¹ Portway must not be included among these placenames; it does not necessarily or usually denote a Roman road.

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Combining these evidences, let us attempt to sketch the Roman roads in Northamptonshire. We shall find that they fall under two heads, the great highway, Watling Street, which crosses the western part of the country, and the other highway, Ermine Street, which crosses its eastern end. We shall find a few branches, or probable branches, of these two. But we shall not find branches joining the two main roads. So far as we know, Roman Northamptonshire possessed no means of communication from east to west, from end to end. Its area was not in Roman days a unity demanding such a road.

(1) The western route, Watling Street, requires few words. Its course is certain. Almost the whole of it is still in use: often it forms a parish or county boundary; its name is attested in terriers and charters far older than the Norman Conquest.¹ The Itinerary 'stations,' as we have already seen, can be identified easily with existing remains, and the distances between these remains agree with the mileage of the Itinerary. If we place Magiovinium near Fenny Stratford, Lactodorum at Towcester, Bannaventa near Norton, Tripontium near Cave's Inn, Catthorpe, and Venonae at High Cross, we obtain an admirable and unusual harmony between our written and our archæological evidence. According to Bridges, the road was specially notable in his day close to Watford Gap, where the bank (if we are to believe him) was 15 feet high.² At the present day the best preserved bit is perhaps near to Kilsby railway station, in two fields between the road from Crick to Rugby and the road from Kilsby to Lutterworth.

Two minor roads seem to join Watling Street in our county area. One may be called a certain road, though no traces of it now exist within the county. This is a road which can be traced clearly enough from the Roman site at Alchester, near Bicester, running north-east as far as Stowe Park; beyond that it is now no longer visible, but it must have joined Watling Street at or near Towcester. The other is less certain. From the Roman site at Duston (p. 197) an existing road running westwards past Nobottle (Newbottle) towards Norton (p. 186) on Watling Street. It is, for a good distance, an old road and a straight road, and may well be Roman.

(2) The roads in the east of the county require more notice. The archæological evidence is, on the whole, adequate to our needs, but the roads are more numerous than in the west of the county and less easy to understand, while the written evidence relating to them (the text of the Antonine Itinerary) is singularly puzzling.

First, there is Ermine Street, to explain which we must start outside the county. Two roads, which may fairly be considered to be Roman, the one from Brayling and the south, the other from Cambridge and the south-east, meet at Godmanchester. From thence we can trace the Roman road, still in full use and bearing the ancient name of Ermine

¹ The oldest form was perhaps Wacling, not Watling (W. H. Stevenson).

² Bridges, i. 585.

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Street,¹ to the settlement on the Nene which we have above described in connexion with Castor (p. 166). Here it enters Northamptonshire. In this county little of it still remains in use, but its course is certain and has often been described. From the Nene it continues in a straight line its previous north-westerly direction. It passes Sutton Wood and Southorpe (where stone pits for its making or maintenance were found or supposed in the eighteenth century), skirts the west side of Walcot Park and crosses the parish of Barnack, where it is said to have been furnished with a watchtower and to have been very visible two hundred years ago. Entering Burghley Park it deflects somewhat westwards; here its course was partly obliterated in the seventeenth century when part of it was taken to make gravel paths. It then passes near Wothorpe Park, where again it has been damaged: in 1732, as Stukeley records, the overseers of the highways of St. Martin's, Stamford, dug it up 'in sacrilegious manner, to mend their wicked ways withall.' Finally it reaches the Welland at Nun's farm immediately west of Stamford; thence it runs by Great Casterton and Ancaster to Lincoln and passes outside our scope.² Between Castor and Stamford it has sometimes been styled the Forty-foot Way.

One branch, and indeed perhaps three branches, diverged from this road near the point where it crosses the Nene. Of these the most important and the most certain runs due north. The exact spot where it leaves the other road is not now visible but can be approximately fixed. Somewhere near the Nene and Normangate field it turned off; it becomes traceable near Upton, and from a point slightly north of that village it is still in use as a road. Here or hereabouts it was once and perhaps is still known as Langdyke and High Street, and it forms for some distance a parish boundary. At the south end of Ashton parish it skirts the eastern side of Hilly Wood, where a noteworthy legionary tile was found some years ago (p. 214). Finally it crosses the Welland near Lolham Bridges and enters Lincolnshire; hence under the name of King Street it pursues its way to Bourn and, as it seems, to Sleaford and Lincoln—though the section from Sleaford to Lincoln is not at all well attested.³ Thus it appears to provide an alternative route from Castor to Lincoln, east of the above described Ancaster route. The exact relation of the two routes—if two there really were—is not quite clear. Their lengths are almost equal. The western (Ancaster) route follows

¹ Originally perhaps Erning or Earning Street. The oldest occurrences of it are in a charter of A.D. 957, Earningstraet at Conington, Hunts (*Cartularium Saxonicum*, iii. 203; *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries*, ser. 1, iv. 326); a charter dated A.D. 955 but really of later origin, Earning Straet, at Alwalton (*Cart. Sax.* iii. 71); and Erningestrete in Henry of Huntingdon, i. 7. It is quite possible that the name really belongs to Huntingdonshire only; it is now used both north and south of that area.

² Camden, ii. 270; Morton, p. 502; *Archæologia*, i. 61; Bridges, ii. 490; Stukeley, *Letters*, ii. 269, and *Itinerarium Curiosum*, p. 84; Gough, *Add. to Camden*, ii. 292; Trollope, *Associated Archit. Soc. Reports*, ix. 156.

³ Morton, p. 502; Stukeley, *Letters*, ii. and *Carausius*, i. 172; Trollope, *Associated Archit. Soc. Reports*, ix. 156. The Ordnance surveyors insert the name King Street south as well as north of the Welland.

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the higher and drier line, but the Sleaford route is no mere Fen road. The western route in its commencement at Castor forms a straight line with the road from Godmanchester to Castor, and therefore seems to be the original route; but the legionary tile at Hilly Wood may suggest that some part, at least, of the eastern road is also of early date.

Two other roads have also been thought to branch off near Castor. The one runs west past the south side of Bedford Purlieus (p. 189) and is represented by the existing Castor and Kingscliffe road, much of which is curiously straight. Beyond its straightness however this road has no definite sign of Roman origin and it leads to no known Roman site. The other supposed road runs eastwards to Peterborough and thence across the Fens to the Norfolk hills at Denver near Downham Market. No certain trace of any such road exists in Northamptonshire. One small piece has indeed been alleged to survive between Castor village and Milton Park, but it is small and it is badly attested. East of Peterborough however the vestiges of an ancient road are certain, and if this road was Roman, we might reasonably assume that it did not stop at Peterborough but continued to Castor.

So far we reach with our archæological evidence. Let us now compare it with our written record in the Antonine Itinerary quoted above. According to this document there was a route from Colchester to Lincoln with various stations along it. This route is generally taken to be the road which we have seen actually to run from Godmanchester through Castor and Ancaster to Lincoln, with remains of towns or villages at the places named. Unfortunately the distances of these sites conflict violently with the mileage of the Itinerary. Ancaster for instance is neither 16 nor 26 but 20 Roman miles from Lincoln; Castor is not 30 but 35 Roman miles from Ancaster; Godmanchester is 20, not 35 miles from Castor. No alternative route however can be reasonably suggested. If it be conjectured that the Fen road from Norfolk is intended, that is, that the traveller by the Itinerary route journeyed from Colchester to Venta (near Norwich) and thence through Denver to Castor, the mileage is equally unsatisfactory, and suitable stations are not to be found at all. Nor does it help to adopt the alternative route from Castor by Bourn and Sleaford to Lincoln, for part of this route is uncertain and no station is known to occur along it. As therefore we concluded in connexion with the name 'Durobrivæ' (p. 167) we shall do best on our present evidence to accept the route but ignore the mileage.

(3) One more supposed road deserves notice here. English antiquaries have often laid down on their maps and in their books a 'Via Devana' running more or less directly from Colchester by Cambridge and Huntingdon to Leicester and finally to Chester, the Roman fortress of Deva (Chester). There is no evidence whatever for the existence of this supposed 'through-route' across Britain, and the name 'Via Devana' is simply an invention of the modern antiquary. But parts of the route may be accepted as independent roads of really Roman origin, and in

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particular it is credible enough that a Roman road connected Leicester and Huntingdon. It cannot however be called by any means certain. The line of a Roman road can be traced clearly enough for fifteen miles from Leicester along the 'Gartree Way' to the Roman site at Medbourne, on the limit of Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, and some existing roads and boundaries warrant the conjecture that this road ran on in the same straight line from Medbourne eight miles towards Stanion. In the centre of our county all traces fail, but on its eastern edge a lane which runs due east from Titchmarsh towards the Roman road at Alconbury in Huntingdonshire has been noted as possibly Roman. The whole is a slender chain of evidence with a great gap in the middle and weak links at the end. But it deserves note as a possibility.

(4) Two other Roman roads, partly coinciding, have been alleged to cross our county. The one is said to go from Borough Hill by Chipping Warden to the Roman site at Alchester in Oxfordshire, the other from Dow Bridge on Watling Street by Borough Hill and Chipping Warden to the Portway north of Oxford. Neither has the least support in facts. They appear to have been suggested to various writers, partly by some details in Richard of Cirencester's forged Itinerary, partly by the belief that Borough Hill and Chipping Warden were the sites of large towns, and partly by the idea that 'Portway' denotes a Roman road. All three reasons are of course worthless.

5. INDUSTRIES : THE CASTOR POTTERIES

We have now described the normal features of Roman Northamptonshire, that is, the features of settled Romano-British civilization—towns, villas, roads—which characterize this county equally with any other ordinary part of southern, non-military Britain. There remains a feature which obviously belongs to the settled civilization of the district but which is somewhat peculiar to it. This feature is supplied by one or perhaps two industries, some uncertain traces of iron workings and some unquestionable remains of extensive potteries.

Of the iron workings there is little to tell. Ironstone lies accessible near the surface in many parts of the county, and slag, taken to be the refuse of iron workings, has been noted in connexion with Roman remains near Oundle, Rockingham, Laxton, Kingscliffe, Bulwick and Wansford.¹ But none of these sites has ever been seriously examined except Wansford, and the Wansford finds are not satisfactory. Mr. Artis thought that he there detected considerable ironworks. But he has left no details on record except a drawing of an alleged smelting furnace (see his plate xxv.), and this, as Mr. Gowland has pointed out to me, has nothing to do with ironworking at all, but perhaps belongs to a potter's apparatus. While therefore our evidence makes it not improbable that the Northamptonshire ironstone was worked in the Roman period, it does not justify the confident assertions usually made to that effect.

¹ See the alphabetical index at the end of this article.

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The potteries are far better known. They were examined by the late Mr. E. T. Artis in the course of his excavations in 1821 and subsequent years, of which we have already had occasion to speak (p. 167), and the results have been recorded, along with the other results of his work, in a folio volume of illustrations without text, in two articles communicated to the British Archæological Association and in occasional information given by him to Mr. C. Roach Smith. The record is imperfect and in some respects unsatisfactory, but it enables us to sketch the salient features of the industry.¹

The potteries are situated near Castor, Chesterton and Wansford on both sides of the river Nene, and therefore both in Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire. Here, as we have seen above (p. 177), there were two adjacent Romano-British towns at Castor and at 'the Castles' near Chesterton, and numerous outlying dwellings, which indicate a comparatively dense population. The pottery works lay thick in the immediate vicinity of the towns, notably in Normangate Field and between 'the Castles' and Water Newton: they also extended westwards beyond Wansford and, according to Mr. Artis, were scattered over an area of twenty square miles. Mr. Artis adds that, if all were in use at once, they may have employed two thousand hands; but this is, at the best, a rash estimate, and it is improbable that the kilns are all of the same age.

The ordinary kilns in use at Castor are thus described by Mr. Artis in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* (fig. 28)—



FIG. 28. KILN AT CASTOR.

A circular hole was dug, from 3 to 4 feet deep and 4 feet in diameter, and walled round to the height of 2 feet. A furnace, one third of the diameter of the kiln in length, communicated with the side of the hole. In the centre of the circular hole so formed was an oval pedestal, the height of the sides, with the end pointing to the furnace mouth. Upon this pedestal and the side wall the floor of the kiln rests. It is formed of perforated angular bricks meeting at one point in the centre. The furnace is arched with bricks moulded for the purpose. The side of the kiln is constructed with curved bricks set edgeways in a thick 'slip' or liquid of the same material, to the height of 2 feet. [The illustration shows the mouth of the furnace, the floor of the kiln with its perforated bricks, and the lower part of the walls of the kiln.]

The French scientific writer, M. Brongniart, a contemporary of Artis, compared this type of kiln to one found at Heiligenberg near Strassburg

¹ Artis, *Durobrivæ of Antoninus* (London, 1828, folio: plates only) and *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, i. 1-9, ii. 164-9; Thos. Wright, *Celt, Roman and Saxon* (ed. 1885), pp. 263-9, and *Intellectual Observer*, vii. 456, mostly reprinting Artis; C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, i. 169, iv. 81. S. Birch, *Hist. of Ancient Pottery* (ed. 2, 1873), pp. 572 foll., has some good remarks, but his account is confused and some of his facts and references wrong. The best collections of Castor ware which I have seen are (i.) that in Peterborough Museum, which includes some of the actual pieces found by Mr. Artis; and (ii.) the Knipe collection in the Cambridge Archæological Museum, which consists of pieces found in or near Water Newton. Specimens from the former are figured on the plate numbered fig. 32.

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in Alsace,¹ and to others found in the Rhine valley and used for the manufacture of some sort of 'Samian,' and conjectures that the Castor kilns may have been used for the same object. This however, as we shall see, is unlikely to have been their principal employment, and similar kilns have been found elsewhere associated with other wares.

We shall judge best of the wares produced in our Castor kilns by the pieces of pottery actually found within or near them by Mr. Artis. These are described by him as exhibiting a great variety. Many shapes occur—bowls, saucers, cups with and more often without handles, indented 'thumb vases,' small round-bellied jars, and mullers for grinding (*mortaria* or *pelves*). Style and character differ equally. There is white stoneware, sometimes painted with colour; there are 'face-urns,' and pieces ornamented with 'engine-turning' (fig. 29), and red imitations of

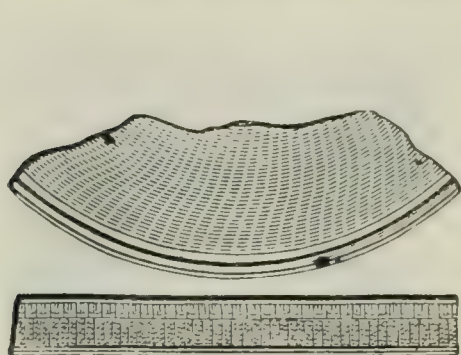


FIG. 29. CASTOR WARE WITH
'ENGINE-TURNING.'



FIG. 30. FOLIATION AND FISH ORNAMENT
ON CASTOR WARE.

'Samian,' and dark-coloured ware decorated with devices in relief or in white paint. But despite this apparent variety—which the imperfection of our record may have exaggerated—one ware or set of wares can be distinguished as the commonest and the most characteristic 'Castor ware.' This ware has a white or whitish paste, coloured outwardly a dull slate colour, blue or coppery in tint. The vessels are usually small in size, and are decorated in certain definite methods. Some are marked with indentations such as might be made by the potter's thumb, and with rude ornament on the ribs or ridges between the indents: these are usually known as 'indented' or 'thumb vases' (fig. 30, centre piece). Others have designs in self-colour 'slip,' laid on in relief by the method called 'barbotine.' These designs are commonly foliation or animals, sometimes fishes (fig. 30), but especially dogs chasing hares or stags. More ambitious but less frequent are designs including human figures—a huntsman spearing a boar, or, rarer still, an incident from classical mythology, such as Hercules rescuing Hesione from a sea monster. Others again have decorations in white paint. Some of these are foliated patterns, more conventional than the usual Castor style, employed to ornament vessels which are larger than the usual Castor sizes. Others, naturally much

¹ Not Silesia, as Artis says. Brongniart, *Traité des Arts Céramiques*, i. 426.



FIG. 32. VESSELS OF CASTOR WARE FOUND IN AND NEAR CASTOR (PETERBOROUGH MUSEUM).

See page 210.

To face page 209.

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rarer, are painted in artistic fashion—such as two fragments, now in Dr. Walker's collection, on the copper-coloured surfaces of which the potter has gracefully depicted in white and yellow a man's head with a peaked cap, and an arm holding a small axe. But these vessels painted in white, whatever their type, are less frequent and less characteristic than the thumb vases and vessels decorated in self-colour slip which seem to be the most typical Castor wares.¹

Mr. Artis has printed some interesting details as to the method by which these wares were baked, coloured, glazed and ornamented in slip, which it will be best to repeat in his own words. As to the baking—

The kilns (he says) were first carefully loose-packed with the articles to be fired, up to the height of the side walls. The circumference of the bulk was then gradually diminished, and finished in the shape of a dome. As this arrangement progressed, an attendant seems to have followed the packer and thinly covered a layer of pots with coarse hay or grass. He then took some thin clay, the size of his hand, and laid it flat on the grass upon the vessels; he then placed more grass on the edge of the clay just laid on, and then more clay, and so on until he had completed the circle. By this time the packer would have raised another tier of pots, the plasterer following as before, hanging the grass over the top edge of the last layer of plasters, until he had reached the top, in which a small aperture was left, and the clay nipt round the edge; another coating would be laid on as before described. Gravel or loam was then thrown up against the side wall where the clay wrappers were commenced, probably to secure the bricks and the clay coating. The kiln was then fired with wood. In consequence of the care taken to place grass between the edges of the wrappers, they could be unpacked in the same size pieces as when laid on in a plastic state, and thus the danger in breaking the coat to obtain the contents of the kiln could be obviated.

The slate blue or copper colour on the outside of the 'Castor ware' seems to have been produced generally by a trick in the process of baking, and not by a varnish.

During an examination of the pigments used by the Roman potters of the place, I was led to the conclusion that the blue and slate-coloured vessels met with here in such abundance, were coloured by suffocating the fire of the kiln, at the time when its contents had acquired a degree of heat sufficient to insure uniformity of colour. I had so firmly made up my mind upon the process of manufacturing and firing this peculiar kind of earthenware, that, for some time previous to the recent discovery, I had denominated the kilns in which it had been fired, smother kilns. . . . The mouth of the furnace and top of the kiln were no doubt stopped; thus we find every part of the kiln, from the inside wall to the earth on the outside, and every part of the clay wrappers of the dome, penetrated with colouring exhalation. As further proof that the colour of the ware was imparted by firing, I collected the clays of the neighbourhood, including specimens from the immediate vicinity of the smother kilns. In colour, some of these clays resembled the ware after firing, and some were darker. I submitted them to a process similar to that I have described. The clays, dug near the kilns, whitened in firing, probably from being bituminous. I also put some fragments of the blue pottery into the kiln; they came out precisely of the same colour as the clay fired with them, which had been taken from the site of the kilns. The experiment proved to me that the colour could not be attributed to any metallic oxide, either existing in the clay, or applied externally; and this conclusion is confirmed by the appearance of the clay wrappers of the dome of the kiln. It should be remarked that this colour is so volatile, that it is expelled by a second firing in an open kiln.

¹ It would be interesting, but I have not found it possible, to trace the origin of the shape called above the 'thumb vase' and of the 'barbotine' method of ornamentation. Both seem to occur occasionally in Italy and the Mediterranean lands, but neither is common enough to form a definite precedent, such as the red Arretine ware forms for the west-European 'Samian.'

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It has however been suggested that the dark colour is not due merely, as Mr. Artis supposed, to a 'colouring exhalation' permeating the articles, but to a distinct chemical action set up by the carbonaceous vapour of which the smothered kiln would be full. The point is one rather for a chemist or a potter than an archæologist, and I may be permitted to leave it unsettled.¹

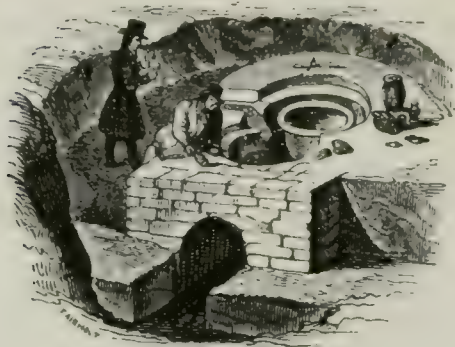


FIG. 31. GLAZING FURNACE.

Arrangements for glazing were also met with (fig. 31) :—

In the course of my excavations, I discovered a curiously-constructed furnace, of which I have never before or since met with an example. Over it had been placed two circular earthen fire vessels (or cauldrons); that next above the furnace was a third less than the other, which would hold about eight gallons. The fire passed partly under both of them, the smoke escaping by a smoothly-plastered flue, from seven to eight inches wide. The vessels were suspended by the rims fitting into a circular groove or rabbet, formed for the purpose. The composition of the vessels was that of a clay tempered with penny-earth. They contained some perfect vessels and many fragments. It is probable they had covers, and I am inclined to think were used for glazing peculiar kinds of the immense quantities of ornamented ware made in this district. Its contiguity to one of the workshops, in which the glaze (oxide of iron) and some other pigments were found, confirms this opinion.

Mr. Artis calls the glaze an oxide of iron. The British Museum and the Jermyn Street Museum of Geology possess cakes of vitreous matter found by Mr. Artis at Castor which was probably used as a glaze, and which consists principally of silicates of soda and lime.²

Finally, with respect to the 'barbotine' ornamentation in slip :—

The vessel, after being thrown upon the wheel, would be allowed to become somewhat firm, but only sufficiently for the purpose of the lathe. In the indented ware the indenting would have to be performed with the vessel in as pliable a state as it could be taken from the lathe. A thick slip of the same body would then be procured, and the ornamenter would then proceed by dipping the thumb or a round mounted instrument into the slip. The vessels, on which are displayed a variety of hunting subjects, representations of fishes, scrolls and human figures were all glazed after the figures were laid on; where however the decorations are white the vessels were glazed before the ornaments were added. Ornamenting with figures of animals was effected by means of sharp and blunt skewer instruments, and a slip of suitable consistency. These instruments seem to have been of two kinds: one thick enough to carry sufficient slip for the nose, neck, body and front thigh; the other of a more delicate kind, for a thinner slip for the tongue, lower jaws, eye, fore and hind legs and tail. There seems to have been no retouching after the slip trailed from the instrument.

Such are the chief features of the typical Castor ware as we know it from specimens found in and near the Castor kilns, and such appear to be the general methods of its manufacture. It is not however con-

¹ Buckman and Newmarch, *Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester*, pp. 77-8.

² An analysis made by Sir Hy. de la Beche, late keeper of the Jermyn Street Museum of Practical Geology, gives: Silica, 69.40; soda, 14.63; lime, 7.81; alumina, 2.62; with traces of protoxide of iron, protoxide of manganese, magnesia, potash and carbonic acid.

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fined to this locality. Pottery which is practically identical with it occurs freely on many Romano-British sites, especially in central and eastern England, and is said to be abundant across the sea in Holland and Belgium.¹ Some of this pottery must have been made at Castor and exported thence. Some perhaps was made elsewhere; thus Mr. Arthur Evans has noted unfinished specimens of Castor ware in a Roman kiln near Oxford.² In particular the abundance of this ware found in the Low Countries has suggested to several writers that it may have been manufactured there as well as in Britain. We seem even to possess an indication that it was occasionally exported thence to Britain. The well known Colchester vase might well be of foreign fabric. In addition to its hunting scene and bear fight and gladiators' combat, it bears an inscription which mentions the Thirtieth Legion, and appears to imply that the games depicted on its circumference refer to games celebrated in the cantonments of that legion. That legion was posted on the lower Rhine, and the Colchester vase may have been made in Belgium.³ Such a vase is however an exception. In general our knowledge of many details is still far too slight to justify even a guess how extensively and on how many sites Castor ware was produced. We must be content with saying that it was well known both in Britain and in northern Gaul, and that Castor was beyond question a most important centre of its manufacture.⁴

The Castor ware does not stand alone. In various points it approaches closely to other wares of western Europe. In Britain the dark-coloured 'thumb vases' made in the New Forest resemble very nearly the 'thumb vases' of Castor. The New Forest products are harder in texture, more purple or maroon in external colouring and more frequently ornamented with leaf patterns, but they have been neither infrequently nor inexcusably confused with Castor products.⁵ On the continent we find a parallel in a group of vases which is indeed not seldom represented in our own island. These vases are small, black-coloured, round-bellied little jars or cups, ornamented in white with foliate patterns and often with Roman inscriptions connected with drinking—*misce* (mix the bowl), *reple* (fill up), *vitam tibi* (your good health). These are sometimes styled Castor ware.⁶ But it does not appear that they have been found in or near the kilns at Castor, and artistically they differ widely from the true Castor ware.⁷ Indeed it is perhaps by a comparison with this black inscribed ware that we may best learn the nature of our Castor products. The black ware is not only Roman in its inscriptions. Its ornamentation

¹ For instance, in the Isle of Walcheren, and at Clemskerke and Breedene near Ostende: see de Bast's *Recueil d'antiquités romaines trouvées dans la Flandre* (Gand. 1808), pl. x. xi.

² *Archæological Journal*, xlv. 349.

³ C. Roach Smith, *Collect. Antiqua*, iv. pl. xxi.; *Corpus Inscript. Latinarum*, vii. 1,335.

⁴ The same problem arises concerning the 'Upchurch ware.' That was certainly made in Kent and occurs on the opposite continent. It is not clear whether we should suppose export from Britain only or two places of manufacture.

⁵ *Victoria County Hist. of Hampshire*, i. 326-8.

⁶ As in *Archæologia*, lvii. 103-5.

⁷ The vessels decorated with white paint, described above (p. 208), come nearest them. But these, though made at Castor, do not appear to be true Castor ware, and even they are less conventionally classical than the black inscribed ware.

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of leafage and foliated scrolls is classical, and indeed more than classical: it is a formal and conventional imitation of classical models. The Castor ware has also its classical elements: its foliated scrolls, its hunting scenes and still more its mythological representations can all be traced more or less directly to Mediterranean origins. But that is not the whole matter. Other elements demand attention. The Castor treatment of classical details is rude of course, but it is not merely rude. It shows that freedom which always characterizes the native handling of civilized material according to native artistic traditions. It is no formal or conventional imitation but a recasting. The tradition which has helped to recast it is of course that of Late Celtic art. Those fantastic animals with curious outstretched legs and back-turned heads, those tiny foliated scrolls scattered by way of ornament above and beneath them, the rude but not ineffective beading which serves for ornament or for dividing lines, the suggestions of returning spirals, the evident delight of the artist in plant and animal forms and his avoidance of human figures, the quaint freedom of handling which pervades the whole—all these elements are Celtic and not classical. Here we stand at the meeting of two currents. In Britain the Late Celtic art has mostly vanished before the neat finish of Roman patterns and the coherence of the Roman civilization. But sometimes it has survived, not uninfluenced but still unmistakable. At Castor and wherever else Castor ware was made we may contemplate with something of a melancholy pleasure the survival, amidst the finished conventional forms of Roman origin, of the rude yet genuinely artistic spirit of an earlier age.¹

If Castor ware thus embodied Late Celtic traditions we might expect to find that its manufacture commenced at least as early as the commencement of the Roman period. Two pieces of evidence lend some measure of support to this view. Coins indicate that Castor and its neighbourhood were at least inhabited at an early date (p. 176), and Mr. Artis says that his excavations showed 'the site to have been occupied by the potters previous to the formation of the old Roman road or Forty-foot way' which led from Castor to Stamford (p. 204). Neither of these evidences is quite conclusive, and I am not quite sure that the second is completely proven.² However there does not appear to be any other evidence of any sort, and the assertions sometimes made on the subject seem to be *a priori* guesses.³ We were compelled above to admit that we could not determine the places where Castor ware was manu-

¹ Dr. Birch (*Hist. of Ancient Pottery*, loc. cit.) has well understood this. 'The art is apparently Gaulish and the figures bear a striking resemblance to those on the ancient British and Gaulish coins.' Mr. Thomas Wright on the other hand calls the ware 'entirely Roman, without the slightest trace of Celtic or Germanic sentiment' (*Intellectual Observer*, vii. 456). He was, I think, misled by the scenes from classical mythology which occur on a few Castor pieces. A good instance of the Late Celtic affinities of the ware, from Chesterford in Essex, is figured in the *Archæological Journal*, vi. 19.

² Artis (pl. xxxix. title) asserts it definitely. But I do not quite understand his plate and I cannot quite reconcile its title with a letter of his published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1822), i. 484.

³ Thus Wright (*Intellectual Observer*, vii. 456) thinks the ware was introduced in the latter part of the second century as a substitute for the expensive imported Samian; and Birch, ignoring his opinion quoted in the last note but one, writes of 'a low and degenerate style, referrible to the last days of the waning Empire.' Such opinions do not command confidence.



FIG. 33. FOUND IN A POTTER'S OVEN IN NORMANGATE FIELD, 1822.
 1. Blue metallic glaze, white ornament. 2. Red-brown incompletely baked 'thumb vase.' (Artis, plate 53)



FIG. 34. DOGS CHASING DEER, FROM SPECIMENS OF CASTOR WARE FOUND NEAR WATER NEWTON, 1827 (Artis, plate 28).

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factured. We must make the same admission with respect to the dates when it was made. Yet even amid these uncertainties it remains a noteworthy and interesting feature in the Romano-British civilization of our island.

6. MILITARY REMAINS: THE OSTORIAN FORTS

In the preceding sections we have discussed those Roman remains which may reasonably be connected with the settled and permanent life of our district in Roman times. Before we conclude this article we have further to notice other Roman remains found within the county which do not come into the foregoing category. These are scattered objects, coins, urns and other small things which have nothing, so far as we know, to do with settled and permanent life. Many, perhaps most of them, are due to chance and isolated circumstances; some, no doubt, are so imperfectly known that we miss their true significance. Neither kind can materially aid our conception of Roman Northamptonshire, and they will find their proper mention in the alphabetical list with which this article concludes.

Two groups of items however deserve a fuller notice. The one is the series of camps or forts said to have been built by Ostorius Scapula along the Nene valley; the other consists of two legionary tiles found respectively near the Foss and Ermine Street. The two are alike in several points. Both concern a transitory period in the history of Roman Britain and indeed the same period, that of the early conquest; they belong, in other words, to a temporary and not a permanent aspect of the land. Both again are abnormal features in Northamptonshire, where, as we have said above, no Roman troops were ordinarily posted. But they differ in a more important point. The Ostorian forts, though well known and often discussed, are purely imaginary. The legionary tiles, though seldom noticed, contribute, as I believe, a real addition to our knowledge of the Roman conquest.

The legend of the Ostorian forts starts from a difficult passage in the Annals of Tacitus (xii. 31). Ostorius, says the historian, when he became governor of Britain in or after A.D. 47, found the land in great unrest. He therefore at once attacked and crushed the Britons who were actually in arms, disarmed the disloyal, and (as the one good manuscript has it) *cunctaque castris antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cobibere parat*. This step, whatever it was, produced a rising of the Icenii in Norfolk, and at the conclusion of that Ostorius commenced operations in north Wales. The problem is to explain the words quoted in the last sentence. As given in the manuscript they are untranslatable. Conjectures of various sorts were proposed at very early dates. In the sixteenth century Iustus Lipsius observed that Antona might be Northampton—not an unnatural suggestion if one considers how the name of the town was often spelt at that time. He added that Northampton was a town not a river, and that he really did not know how to deal with the text of Tacitus. Camden however took up the idea of North-

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ampton ; he also suggested—quite inconsistently—that the real reading should be Aufona (not Antona), and that, ‘Avon being the general British name of all rivers,’ Aufona meant the Nene, which flows past Northampton.¹ Camden’s notions are not only self-contradictory, but arbitrary and worthless, as his suggestions about placenames too often are. But more writers have followed him than criticized him, and a variety of theories have grown out of his fancies. Thus Stukeley professed to trace a long line of forts along the Nene, and beyond, but he was more concerned to ascribe them to Carausius than to Ostorius.² The German geographer Mannert and others read ‘Avonam,’ which they explain of the Worcestershire Avon. Others, like the Rev. R. S. Baker,³ late vicar of Hargrave, took Antona to be the Nene, and ascribed the forts to the activity of Ostorius supposed to exist along it. The difficulties in the way of any such explanation are twofold. First, Tacitus does not say anything about a line of forts ; he used the word *castris*, if his text is rightly recorded, and *castris* by itself could only mean ‘a fortress’ or ‘encampment’ in the singular number. Had he desired to describe a line of forts he would have used *castellis* or perhaps *praesidiis*. Secondly, despite confident assertions, there are no forts along the Nene. The most commonly cited example, Irchester, is of course Roman, but probably not a fort (p. 178). The supposed fort near Raunds and Ringstead also seems to be Roman but not a fort (p. 194). Borough Hill is partly Roman, partly pre-Roman ; but its Roman remains belong to a villa (p. 195), and its position is not on the Nene. Hunsbury, Arbury, Lilbourne, Castle-Dykes are not Roman at all. In short, the idea of a row of Ostorian forts along the Nene valley must be wholly given up. At the present day scholars are generally agreed on this, and the difficult words of Tacitus are explained in one of two ways. Either, with Mommsen, we may suppose some letters to have fallen out, and read *castris ad . . . antonam et Sabrinam fluvios*—that is, Ostorius founded Viroconium at the junction of the [Tern] and Severn ; in that case *antonam* will be the name, or part of the name, of the Tern. Or, with Mr. Henry Bradley and others, we may change one letter and read, *cunctaque cis Trisantonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat*—that is, Ostorius began to coerce all the land south of the Trent and Severn, for there is evidence that Trisantonam was the ancient name of the Trent. In either case Northamptonshire is unconcerned, and the Northamptonshire antiquary may pursue his way without further regard for the Ostorian legend.

The two legionary tiles give us sounder information. One of them was found in 1867 at Hilly Wood in the parish of Ashton, immediately on the east side of the Roman road from Castor to Lolham Bridges and Bourn, and is now in the Peterborough Museum, where I have seen it.

¹ Gough’s ed. of 1806, ii. 266.

² Stukeley’s *Carausius*, i. 171.

³ R. S. Baker, *Associated Archit. Soc. Reports*, xxi. 53–64, 227–38, and *Archæological Journal*, xxxv. 339. Mr. Baker’s work, I fear, is extremely uncritical. He did not even realize what the best manuscript of Tacitus reads, and based arguments on an emendation instead. Thus his own proposal involved a far more violent alteration of Tacitus than the proposal of Mr. Bradley, which he fiercely attacked as involving conjectural emendation.

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It is said to have been discovered with an empty urn, but no proper record appears to exist. It is a flanged rooftile, and bears the inscription *LEG · IX · HISP*, *legio nona Hispana*.¹ The other tile was found in 1822 at Whittlebury near the churchyard on the west side with some uninscribed tiles and a bronze celt. Some coins are said to have been found at the same spot then or subsequently : they included a silver drachma of Alexander the Great, a forged coin of Metapontum, a small brass coin of Panormus, two Republican denarii (Postumia, Cornelia), two 'second brass' of Hadrian and a 'third brass' of Gallienus. The tile is now in Northampton Museum, where I have seen it ; it is broken in two pieces, which bear the inscriptions *LEG* and *XXVV* ; that is, *legio vicesima valeria victrix*.² These two tiles are legionary tiles ; that is, they were made by the tile-makers of the legions named on them, and were doubtless intended for buildings to be occupied by soldiers of those legions. They justify us in supposing that some portion of the legions were at some time quartered in the spots in question. That would most naturally occur in the early years of the conquest, and other evidence suggests that it did so occur. We know from inscriptions that the Ninth Legion was posted at Lincoln at a fairly early period and the Twentieth no later at Chester. It can hardly be an accident that a tile of the Ninth Legion occurs on the road from London to Lincoln and a tile of the Twentieth near the road from London to Chester. Here we probably touch the strategy of the earliest Roman conquest. The Roman forces in A.D. 43 and following years appear to have advanced in three divisions—the Second Legion (with auxiliaries no doubt) on the left wing along the south coast ; the Fourteenth and Twentieth across the Midlands to Wroxeter and Chester ; the Ninth Legion up the east coast to Lincoln. At some point, we cannot tell precisely what, in this advance we may suppose that the two Northamptonshire legionary tiles were made. It is much to be regretted that no further search has ever been made to follow up these two remarkable little discoveries.

7. INDEX

The following is an alphabetical list of the principal places where Roman remains have been found or supposed in Northamptonshire. For the places where vestiges of permanent occupation have been found, it has seemed sufficient to refer to the preceding account. For the rest the character of the remains is briefly indicated and the chief authorities for each named.

ALDERTON.—Gold coin of Antony and Octavia (probably Cohen 1) and some silver Republican coins found about the end of the eighteenth century [Welton, p. 186 ; *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, ii. 355]. Perhaps an early hoard, buried before A.D. 43.

ALDWINKLE.—Coin of Augustus [Morton, p. 532].

¹ Trollope, *Associated Archit. Soc. Reports*, ix. 156 ; *Archæological Journal*, xxxi. 356, xli. 92 ; *Antiquary*, January, 1884, p. 35 ; information from Mr. J. W. Bodger ; *Ephem. Epigraphica*, iii. 142. The site commands a wide view north, east and west, and is otherwise not unsuited to a Roman fort or post, if such could only be discovered.

² Baker, ii. 73 ; *Ephem. Epigraphica*, iii. 142 ; brief reference in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vii. 111. The coins are a very mixed lot, and more likely to have been lost by a modern collector—some rector of Whittlebury at a time of spring cleaning—than left by the Romans. Tiles, celt and coins might all have belonged to such a collection. But as the coins were apparently found after the tiles it is possible that there is no connexion between them.

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- APETHORPE.**—Villa : see p. 191.
- ARTHINGWORTH.**—Silver coin of Julia Domna [George].
- ASHBY ST. LEGER.**—Silver coin of Faustina [Morton, p. 532 : hence Bridges, i. 19].
- ASHLEY.**—Villa : see p. 193.
- ASHTON.**—Building : see p. 189. Legionary tile : see p. 214.
- ASTON-LE-WALLS.**—Pale buff urn, covered over with a stone (no bones or ashes), found in 1843 near the church [*Journal of the British Archæological Association*, i. 337]. Whether Roman, seems uncertain. There are no Roman ‘walls’ here and it seems doubtful whether ‘le-walls’ is the true form of the name.
- ASTROP.**—See King’s Sutton.
- ASTWICK.**—See Evenley.
- BARNACK.**—Torso of nude male figure in local stone, found at the vicarage [*Associated Archit. Soc. Reports*, ix. 158 : Peterborough Museum].
- BARNWELL ST. ANDREWS.**—Coins of Aelius Verus, Allectus, Helena, etc. [Morton, p. 516].
- BEDFORD PURLIEU.**—Villa : see p. 189. In Thornhaugh parish.
- BLISWORTH.**—Rude potsherds, etc., from wells or pits [Northampton Museum].
- BODINGTON.**—Urn found 1873 in ‘Whiteleys’ field, containing about 360 ‘third brass’ (150 catalogued, of A.D. 253–74) [*Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*, iii. 151].
- BOROUGH HILL.**—See Daventry.
- BOWDEN, LITTLE.**—Urns, coins, bits of bronze found 1757 ; glass, etc., found 1873 [*Gentleman’s Magazine* (1757), p. 20 ; *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vi. 256].
- BRIXWORTH.**—Building : see p. 194.
- BROCKHALL.**—Coins [Baker, i. 119 ; vague]. Anciently Brockhole.
- BULWICK.**—Blacklands : slag of iron works, pottery, coins of Julia Augusta, Carausius, Constantine, etc. [*Associated Archit. Soc. Reports*, v. 99, 107 ; Whellan, p. 786].
Hoard of over 100 denarii in urn, found 1878 : three were Vitellius, Vespasian, Trajan [*Numismatic Chronicle*, xix. 219]. Compare *Archæologia*, liv. 474–94.
- BURNT WALLS.**—See Daventry.
- CARDIKE.**—This supposed Roman drain runs through Northants near Peterborough [Morton, p. 514–5] ; but this part of its course supplies no evidence of its age.
- CASTLE ASHBY.**—Coins found 1719 in avenue leading to Lord Northampton’s house [Bridges, i. 341 ; hence Gough, *Add. to Camden*, ii. 280, etc.].
- CASTLE DYKES.**—Earthwork at the four crossroads (south of the probably post-Roman earthwork properly called Castle Dykes). The one or the other was called by Gale Bannaventa and by Stukeley one of the Ostorian forts [*Itinerarium*, p. 114]. No Roman remains seem to have been found here [Morton, p. 516] : the ‘Roman urn’ cited in *Gentleman’s Magazine* (1793), ii. 1179, may be anything. No pottery is now visible lying on the surface, nor are there any visible indications of Roman origin. See Bridges, i. 61 ; Baker, i. 375. In Farthingstone parish.
- CASTOR.**—TOWN : see p. 166. Potteries : see p. 207.
- CATESBY PARK.**—Coins of Faustina, Maximian, etc. [Bridges, i. 36 ; hence Baker, i. 292, etc.].
- CHARLTON** [near King’s Sutton].—Gold coin of Titus found about 1720 ; other coins [Bridges, i. 191 ; Baker, i. 666]. Beesley in his *Banbury* (p. 37) mentions a supposed hoard of gold coins but it is probably a reminiscence of the coin of Titus.
Gough [*Add. to Camden*, ii. 272] mentions urns, glass, etc., found in the non-Roman camp of Rainsborough, but it is not at all clear that they are Roman. Iron arrowheads have been found there [*Journal of the British Archæological Association*, xvii. 70].
- CHIPPING WARDEN.**—Villa : see p. 200.
- CLIFFORD’S HILL.**—See Houghton.
- COGENHOE.**—Urns, coins (1 Faustina) [Morton, p. 529 ; Bridges, i. 347 ; *Archæologia*, xxxii. 13]. The alleged ‘camp’ seems not to be Roman, if ‘camp’ at all.
- COLLY WESTON.**—The slates here were quarried by the Romans. The ‘camp’ noted by Stukeley [*Letters*, iii. 54] seems not Roman, if ‘camp’ at all.
- COSGROVE.**—Coins found on line of Grand Junction Canal ; silver medallions of Constantine I., Valentinian II., Magnus Maximus ; silver of Julian, Valens, Gratian ; ‘third brass’ of Tacitus, Diocletian, Constans, Magnentius, etc. [Baker, ii. 136]. Perhaps a hoard.
Urn with 60 denarii found in front of a private house [*Gentleman’s Magazine* (1801), i. 76].
- COTTERSTOCK.**—Villa : see p. 192.

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- COTTON [MILL AND MALLOWS].—Mill Cotton seems not to be Roman ; MalloWS Cotton a villa : see p. 194. In Raunds parish.
- CRANFORD ST. JOHN.—Coin of Constantine [*Gentleman's Magazine* (1757), p. 20]. Coins and pottery [Kelly's *Directory*].
- CRANSLEY.—Two light-coloured jugs and a third with Late Celtic affinities found 1892 between Cransley Wood and Mawsley Wood [Northampton Museum]. Whether the objects found in 1882 include Roman things is doubtful [*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, ix. 93].
- CRICK.—Silver coin of Hadrian [Morton, p. 532].
- CULWORTH.—Coin of Quintillus [Beesley's *Banbury*, p. 30].
- DALLINGTON.—Trench full of rude potsherds (1 bit of Samian), found while making a railway siding in 1861 ; either a rubbish pit or a rude kiln [*Associated Archit. Soc. Reports*, vi. 219, xiii. 125 ; *Archæologia*, xliii. 9 ; Northampton Museum].
- DAVENTRY.—Villa inside pre-Roman camp on Borough Hill : see p. 195.
Foundations at Burnt Walls : see p. 195.
- DEENE.—Bronze figurine of Minerva [Archæological Institute, 'Lincoln' vol. p. xxix.].
- DEEPING (WEST).—Skeleton, 5 much worn 'first brass' coins of Claudius I., Vespasian Nerva, Hadrian, Sabina, enamelled circular fibula, enamelled fibula shaped like a duck, 3 rings, 2 bronze pins ; found together in February, 1880. Now in Dr. Walker's collection in Peterborough.
- DESBOROUGH.—Skeletons, bones, pottery, near railway station [Sir Hy. Dryden].
- DODFORD.—Coins of Tetricus, Constantine, etc. [Morton, p. 532 ; Bridges, i. 50].
- DUSTON.—Villa or village : see p. 197.
- EVENLEY.—Coins (probably hoard), several hundred in number, of Nero, Domitian, Sev. Alexander, Probus, Carausius, Constantine, etc., found 1826 in draining Addington's Meadow [Baker, i. 617].
Hoard, found 1854, in earthenware urn : 2,448 'second brass' of Diocletian to Constantine I. and 705 'third brass' of Valerian to Diocletian, apparently all mixed together [*Numismatic Chronicle*, xvii. (1854) 38, xi. (1871) 174].
Coins, including a Constantius, found in eighteenth century at Astwick [Bridges, i. 168].
Potsherds, vaguely mentioned in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, ser. 2, ii. 75.
- EVERDON.—Coin of Constantine period, mortar, ashes—ploughed up in Longsmall Field [Baker, i. 368 ; hence Whellan, p. 415].
- FARTHINGSTONE.—See Castle Dykes.
- FINEDON.—Plain urn [Northampton Museum].
- FINESHADE.—Coins, vaguely mentioned [Morton, p. 532].
- FOSCOTE (FOXCOLE).—Villa : see p. 199. In Towcester parish.
- FOTHERINGHAY.—Pottery (much of it Late Celtic in character), skeletons, coins of later emperors, horns of red deer—in the gravel quarry called Elton Ballast Hole [R. F. Whistler, *History of Elton* (London, 1892), pp. 63-4].
- GAYTON.—Villa : see p. 198.
- GRETTON.—Coins mentioned vaguely [Kelly's *Directory*].
- GRITWORTH.—Five urns, ? Roman [Morton, p. 530 ; Beesley's *Banbury*, p. 32].
- GUILSBOROUGH.—Earthwork, now mostly destroyed : the plan is not Roman [Camden ; Morton, p. 524 ; Wetton, p. 110, etc.].
- HADDON (WEST).—Urn containing ashes, covered by flat stone (? Roman). Elsewhere in parish Roman coins [Morton, p. 530]. The notion that Ostor Hill in this parish has anything to do with Ostorius is untenable.
- HARDINGSTONE.—Silver coins (1 of Nero), perhaps hoard, found near Queen's Cross [Morton, p. 504 ; hence Bridges, i. 359, Whellan, p. 264 ; etc.].
Three coins of Probus and Tacitus, and perhaps more, said to have been found in an urn in Hardingstone Field, 1845 [Sir Hy. Dryden]. Perhaps a 'third brass' hoard of circa A.D. 250-80.
Potsherds (including Castor ware), bones of animals, found 1853 [*Journal of the British Archæological Association*, x. 92].
Pottery and a well found in 1884, 800 yards east of Hunsbury Camp [*Associated Archit. Soc. Reports*, xviii. 61].
Handbricks, 'third brass' coin of Claud. Gothicus, potsherds and perhaps rude kiln, found in 1875 on north side of Hunsbury Hill [ibid. p. 61].

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Bits of Castor ware found in Hunsbury Camp [ibid. p. 59]. Hunsbury Camp itself is of Late Celtic occupation, but the site and its vicinity were obviously not wholly deserted in the Roman period.

HARGRAVE.—Stone coffin and skeleton found November, 1893, near Raunds: the stone is said to be Weldon rag [*Associated Archit. Soc. Reports*, xxii. 83]. Uncertain if Roman.

HARLESTONE.—Urn [Mr. W. Hull].

HARPOLE.—Two villas: see p. 197.

HELPSTONE.—Villa: see p. 189.

HEYFORD.—Villa: see p. 196.

HIGHAM FERRERS.—A few years before 1838, what were thought to be 'hot baths of Roman construction' were found in the castle yard near the church. No proper notice was taken and no account kept [John Cole, *History of Higham Ferrers* (Wellingborough, 1838), pp. 2, 102. Hence Whellan, p. 917]. The 'baths' were never seen by any expert, and no other Roman remains, small or large, have been noted at or near the spot, and the thing is probably a mistake: see Irthlingborough, below.

Fragment of Roman pottery, found outside the village [Cole. p. 2].

HOLCOT.—Bronze coin of Marcus [J. Gooch].

HORTON.—Steelyard [*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, xv. 50].

HOUGHTON.—Gold coin of Gaius and Lucius (Cohen 42 or imitation thereof) found 1717, 400 yards from Clifford's Hill [Bridges, i. 373; Stukeley's *Diaries*, iii. 44]. Morton, p. 518, and Bridges also vaguely mention coins at Clifford's Hill. The 'hill' itself has no Roman features.

IRCHESTER.—Probably small town: p. 178.

Gold coin of Eugenius (Cohen 6 ?) in Irchester village.

IRTHLINGBOROUGH.—Ornamented bricks, probably from a floor, found near the Tankerdyke hedge [John Cole, *History of Higham Ferrers*, p. 230]. This, like the Higham Ferrers 'bath' above-mentioned, may be an error.

ISHAM.—Coins mentioned vaguely [*Archæological Journal*, xxxv. 271].

ISLIP.—Urns and human bones found 1757 and 1878: the find of 1878 may be post-Roman. If so, the other might be the same, for Roman pottery was not accurately distinguished in 1757 [*Gentleman's Magazine* (1757), p. 20; *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, ix. 89]. A coin of the Early Empire found here is in Northampton Museum: this might also quite possibly occur in a post-Roman interment.

KETTERING.—Coins of Antonia, Claudius, Trajan, Marcus, Faustina, Carausius, Allectus, Constantine, Maximian, and a 'second brass' of Caligula (? Cohen 4) [Society of Antiquaries, MS. minutes, 1726; Gough's *Add. to Camden*, ii. 281].

KINGSLIFFE.—Iron slag and coins; in churchyard, at Lordley Well and at Redford [*Associated Archit. Soc. Reports*, v. 99; *Archæological Journal*, xxxv. 271; *Archæologia*, xliii. 118].

KINGS SUTTON.—Villa: see p. 201.

Iron knife and chopper and denarius of Vespasian at Astrop [*Journal of the British Archæological Association*, xvii. 70]. See also Charlton.

KINGSTHORPE.—Three or four silver coins of Sev. Alexander and some later 'third brass' [Northampton Museum].

LAXTON.—Iron slag, vaguely mentioned in *Archæologia*, xxxv. 269.

LILBOURNE.—The Roman 'station' on Watling Street placed here by Morton [p. 508: hence Bridges, i. 571] and the *botontinus* imagined by Camden [ii. 271] seem wholly imaginary. There are non-Roman earthworks here.

LONGTHORPE.—Villa: see p. 189.

LOWICK.—Villa: see p. 194.

MARSTON ST. LAWRENCE.—Urns, 2 coins (1 Carausius), skeleton [*Gentleman's Magazine* (1843), i. 338]. But probably Saxon burial, with Roman coins in it, as often: see *Archæologia*, xlviii. 327.

MAXEY.—Silver coin of Maximian [Morton, p. 532; Gibson's *Castor*, ed. 2, p. 63].

MEARS ASHBY.—Kiln, 'wasters' of light grey ware, found 1899 [Northampton Museum].

MIDDLETON CHENEY.—Remains of doubtful age in Seabridge Close and a Cold Harbour there: see p. 201.

NASEBY.—Earthenware urn with 38 silver coins (2 Vespasian, 1 Nerva, 12 Trajan, 9 Hadrian, 1 Matidia, 6 Pius, 2 Faustina senior, 5 Marcus) found 1874 [*Archæological Journal*, xxxii. 112].

NEWBOTTLE.—Pottery, plate of pewter or lead, in Hill Spinney [Northampton Museum].

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NORTON.—Village : see p. 186.

NORTHAMPTON.—At the Castle : bone objects, rude pottery, 2 Samian spindlewhorls, animals' bones, bronze trifles, coins of *circa* 260–330 A.D. [*Associated Architectural Soc.* xvi. 244 ; Northampton Museum]. The masonry alleged in *Gentleman's Magazine* (1800), ii. 1,095, can hardly be Roman. In Woolmonger Street : stylus and scraper [*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, xvii. 165]. In Upper Thrift Street : urn [Mr. Wells]. In Harding Street : coin of Hadrian [*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, viii. 67, x. 94]. Also a silver coin of Claudius I. [Stukeley's *Letters*, iii. 41]. I doubt whether the bronze pail found in 1858 and now in Peterborough Museum is Roman, but there are 8 Roman *fibulae* there from Northampton.

Camden originally put Bannaventa here, but later changed his mind. Baxter, Morton and others have found here the Eltanori of the Ravennas, without any evidence. The site was obviously not uninhabited in Roman times, but there was no settlement of any importance.

ORLINGBURY.—Two black urns [Northampton Museum].

OUNDLE.—Handbrick, pottery [*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, ser. 1, iv. 246 ; *Archæological Journal*, xi. 27].

Coins, iron slag, in Oundle Wood [*Archæological Journal*, xxxv. 269].

Urn of light red clay, glazed with thin reddish brown varnish, less compact than ordinary Samian, but like it and artistically good in itself : see fig. 35 [C. R. Smith,

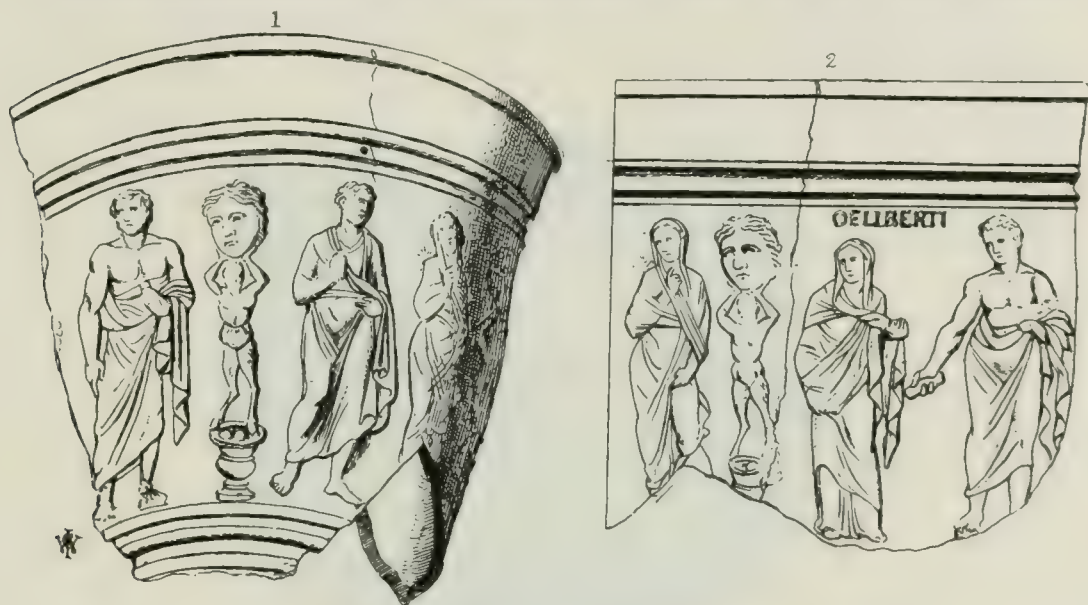


FIG. 35. TWO VIEWS OF VASE FOUND AT OUNDLE (C. R. SMITH).

Collectanea Antiqua, iv. 63, from which work the illustration has been reproduced. Fig. 1 shows the form and actual size ; fig. 2 the rest of the design in the flat. I have in vain inquired where this interesting piece is now preserved. It was once in the possession of Mr. Thos. Beal of Oundle].

Pottery, skeletons, 3 bronze pins, coins—2 of Claudius, 1 Trajan, 2 Faustina, 1 Constans [*Proceedings of the Numismatic Society*].

OXENDON.—Coin of Marcus, found 1719 on north side of church [Bridges, ii. 56].

PAULERSPURY.—Hoard of coins (Constantine i., Maximian, etc.) found in urn [Morton, p. 531 ; Bridges, i. 314 ; hence Gough, *Add. to Camden*, ii. 274, etc.].

PETERBOROUGH.—Dwellings : see p. 188.

Inscription and ornamented half column, found in restoring the Cathedral ; probably from Castor : see p. 176.

Villa at Longthorpe : see Longthorpe.

PIDDINGTON.—Villa : see p. 198.

PILTON.—Coin of Hadrian [Northampton Museum].

POLEBROOK.—Urn and burnt bones [Stukeley's *Diaries*, iii. 58, 64 ; *Carausius*, i. 170]. Doubtful if Roman.

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- POTTERS PURY.—At Moorend Castle, rectangular building with corner towers, stone foundations, 'many Roman tiles' [*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vii. 111]. But see Baker, ii. 229. I do not think the evidence adequate to call these Roman.
- PYTCHELEY.—Various coins [*Archæological Journal*, iii. 113].
- RADSTONE.—Coins in urn; the urn is in Northampton Museum. There is a Cold Harbour Farm here, but no trace of any Roman building.
- RAUNDS.—At Mallows Cotton, villa: see p. 194. The alleged Ostorian fort here seems imaginary. The earthwork at Mill Cotton [Morton, p. 516] is not Roman. These remains are sometimes classed under Ringstead.
- RINGSTEAD.—See Raunds.
- ROADE.—Pottery and coins [Mr. Whitbread].
- ROCKINGHAM.—Iron slag, vaguely noted [*Archæologia*, xliii. 118; *Archæological Journal*, xxxv. 269].
- SEWARDSLEY (SHOSELEY).—Jug of red ware found 1889 in making Towcester and Olney railway [Sir Hy. Dryden]. Doubtful if Roman.
- SOUTHORPE.—Pits on each side of Ermine Street (Forty-foot way), dug (according to some) to provide stone for the road. In the pits west of the road coins of *circa* 150–350 A.D., urns, fibula, glass, burnt bones, wood were found in 1733 and 1753 [*Archæologia*, i. 61 (hence Gough, *Add. to Camden*, ii. 292, and later writers); Gough, *British Topography*, ii. 47; drawings in Library of Society of Antiquaries; Stukeley, *Itinerarium*, p. 83]. At Walcot Park, coins [Morton, p. 532]. Stukeley [*Itinerarium*, p. 83] incidentally alludes to a villa here, but I find no other trace of it, and the mention may be an error.
- SPRATTON.—Coin of Marcus [Mr. George].



FIG. 36. LATE CELTIC URN OF LIGHT BROWN COLOUR FROM TWYWELL (full size).

- STANION.—Many coins [Morton, p. 532; Stukeley's *Diaries*, iii. 67]. Stanion stone was used in the Weldon villa.
- STANWICK.—Villa: see p. 194.
- STOKE BRUERNE.—Light-coloured urn [Mr. Coy]. Doubtful if Roman.
- STRATFORD (OLD).—A few coins found in the fields near the bridge by which Watling Street crosses the Ouse to Stony Stratford. Hence Morton, p. 504, and Bridges, i. 304, put Lactodurum here; Baker, ii. 138, rightly rejects the idea.
- SUTTON.—Suburb of Castor: see p. 174.
- TANSOR.—Urns, coins [Stukeley's *Carausius*, i. 170].
- THENFORD.—Villa: see p. 201.
- THORNHAUGH.—Villa in Bedford Purlieus: see p. 189. Statues elsewhere in the same: see p. 190. Gold coin at Sakerwell (Sacrewell), half a mile east of village [Morton, p. 532; hence Gibson's *Castor*, ed. 2, p. 63].

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THORPE.—See Longthorpe.

THORPE ACHURCH.—Coin of Antonia [Morton, p. 532].

THRAPSTON.—Gold coin of Valentinian [Morton, p. 532 ; Bridges, ii. 269].

TITCHMARSH.—Samian and other potsherds, burnt bones, coins ; found 1756 [*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1756, p. 20 ; Morton, p. 532, vaguely mentions coins].

TOWCESTER.—Small town : see p. 184.

Villa at Foscote : see p. 199.

TWYWELL.—Fragment of Samian strainer, like that mentioned p. 186 ; urns of Late Celtic affinity (fig. 36 ; in part pre-Roman) [*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, ix. 91 ; xiv. 172]. Whether certain rubbish holes mentioned in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1757, p. 21, are Roman is uncertain.

UPTON (1).—Silver coin of Sev. Alexander [Northampton Museum]. Near Northampton.

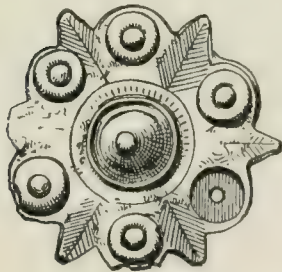
UPTON (2).—Coin of Constantine I. ; ironworkings of uncertain age [Gibson's *Castor*, ed. 2, pp. 62, 63]. Near Castor.

WADENHOE.—Coins (1 silver Nero) [Morton, p. 532]. The alleged Ostorian fort here seems a pure fiction.

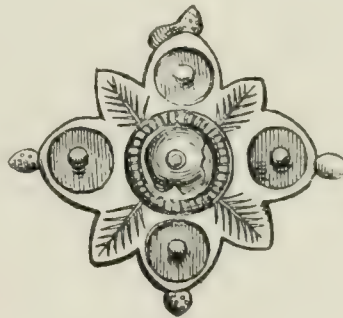
WALCOT.—See Barnack.

WAPPENHAM.—Rough kiln, 20 broken urns in it and charcoal, iron slag (?) ; also a silver bone and bronze brooch (fig. 37) ; found in a gravel pit, in the south-east end of the Home Field, about a quarter of a mile south-east of the church and rectory, by Mr. H. C. Malden in 1874 [Sir Hy. Dryden's MSS. ; information from Mr. Malden, who lent me the brooch to be figured].

The brooch is of bronze, faced with base silver (or tin ?) ; the studs are bone, with bronze pins rising through them. A similar brooch was found in St. Matthew's, Ipswich [C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, iii. 253, plate xxxvi. fig. 1]. A third, made of bronze tinned on the face, with six bone studs and in other respects similar to the other two, was found somewhere in France or Germany, and is now in the British Museum [*Bronze Catalogue*, No. 2178]. Otherwise I know no instances of this type. The alternation of circular studs and triangles occurs on some Saxon *fibulæ* in a rather different way.



WAPPENHAM.



IPSWICH.

FIG. 37. BROOCHES.

WARKTON.—Coin of Nerva [Bridges, ii. 265]. See Weekley.

WARKWORTH.—Silver coins of Gaius and Lucius Caesar and of Nero, 'first brass' of Lucilla and other coins found sporadically [Beesley's *Banbury*, pp. 23, 32]. A farm, Black Pits, between the Great Western and London and North-Western railway lines, has a significant name, but I can learn of no discoveries there, and there are no potsherds or other traces now visible on the surface.

WARMINGTON.—Coins mentioned vaguely by Morton, p. 516.

WEEDON BECK.—Coins, earthwork, foundations, mentioned by Stukeley [*Itinerarium*, p. 114] and Reynolds [p. 470], but the earthwork and foundations seem to have no claim to be called Roman. Talbot, Camden [ii. 267] and Morton put Bannaventa here : see p. 186.

WEEKLEY.—Villa : see p. 194.

WELDON.—Villa : see p. 193.

WELLINGBOROUGH.—Coin at Ladyswell, other coins, pottery [Mr. George, from John Cole's MS. History of Woodford].

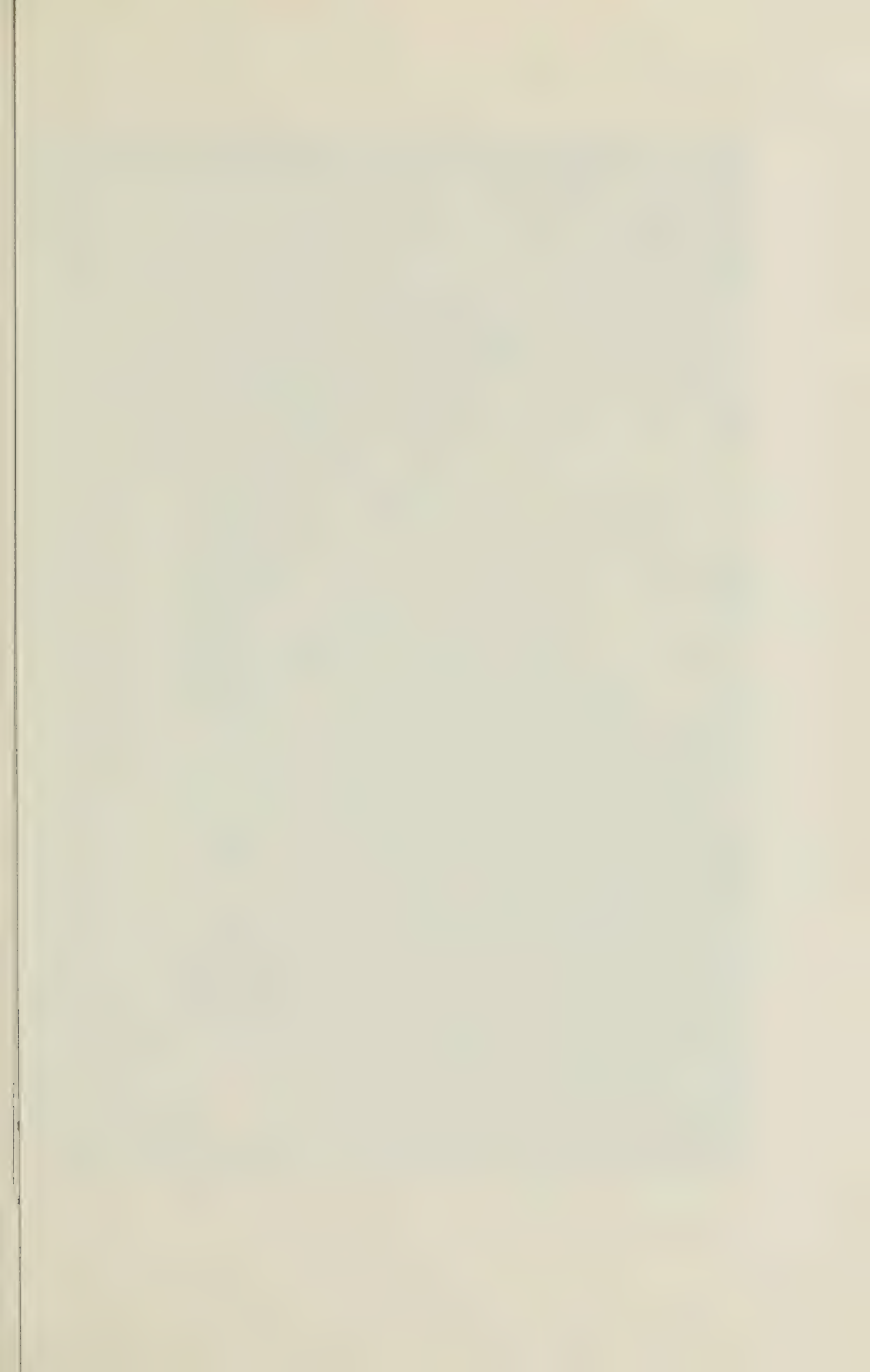
WELTON.—Coins found in churchyard ; one a silver coin of Barbiana [Morton, p. 532 ; Baker i. 466 ; hence Whellan, p. 441, etc.]. Roman coins in Saxon burials half-a-mile from the church [*Archæologia*, xlviii. 337].

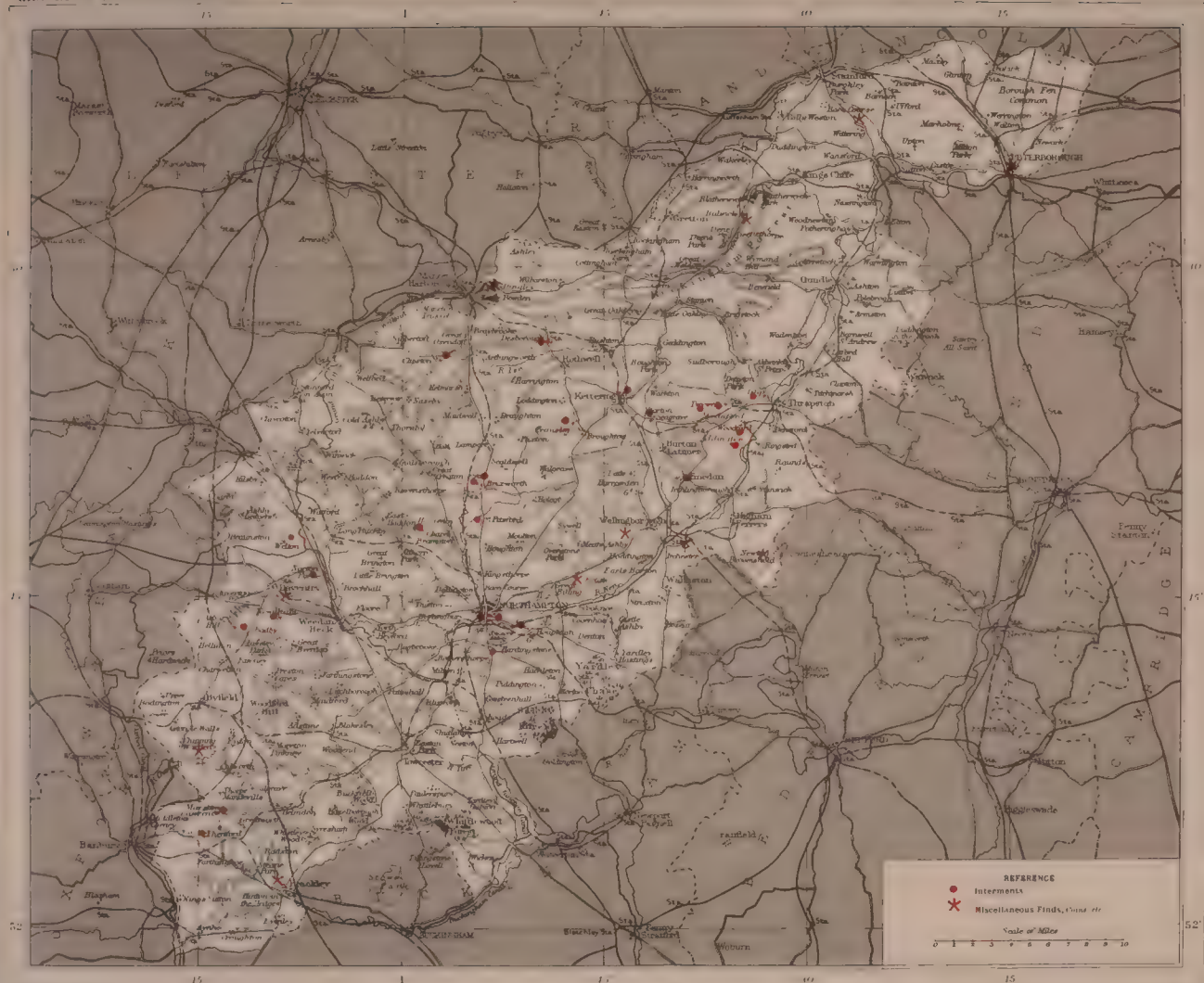
A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

- WESTON (BY WEEDON).—Asiatic Greek coin of Sala [Baker, ii. 115]. Probably lost by some modern collector.
- WESTON FAVELL.—Key [Catalogue of Northampton Museum ; Mr. George].
- WHILTON.—Village : see p. 186.
- WHITTLEBURY.—Villa in Holton Copse found 1850 ; see p. 199.
Legionary tile, etc., near church, found 1822 : see p. 215.
- WOLLASTON.—Outlook post alleged by Bridges, ii. 119, and others copying him, but on no good evidence.
- WOODCROFT.—The legionary tile said by W. Th. Watkin to have been found here was found in Ashton parish : see p. 214.
- WOODFORD.—Villa : see p. 194.
- WOOTTON.—Hoard of 'third brass' found in urn in 1844 ; 615 examined range from Gallienus to Numerian [*Archæological Journal*, i. 67].
- YARWELL.—Buildings, according to the map of Artis : see p. 175.

APPENDIX

At the end of this index I may mention a small inscribed object found in Northamptonshire—it is not known precisely where—and often described as Roman. It is a little round counter, almost one inch in diameter, made of red burnt clay, and inscribed $\overset{\text{E}}{\text{XII}}$. It has been accepted as Roman by Mr. W. T. Watkin (*Archæological Journal*, vi. 71 ; xxxvi. 94) and Professor Hübner (*Ephemeris*, iv. 201) ; probably however it is much more modern. Similar roundels with various letters and figures have been found in many places—Elmham in Norfolk (*Victoria County History of Norfolk*, i. 317), Shefford in Bedfordshire, Finsbury in London and so forth. So far as I can judge from specimens which I have seen and from illustrations of others, the letters on them are not at all Roman in character and the objects themselves seem modern. In the MS. Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries, i. 171 (September 29, 1725) an old marginal note is appended to a record of the Elmham specimen, to the effect that it is a turnpike ticket.





ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS

THE meagre entries of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that describe the over-running of Britain by the English afford no clue to the early history of Northamptonshire ; and as in the case of most other counties, recourse must be had to the actual remains recovered from the soil in order to determine the condition of the district and its inhabitants in the years when Roman Britain was passing gradually into a Christian England. The lack of record or tradition may be remedied to some extent by a careful analysis of place-names, by a classification of the dialects still to be met with in the county, and by observing the physical characteristics of the population. Each of these three methods of inquiry is however open to the objection that changes from within and without during many centuries must have done much to obscure or obliterate the traces of the earliest Teutonic settlers ; while the investigation of their graves furnishes a certain amount of information, slight it may be but direct, regarding the pagan peoples who mastered this outlying province of the Roman Empire.

It must be admitted at the outset that such deductions rest upon a series of accidents, and that any day may bring fresh and conflicting evidence to light. But the value of every fresh discovery has a direct relation to the amount and nature of pre-existing material ; and in this way a collection and classification of archæological details may be of service not only to the excavator, but to the professed historian. Much has undoubtedly been lost in the past through lack of interest or supervision, but there is no reason to suppose that all the early Anglo-Saxon sites have been discovered or that those already known have been exhaustively examined ; and it is likely that the spread of local archæological societies will do something to prevent the destruction of objects that may demonstrate in course of time the character and nationality of the folk whose property these objects were some thirteen hundred years ago.

A sketch of the condition of the county may be found in the chapter of the *Making of England* which deals with the conquests of the English. From what is there stated, it would be easy to conclude that the territory comprised in the present county was largely covered with forest, and on that account formed an impenetrable barrier against the various tribes that advanced from all directions to its borders. This

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view would be perhaps supported by a glance at the map of England at the present day. Rutland must for the present purpose be excluded, for its existence as a county only dates from the twelfth century; but even with this proviso, as many as eight counties are found abutting on the district in question, which seems to run from the Wash and fenland as a great dividing wedge into the heart of the country.

That this aspect of Northamptonshire is in some respects fanciful is shown by the undoubted existence of at least three important Roman roads through the county, one of them crossing the huge woodland of Rockingham itself, which 'even as late as the Middle Ages was still one of the largest forests of the island.'¹ The county therefore presented no impassable barrier in the direction of its length, but there are some indications that the present western border represents a dividing line of very old standing. In pre-Saxon times a line of strongholds seems to have existed between Kirtlington in Oxfordshire and Aston-le-Walls, perhaps reaching a point still further northwards in the county.² Traces of several of these earthworks are to be seen to-day, not on the spurs thrown out by the high ground forming the watershed of west Northamptonshire, but at the head of the valleys leading to the upper Cherwell; and all were evidently intended to prevent a hostile advance from the south-west. But though these fastnesses may have occasionally served the same purpose in Saxon times, they belong as a class to an earlier period; and reasons will presently be given for supposing that a line of cleavage in the sixth century roughly coincided with the Watling Street, though it may have struck a little north-east from Towcester and thus included the Tove valley in the southern district.

In striking contrast to the entries concerning the mythical heroes of Wessex, there occurs in the Chronicle under the year 571 the record of an all-important battle, about the site of which there can be little doubt. The victory of Ceawlin's lieutenant at Bedford seems to have at once resulted in the acquisition of much territory to the south-east of Northamptonshire, and it may here be suggested that the semicircular indentation of the extreme southern boundary of the county indicates the area over which Buckingham, the town lying at its centre, originally exercised control. Ceolwulf, king of Wessex, is twenty-six years later described as continually fighting against either the Angles or the Welsh or the Picts or the Scots. This particular entry does not inspire confidence, but it is conceivable that by this date Wessex had expanded far enough to the north to come into conflict with Anglian tribes advancing from the Trent valley or elsewhere. That the conflict or conflicts took place within the borders of the present county is entirely problematical. It will be found from an examination of the geological map that Northamptonshire lies between two broad bands of clay, which during the period now under consideration must have been densely wooded marshland, presenting an obstacle much more formidable than the forests on the inferior oolite to invaders either from the north-west or the south-

¹ J. R. Green, *Making of England*, i. 94.

² Beesley, *History of Banbury*, p. 14.

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east. Flanking the county on the north-west stretches an expanse of lias formation with an average breadth of twenty miles, parting the oolite on the south from the new red sandstone on the north ; while Huntingdonshire and north Bedfordshire form a similar band of Oxford clay between the Nene valley and the chalk range of the Chilterns. With its chain of earthworks commanding all approaches from the Cherwell valley, and with its eastern extremity protected by the Fens, Northamptonshire would thus be materially cut off from its neighbours. But Teutonic enterprise would only be temporarily checked by such impediments as these, and the Roman roads would ere long bring into conflict settlers from north and south, Anglians and Saxons, on the debatable land between the Welland and the Nene. At least in the southern part of the county the relics from the cemeteries show a certain mingling of races which is quite in accordance with history.

It was in the year 1889 that Grimsbury, a hamlet of Banbury, was severed from Northamptonshire, but its name and situation suggest an earlier political connection with the upper valley of the Cherwell, now included in Oxfordshire. Whatever the derivation may be, the root-word is to be found under various forms such as Grimes Ditch, Grim's Dike and Graham's Ditch in many parts of Britain. Several of these landmarks date from a very early period, and some occur precisely on the line of county boundaries ; but perhaps the most instructive parallel is on the border of Hampshire at the north-west angle of the New Forest, where there is reason to think that the Romano-British inhabitants of Wiltshire were able for a considerable period to stem the tide of barbarian invasion along the valley of the Salisbury Avon.

The name of Grimsbury can only have been bestowed by a Teutonic people, and there seems little against the theory that the hamlet marks an ancient boundary between the West Saxons of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire on the one hand, and on the other the Romanized Britons, who must have inhabited parts of Northamptonshire in considerable numbers during and after the Roman period.

If then Grimsbury may be regarded as an outpost of the tribe or tribes who occupied most of the country between the Cotswolds and the Chilterns in the sixth century, the question arises whether it is possible to fix the period at which that stronghold ceased to mark a boundary. Once the general accuracy of the entry under 571 is conceded, it is possible to connect the foundation of Grimsbury with the victory at Bedford ; but a consideration of the remains in the neighbouring parts of Northamptonshire renders it probable that within a century from that date West-Saxon adventurers had not only penetrated to the Watling Street and perhaps ascended the Tove valley from the south-east, but had been joined and perhaps in their turn overwhelmed by a rival Anglian tribe either from the north or east. Due allowance must indeed be made for the distribution of characteristic objects in the course of trade, but in the general decay that set in on the withdrawal of the legions, commerce fared no better than government or education. It is consequently not

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an unsafe method to determine the conquering tribe by the character of relics found in the graves.

To apply this method to a particular case, reasons will presently be given for supposing that West-Saxon influence ceased for some time to be felt in the south-west of the county after the middle of the seventh century ; and the interval of seventy or eighty years does not perhaps allow sufficient time for the recognition of Grimsbury as a frontier town, as well as the subsequent invasion and settlement of a large tract of British territory. On the other hand if, as is likely, the Saxons advanced up the Thames and struck off along the tributary streams, the occupation of the site of Banbury would no doubt have occurred some years before the battle of Bedford ; and Grimsbury may on this supposition have ceased to mark the frontier at that very date. This alternative seems on the whole more probable than that the stronghold separated the Saxon from the Anglian, or the Dane from either, for in both of these cases the dividing line was further to the east.

From such a centre as Bicester progress along the Roman road running north-east would have been an easy matter, as that station stood on the northern edge of the Oxford clay. Beyond this however the poverty of a soil on which to this day large tracts of woodland have been allowed to remain may well account for the rarity of Saxon remains in the county between Towcester, Brackley, Buckingham and Stony Stratford. Access to more productive localities was however afforded by the Tove valley and two ancient British trackways, Banbury Lane leading to Hunsbury camp, and the Portway, that ran from Kirtlington along the line of Abes Ditch and due north by Rainsborough camp and Chipping Warden to the neighbourhood of Daventry. And it is no doubt in connection with these tracks that the settlements originated of which the remains can now be traced in the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of Marston St. Lawrence, Badby, Newnham and Norton.

A comparison of the archæological and geological maps of the county throws a good deal of light on the colonising methods of our Teutonic ancestors, at least in Northamptonshire.

Among the numerous sites in the county where settlements existed in Anglo-Saxon times, there is a remarkable uniformity as regards physical conditions. About two-thirds of the total number of such sites are at the junction of the Northampton sand with the upper lias clay which is exposed by the action of running water in the valleys south of the 'Nene fault.' As pointed out in the chapter on the geology of the county, the desirability of a dry site for a dwelling led to the selection of spots on porous soil in the neighbourhood of springs ; and where water could be got by means of shallow wells, groups of dwellings would spring up to develop later into villages and towns. Successive ridges of Northampton sand, from which an abundance of good water is procurable, were thus early occupied along the Nene and Ise, and in many cases the Anglo-Saxon sites adjoin the headwaters of the tributary streams. Such for instance are Brixworth and Pitsford,

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Cransley and Finedon, Twywell and Cranford ; but these are only special cases of what seems to have been the common practice in Northamptonshire, for the vast majority of early Anglo-Saxon settlements were made on the sand in the immediate vicinity of a clay formation, which would provide timber for fuel and forest-pasture for the herds of swine.

A smaller but equally instructive group occurs in the north-west corner of the county, where the favourite situation for settlements appears to have been on the narrow water-bearing outcrop of marlstone, with plenty of marshy woodland on the adjoining lower lias. The claims of agriculture were also considered in the choice of a home ; and the Northampton sand, though inferior to the marlstone in point of fertility, is a good arable soil, while the neighbouring limestone tracts are comparatively barren, and the Oxford clay to the south very difficult of cultivation.

Perhaps half a dozen sites remain that are not included in the two groups already noticed ; and of these six, two apparently were occupied in consequence of their proximity to the Nene, which was at that period the principal route to the interior of the county, from the direction of the Ermine Street and the Fens.

There are no records to help in fixing the period during which these sites were occupied by Teutonic colonists to the exclusion of the Romanized Britons, who, though more thickly settled in the lower Nene valley, have yet left numerous traces in the neighbourhood of the Watling Street. It is generally allowed by historians that in the more secluded parts of the country the political fusion of Briton and Teuton was a tedious process ; and besides incidental remarks in the ancient records, 'the comparative scarcity of villages bearing the English clan names throughout the basins of the Welland, the Nene and the Great Ouse, suggests the probability that Mercia, middle England and the Fen country were not by any means so densely colonized as the coast districts.'¹ For instance, the territory of the North and South Gyrwa must have been very thinly populated, for it is estimated in the *Numerus Hydarum*² to contain only 1,200 hides ; and the legend of St. Guthlac, who was startled by strange noises in his cell near Croyland about the year 700, suggests that 'Welshmen' were not uncommon in his neighbourhood.³ The results of anthropological research are here in accord with tradition. It is reasonable to suppose, says Dr. Beddoe, that the British or pre-Saxon element would remain between Banbury and Peterborough and between the Lea and the Warwickshire Avon in larger proportion than in most parts of England. He has personally noticed a high index of nigrescence at several points in that area, including a group of villages between Weedon and Northampton ; while a tendency to light hair and eyes is generally very noticeable in districts that are known to have come under Anglian or Saxon control during the pagan period.

¹ Grant Allen, *Anglo-Saxon Britain*, p. 49.

² Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. i. p. 414 ; Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 506-9.

³ Beddoe, *Races of Britain*, pp. 53, 54, 254.

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As already pointed out, Northamptonshire lies between two broad bands of clay formation, and the north-east opening was in the early days guarded by a vast acreage of fenland, which besides harbouring British fugitives, supported the tribes known to Bede in the eighth century as the North and South Gyrwa, who seem to have confined themselves in the main to the immediate vicinity of the Fens both of Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire. In the *Making of England* they are represented as an Anglian tribe¹ attempting to advance through the woodlands of Rockingham to the uplands beyond, but the spread of the Angles over the county seems to be due as much to their fellow invaders from the Soar valley. The exploits of the Gyrwa have never been recorded, but without traversing Rockingham Forest, parties of settlers would and probably did find an agreeable home in the valley of the Nene. The finds near Peterborough will be noticed later, but it is possible that the settlements at Islip, Woodford and Addington owed their origin to the Fenmen. In the opinion of Dr. Stubbs, the political affinities of the tribe were, like the physical affinities of their country, rather with East Anglia than with Mercia, as is seen by a comparison of the descent of the two kingdoms.² Possibly too their independence lasted longer than that of the other tribes that contributed to the late formation of the Mercian kingdom. This is no more than a guess from the little that is known of their history, but the guess gains some probability from a glance at their early ecclesiastical organization.

Their connection with East Anglia probably accounts for their being Christianized much earlier than their Mercian neighbours; and as 'a line drawn from the south point of Nottinghamshire to the Cam would probably represent the western border of the Gyrwa,' it is possible that traces of their settlement may be seen in the remains at Desborough. These certainly exhibit some evidence of Christianity, and suggest that the artistic traditions of Rome had not quite died out even in the seventh century.

The generally accepted view of the Teutonic conquest is that on the whole the Anglian settlements were later than the Saxon, and besides the negative evidence of the Chronicle, geographical considerations point in the same direction so far as Northamptonshire is concerned. When therefore a mixture of Saxon and Anglian elements appears in the relics of the graves, the recognition of this sequence may serve as a guiding principle.

The burial ground at Marston St. Lawrence³ is five and a half miles east-north-east of Banbury, a little over a quarter of a mile north of Marston Hill Farm, and two or three hundred yards west of the Moreton road. The field was formerly called Bar-furlong or Barrow-furlong, and is situated on a high ridge overlooking the Cherwell valley to the south, being only a quarter of a mile east of Arbury Camp on Thenford Hill,

¹ Reasons for regarding them as British are given by Rev. Edw. Conybeare, *Popular History of Cambridgeshire*, p. 42.

² *Journal of Archaeological Institute*, vol. xviii. p. 195.

³ The account given in *Archæologia*, vol. xlvi. is here abridged.

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which is the western extremity of the same ridge. The site has been under the plough for many years, and the soil is from one to two feet deep on the top of limestone rock.

The first skeleton was discovered in November, 1842, and excavations were carried on in the early part of the following year. Many of the bodies were in pairs, and all were found to lie in graves which may have been marked by small hillocks such as are to be seen in churchyards at the present day. In the excavated space which was about 150 feet by 100, there were found in all thirty-two human skeletons, all lying nearly in the same direction with the feet to the north-east. Most of them lay about eighteen inches below the surface face upwards, and the graves were in great part filled with the fine mould which is frequently found in such interments. There were discovered twenty-five skeletons without weapons, seven with weapons, one skeleton of a horse, and three or four urns containing burnt human bones. It will be observed on the plan of the cemetery that accompanies the account, that three of the bodies were deposited with the knees doubled up, a circumstance that has been commented on by the Abbé Cochet,¹ who met with similar cases in Normandy; while it was the general rule in a cemetery at Sleaford, Lincs.²

A detailed list of the contents of the thirty-seven graves is given by Sir Henry Dryden, whose accuracy has made this find an important addition to archæology, and furnished a model on which such excavations as these should be conducted and put on permanent record. A glance at plate xxii. accompanying his account will at once prove that the position of the bodies was not accidental, but was dictated by the funeral customs of the group of settlers who used the cemetery. This uniformity not only indicates that the burials belong to a definite period during which the rites of burial were not interfered with to any extent, but also warrants the conclusion that the cemetery ceased to be used before the introduction of Christianity into this part of England had caused the dead to be buried with the head to the west. It was apparently in the middle of the eighth century that burial-grounds within the walls of towns became general in England, and it seems reasonable to refer to the intervening century, from about 650 to 750, the east-and-west burials in the open country which are sometimes found in cemeteries that also contain pagan interments. The funeral rites of the pre-Christian period would not be stamped out at once by the missionaries of the Gospel, and the compromise here indicated seems to have been generally accepted during the first century of Christian England.

Though the burials of the Marston cemetery are all in the same direction and generally belong to the same period, there is an instructive combination of elements in the objects recovered from the graves. The contrast of two characteristic groups of ornaments is shown by plates xxiii. and xxiv. illustrating the report, the former for the most part

¹ *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 218 (2nd ed.).

² *Archæologia*, vol. 50, p. 385.

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exhibiting the circular brooches which predominate in the cemeteries of the southern midlands, and the latter some of the ordinary types of brooches to be met with in the Anglian districts.

Speculation as to this apparent blending of two races in so restricted an area may lead to a better understanding of early English history, but more ample material from other parts of the kingdom is necessary before any final conclusions can be drawn from the contents and situation of pagan burials. A working hypothesis may however do something by way of stimulating research and indicating the essential points to be noticed in any future investigations of the kind.

The results of the Marston find are summarized by Sir Henry Dryden in his list of relics. It appears that about two-thirds of the total number of beads found in the graves were of amber, mostly in the rough state. The description of the horse's bit, supplemented as it is by a careful drawing to scale, is interesting, as a similar specimen not so well preserved was discovered with two spearheads at Hardingstone in the year 1860 and is now at Northampton. A bronze clasp, one of a pair found in grave No. 3 on the arms of a female skeleton, closely resembles some from Sleaford, Lincs, and a similar clasp was recently found with some cruciform brooches of a recognized Anglian type at Holdenby (see below, p. 246). The discovery of these clasps in position is important as defining their use, and that they were originally attached by rivets to broad leather straps is demonstrated by the discovery of some imbedded in that material at Sleaford.¹

The brooches are generally the most numerous class of objects recovered, and warrant the attribution of the burials to a tribe or group of tribes who occupied particular parts of the country in the early Teutonic period. In this cemetery were found in all ten pairs of brooches, and a single large specimen of copper partially gilt which closely resembles one in the British Museum from Hornton in the northern angle of Oxfordshire, five miles north-west of Banbury, and only about nine miles west of the Marston cemetery. This coincidence may have been due to the operations of commerce or the fortunes of war; and considered alone might indicate the occupation of both localities by a Saxon or an Anglian tribe. However near the two sites are to each other, it is to be noticed that a border which is no doubt older than the county crosses about half-way between them, and it is a just conclusion that at the date of the burials no hard and fast line was maintained between the inhabitants on either side. It is possible therefore that the Romanized Britons had by that time retired from the south-west of what is now Northamptonshire before the advancing wave of Saxon immigration. Two brooches of the same form have been found on or near the borders of what seems to have been the home of the West Saxons; one at Linton Heath, Cambs,² to the east, and the other at Fairford, Gloucestershire,³ to the west. The latter is of much ruder work than

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. 50, p. 387.

² *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxxvii.

³ Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, pl. iii. fig. 2; *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. pl. x. fig. 2.

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the others, while that discovered by the Hon. R. C. Neville shows the original form of the square plate from which projected a number of characteristic heads of animals and birds, the latter being at the angles, with stout curved beaks. It so happens that the more perfect specimen was found at a spot fairly accessible from the continent, while the debased copies were found far inland, in the north and west of Wessex. Till further examples of these large gilt brooches with their square crenellated heads and rude but striking decoration are forthcoming, it would be rash to assign their manufacture and use exclusively to any one tribe; but the objects found with the Hornton specimen closely resemble a large number found in the Thames valley, and the likeness encourages the belief that in the finds at Marston Hill there is an appreciable Saxon element.

Attention must also be drawn to a circumstance which is not emphasized in the original account of the discovery. The West-Saxon character of at least the two circular concave or saucer-shaped brooches found in grave No 13 is hardly open to question, and it is from the adjoining grave (No. 14) about two feet distant that the remarkable gilt brooch already mentioned was taken. Though it is impossible to prove that these two graves contained a West-Saxon warrior and his wife—and the presence of weapons in the one case favours the suggestion—it is equally open to question whether these are the only two graves in the cemetery which could possibly be attributed to that branch of the Teutonic family. It is true that the area excavated yielded twenty-one brooches, of which three at least may be so assigned; but this does not necessarily fix the proportion between Angle and Saxon. In the first place the cemetery has in all probability not been entirely excavated, for operations were discontinued when the limits of the unsown ground were reached. Secondly, of the thirty-two graves containing skeletons, only eight yielded brooches of any description; and two of this number were the pair referred to above. These last, again, did not contain anything characteristically Anglian, and should not therefore be regarded as the graves of two Anglians who had borne to the grave ornaments they had looted or bartered from a neighbouring Saxon tribe. Finally, in considering the excavations as a whole, it must be noted that very few of the graves on this site exhibit any signs of wealth, and the fact that only one sword in the district has been found may be taken to indicate the humble, perhaps peaceful, circumstances of the community.¹ In most cases the ornaments consisted of a string of beads, with perhaps a buckle for the belt and the usual knife worn at the side. Here are no bronze-mounted buckets, inlaid sword-handles or jewelled brooches such as have been collected in districts enriched by trade or natural resources. Nor is it surprising to find on what was probably the limit of the West-Saxon territory till the expansion of Mercia in the middle of the seventh century, the remains of a humble settlement evidently isolated from the main

¹ It is conceivable that the paucity of relics and of cinerary urns may be due to the influence of Christianity.

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centres of activity. The supply of such perishable objects as personal ornaments would soon run short, and there appear to have been in the western half of the county several rude attempts to imitate the brooches which form such a conspicuous feature in West-Saxon interments. These home-made articles found on the outskirts of a tribal district point not only to an absence of facilities for trading, but to the stagnation and poverty which must have become fairly general after the retirement of the legions from the shores of Britain.

Of the seven interments in which weapons were discovered with the skeleton, two deserve special notice, as examples of a practice which may hereafter be found characteristic of a particular rank, tribe or period. There was a close resemblance between graves Nos. 29 and 30, which were about fourteen feet apart and may have been covered by large mounds of earth. Each contained a skeleton face upwards, with a shield placed flat on the floor of the grave; the body was stretched out in such a manner that part of the remnants of the shield-handle were found under the hip-bones, and the boss with the point upwards was just between the thigh-bones. Two spearheads were found close together on the right side of the head parallel to the body, and in one case an arrowhead lay at the feet. The iron shield-boss was half full of burnt vegetable matter resembling heath or fern-stems; and the handle of the shield found in grave No. 30 had had a wooden grip riveted to the curved part of the centre, and itself extended right across the shield, being riveted at both ends to the wooden or leather disc which was about five-sixteenths of an inch thick. The spearheads which were attached to staves of a man's height are of common types, with the exception of one the blades of which are in different planes¹ to give a spinning motion.²

Of the three undoubted instances of cremation in the cemetery³ it is difficult to speak, as the distribution of urn-burials in this country has not been thoroughly investigated, though attention has in recent years been called to the practice by Kemble, Rolleston and Wylie. Urns containing burnt human bones are however mainly confined to Anglian districts, and skeletons to Saxon and Jutish cemeteries, though there are several localities where both rites were practised. The view taken by that zealous antiquary, Charles Roach Smith, was that in cases where cremated remains and skeletons were found in the same cemetery, the urns belonged to prior interments which were disturbed when the graves were dug and afterwards carefully replaced. 'This explanation,' he says, 'will not be at variance with the belief that when cremation had ceased as a general custom, it may in exceptional instances have been used over a considerable period of time. Wherever found, these mortuary urns must be ascribed to the earliest Teutonic tribes which settled in Britain; for the urns resemble Roman forms and may (in some cases) be of Roman fabric.'⁴ There is no reason to suppose however that urn-

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xlviii. pl. xxv. grave 16.

² Compare Baron de Baye's *Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons*, p. 22, pl. 1, figs. 4, 6, from Harnham Hill, Wilts.

³ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii. p. 471.

⁴ *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. v. p. 119.



1

2



3



5^a



5



5^b

SCALE $\frac{2}{3}$ LINEAR



4

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C. PRÆTORIUS F. S. A.

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burial was in all cases earlier than the burial of the entire body ; and the fact that no weapons but only tweezers, combs, beads and other small objects are found with the cremated burials may very well point to differences of race as well as of period. Thus combs associated with urn-burials have been found at Finedon, Pitsford and Northampton¹ (see fig. 16). These with other cases of cremation occur generally in the central part of the county ; and where the cemeteries contain mixed burials, the bodies are found lying east and west. A plausible inference is that this part of Northamptonshire was occupied not by West-Saxons but by another tribe who before their conversion to Christianity burned their dead, and afterwards adopted the east-and-west position.

Sir Henry Dryden's second and fuller paper on the Marston Hill finds was read to the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1882, and it is no slight on his memory to revise the conclusions he drew from what was there brought to light. There is at the present day no necessity to contrast such remains with Celtic, British or pure Roman in order to establish their Saxon origin. Instead of the eighty years which he allowed for interments of the pagan Saxons, it is now permissible to spread them over a period of about two centuries, and to allow another century for a considerable number of burials which show by their orientation the influence of Christian teaching, but at the same time illustrate the pagan custom of burying their ornaments and weapons with the dead.

The similarity declared to exist between the burials at Marston Hill and others at Cestersover in Warwickshire, and Breach and Chatham Downs in Kent, must therefore be taken in that general sense, in which most pagan burials of the Saxon period in England may be said to resemble one another. There is however no reason to doubt that the interments at Newnham² were 'precisely similar' to those at Marston Hill, from which the distance is only about twelve miles. About a mile and a half south of Daventry and the British and Roman site of Borough Hill, Newnham lies just north of the river Nene on the geological formation which seems to have specially recommended itself to the Teutonic settlers in this neighbourhood. Notice has already been taken of its proximity to the line of the Portway, and it may be described as the counterpart of Marston Hill as regards the objects discovered in the graves. About twenty bodies were found in 1829, and the relics passed into the possession of Sir Henry Dryden, by whom they were transferred to the municipal museum at Northampton. The skeletons lay in the same direction as at Marston, with the faces upwards, and also like them interred in small graves. In spite of defective supervision a few bead necklaces were preserved, and among these were some triplet specimens of glass exactly resembling some from Marston. Two large gilt brooches (figs. 3, 4), now preserved at Northampton, are compared with the large one from Marston, but the exact similarity of

¹ Society of Antiquaries, *Proceedings*, vol. xvii. pp. 165, 167.

² *Archæologia*, vol. xlviii. p. 336.

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the complete specimen to one found at Castor near Peterborough with purely Roman remains cannot be verified ; while the other, which is broken at the bow, is almost identical with one found at Woodstone, Hunts, near Peterborough.¹ Bosses of shields and spearheads also occur at Newnham, and a circular bronze brooch with hollow centre. The space dug over in this case measured about fifty-three yards by forty-six ; and the bodies were distributed in about the same proportion to the ground as at Marston Hill, while the skeletons with weapons were again less numerous than those without, which seem to have been the remains of women and children. The site was excavated in 1829 and two saucer-shaped brooches suggesting contact with Wessex are to be seen in the Northampton Museum.

To the same group of Saxon sites in the county, though possibly of a somewhat later date, belong two others, at Badby and Norton, the former nearly a mile and a half to the south-west, and the latter about four miles north of Newnham.

About the year 1836, four brooches were discovered at Badby where there appears to have been a cemetery of the Saxon period.² Diggings for stone had been carried on for a number of years on a farm in the parish, and from time to time many skeletons had been disinterred, disposed north and south, with spears, swords, shield-bosses, knives, beads and other articles in close proximity. An unusual quantity of relics were met with about 1834, but nearly all were dispersed as well as another find two years later of the same description. Whenever fresh soil was opened at the stone-pit, bones and entire skeletons were met with, at about eighteen inches below the surface. The square-headed brooch is clearly of the same type as one from Norton, though shorter by an inch, while the three others figured belong to ordinary Anglian varieties.

Some objects found in the parish of Norton, near Daventry, were presented to the Society of Antiquaries of London in the year 1863. It is unfortunate that no contemporary account of the discovery exists, but the information³ supplied by Dr. Thurnam and others four years later is precise enough to fix the character of the interments. A plan was also prepared to indicate the position of the oblong mound from which five or six skeletons were exhumed. This mound seems to have been about forty or fifty yards long, two or three yards wide and about a yard high, lying along the hedge to the east of the Watling Street. The graves discovered in 1855 or 1856 were in a single line and contained besides the skeletons which it is believed lay with the heads to the south, some formless pieces of metal and one rude bead of amber. The level at which the bodies had been deposited was about six feet below the crown of the Roman road, and about twenty-five feet from its centre, just out-

¹ Figured in *Proceedings*, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1887-88, p. 264.

² *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, vol. i. p. 61 ; Society of Antiquaries, *Proceedings*, 1st ser. vol. i. p. 74.

³ *Archæologia*, vol. xli. p. 479.

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side the original embankment. Eight years later the bank was levelled to alter the course of the road, and at least one other grave was exposed.

It was on this occasion that some interesting relics were discovered, of which only a bare list is given, with the exception of a full-size engraving of a fine square-headed brooch¹ now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. Besides this were found a dish-shaped and a disc-shaped brooch, two rings of bronze, three hooks of iron, perhaps keys, an iron knife and a bone spindle-whorl. The skulls were pronounced of the long variety characteristic of the Teutonic peoples, but there is little evidence to determine the particular tribe to which they belonged. Nor is there satisfactory proof that 'the Anglo-Saxon grave-mound of Norton presents no resemblance to the considerable cemetery at Marston St. Lawrence in the same county.' A comparison is made with some graves discovered in 1824, twenty miles further north in the very centre of the Watling Street near Bensford Bridge. The large square-headed brooch certainly points to Anglian influence but the same may also be said of Marston and Newnham.

In the four localities already mentioned, the dead were with few exceptions buried entire, and the relics from some of the graves point to a connection with a well-defined district to the south-west beyond the present county border. The period of the interments here is very roughly determined by the fact that the bodies were laid in the earth with the head to the south-west; and we cannot be far wrong in assigning them all to the last half of the sixth and the first half of the seventh century. The geography of western Northamptonshire renders it an open question whether these pagan burials may not in some cases belong to a still earlier period, but ecclesiastical history forbids us to put them much later than the introduction of Christianity. With this event the foundation of Medeshamstede, the later Peterborough, almost coincides, and from that active missionary centre the Gospel must soon have spread to the neighbourhood of the Watling Street. In fact many monasteries had been established in the county before the close of the century, and some authorities² assign the earliest part of Brixworth Church to this period.

The earlier notices of Anglo-Saxon sites are lamentably deficient in details on which their classification mainly depends; and little can be said as to the date of burials at Welton, Passenham and Great Addington except that they all probably belong to the pagan period. Welton lies four miles north of Newnham, and two miles north-west of Norton, all three places having the same geological formation and similarly situated with regard to the great Roman road. In 1778 there were found two skeletons, with two small bronze brooches of the square-headed pattern, and beads of glass and amber about their necks and wrists. Between the two skeletons was a small urn of pottery, not four inches high, which can never have been intended to hold the ashes

¹ Figured in *Archæologia*, vol. xli. pl. xxii.

² See for example *Journal of Archæological Institute*, vol. xxxvii. p. 365; *The Builder*, Nov. 3, 1900.

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of the dead, and there were also found coins of Constantine and Flavia perforated for use as pendent ornaments. The site is half a mile from Welton church, and the historian of Northamptonshire states¹ that many skeletons have probably been found there, though of such there is no detailed account. The occurrence of coins of the first half of the fourth century does not fix the date of the interment, for they were in common use among the Romanized Britons during the fifth and sixth centuries, if not till a later date, and the excellent condition of some gold specimens so mounted is not surprising, as it is unnecessary to assume that these were in constant circulation. No mention is made of the direction in which the bodies had been laid, but in view of the close correspondence of the three sites, the conjecture is allowable that here, as at Newnham and Norton, the Christian orientation was not observed. The few particulars of the find point to contact with Mercia or East Anglia rather than with Wessex, but the sites west of Watling Street are here grouped together as contrasting with the mixed burials further to the east and north-east.

The discovery of a large number of skeletons at Passenham on the same Roman road, but on the southern boundary of the county, must be passed over, as the account² gives only a slight presumption that they were of the Saxon period. The third locality in which the position of the graves is not specified is on the banks of the Nene much lower down, and in all probability belongs to a group including Ecton, Islip and Desborough, in which the east-and-west position was adopted. It will be noticed that the last three sites are about twelve miles from one another and form a triangle near the centre of the county, where urn-burial seems to have been prevalent till the advent of Christianity. It was about the year 655 that the new faith was officially recognized in this part of the country, but a century was probably needed to render it universal among the common people. To this century of compromise then may be attributed the burials in which Christian orientation had become the rule, though certain pagan rites connected with burial had still to be suppressed.

In the gardens of Ecton House, about 200 yards north-east of the church, workmen were levelling some ground in 1762 when they discovered several bones and skulls lying in order from west to east.³ Among them were found two silver Saxon coins, which are described as of the size of a silver threepenny piece, but the full-size wood-cut which accompanies the original account shows them to have been rather of the size of a shilling; and there is no difficulty in identifying them as silver pennies of Æthelred II., king of England from 978 to 1016. This discovery, however, does not prove the burials to be of that period, for stray coins of the earlier and later Saxon periods have been found in several places in the county remote from any interment.

¹ Baker, *History*, vol. i. p. 466; cf. *Archæologia*, vol. xlvi. p. 337; Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, p. xxviii. The objects are in Northampton Museum.

² Whellan's *Gazetteer of Northants* (1874), p. 573.

³ John Cole, *History and Antiquities of Ecton* (1825), pp. 42, 43.

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As long ago as 1757 relics of the Saxon period were brought to light at Desborough.¹ In a gravel-pit on the north side of the parish at a depth of about two feet were discovered several entire human skeletons, with a number of amber and glass beads lying near the breast-bones of one of them. Also, an iron ring with several 'brass clasps,' which were supposed to have connected the garments in which the deceased was buried. In the same pit were found two urns containing bones and ashes, and Desborough must therefore be classed with Brixworth, Holdenby, Clipstone and Northampton, as exhibiting traces of both methods of burial in vogue among the Teutonic invaders of this part of the country.

Many interments were discovered in another part of the same village in 1865, accompanied by articles of bronze, but the relics were dispersed and no adequate description published. By far the most important discovery was made about the year 1876 in a grass field close to the village, about 300 yards east of the parish church, and within an area which appears to have been an ancient encampment.² A parallelogram of about four acres could at that time be distinctly traced by the fosses faintly indicated in the pasture, where left undisturbed by the diggers for ironstone. Within the enclosure a number of ancient interments were found, the bodies not having been buried in coffins, but simply laid in pits sunk in the baring or top-soil. The position of the graves was well marked, as they were filled up with black earth, contrasting with the tawny-coloured mass. At the bottom of these dark patches the skeletons were usually found very decayed and friable, and many of the graves were empty or contained nothing but a few fragments of bone, with occasional pieces of coarse pottery and burnt stones mixed with the earth. The sepulchral trenches, of which a plan is given in the original account, were roughly made, wide at the top and narrow at the bottom, invariably running to the east and the south-west. Where there were skeletons, the feet were to the east, but in all the pits appeared traces of fire in the shape of pieces of stone burnt red, either ironstone or a kind of freestone not found in the village. In one instance a pit, found to be empty, was lined with clay at the bottom, and in this were embedded stones set edgewise and presenting traces of fire. In all about sixty interments were found in the enclosure, and in two of them were discovered some very remarkable objects now preserved in the national collection. Of these the finest and most interesting is a gold necklace (fig. 2), which lay disconnected near the head of a skeleton. It consists of thirty-seven pieces, viz., seventeen barrel-shaped or doubly conical beads, slightly varying in size, and made of spirally coiled gold wire; two cylindrical beads of similar make, which have been connected with the clasps; nine circular pendants of gold, convex on one face and flat on the other, some with beaded edges and all provided with hoops by which they are strung; eight gold pendants of various shapes and sizes, set with garnets and suspended by loops of delicate work, all the edges

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1757, p. 21.

² *Archæologia*, vol. xlv. p. 466.

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being beaded and the backs plain ; and lastly a gold cross, which formed no doubt the central ornament of the necklace. The body of the cross is formed of two cylinders of gold, and at the intersection is set a small garnet in bead-work, the back having had a similar ornament which is now missing.

Gold-mounted garnets in the form of pendants have often been discovered in Kent,¹ where the graves contain jewellery in such profusion ; but elsewhere they are rare, and it is interesting to notice that while single pendants are not unknown in other parts of England, three of these rare necklaces have been discovered in districts which on geographical or historical grounds may be considered as Romano-British rather than Anglo-Saxon during the pagan period. One found on Roundway Down, near Devizes, is figured in Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom* ; another from Derbyshire formed one of the chief ornaments of the Bateman collection ; and the Desborough specimen is figured in Rev. R. S. Baker's account in *Archæologia*. At the same time it is unwise to call these trinkets late Roman, as some well-informed antiquaries have done, for at present they seem to be generally associated with Anglo-Saxon remains in the graves, and a wiser course is to consider them as Teutonic reproductions of the paste-settings so characteristic of late Roman jewellery. The cross on the Desborough necklace is presumptive evidence that the original owner had adopted the Christian faith, and unless we allow that Christianity has persisted in the county from the days of the Emperor Constantine, remains of this character must be referred to some date before the end of the fifth century or after the middle of the seventh. The presence of Anglo-Saxon glass and other objects is generally held to fix the latter as the period of this and similar interments.

In the other grave, which also contained a skeleton and was near the last, a number of objects were found, which are thus described by the excavator. A saucepan-shaped vessel of very thin metal, with rounded bottom and a broad flat handle which expands towards the end into a circle. The edge of the handle is flanged or strengthened by a projecting ridge, and at the back of the handle has been a small loop or ring by which the vessel could be suspended. It is 3 inches in depth, and the diameter of the bowl 10 inches, the entire length including the handle being 16 inches. Besides this, a delicate pair of scales, of which only fragments remain, the pans being of very thin bronze, and measuring $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. A spoon of base silver or white metal, just over 6 inches long has both extremities imperfect ; and the lower part of the stem where it meets the bowl has a singular expansion, suggested perhaps by the form of the late Roman spoons, although the somewhat meagre ornament in the upper end shows no mark of classical design.² A hinge or clasp, also of white metal, with engraved ornament of Teutonic character, each portion having three prominent rivets, and the whole measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

¹ Several are figured in *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. iv.

² *Archæologia*, vol. liii. p. 117.

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Lastly, two well-preserved glass drinking cups of an amber colour, one being $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in depth and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, while the other (fig. 11) was $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches deep with a diameter of $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Both have the peculiarity so often observed in Anglo-Saxon drinking glasses, that from the form of the base they cannot stand upright, a circumstance which has been assumed to indicate habits of intemperance.

Some remarks in illustration are appended by Mr. Baker to his account of the excavations, and references given to similar objects found elsewhere. Weights and scales have been more than once found in graves of this period, and to the Kentish specimens there mentioned may be added a very similar pair of scales found in a Merovingian cemetery in the Department of the Aisne, France. The pattern on the clasp is not derived from interlacing ribands, but from the disjointed limbs of the quadruped which figures so often and in such various forms on Teutonic antiquities. Spoons of the pattern already described are indeed rare in Anglo-Saxon graves, though somewhat similar specimens have been recovered from refuse-pits at Southampton, likewise associated with glass drinking cups. The spoons occasionally found with crystal spheres in Kent, the Isle of Wight and elsewhere are of a distinct character, and throw very little light on the Desborough specimen, which seems a direct descendant of the Roman model. The connection with Roman civilization is, however, rather overstated by Mr. Baker when he classes the bronze bowl described above with others found at Irchester¹ as being late Roman. This latter find consisted of eight bronze vessels in such a good state of preservation that the burnish remained on some of them, giving almost an appearance of gilding to the interior. They were found packed together, one inside the other, and all enclosed in a large iron-bound copper bucket. Some of the vessels are like colanders, of fine Roman workmanship, but others, as figs. 2, 4, 5, 6 on the plate accompanying the account, are of a pattern that seems to be essentially Anglo-Saxon; one such was certainly found with Anglian objects in a cemetery at Sleaford, Lincs,² and several of the same pattern are in the national collection from sites presumably of the same period. The four circular bowls from Irchester were between 10 and 12 inches in diameter, and 4 to 5 inches high; and, curving in underneath, had a slight 'kick' at the base so as to stand firm. The rim is narrow and turned in at an angle, no doubt to prevent spilling the contents; and in some cases the plates for attaching rings and chains for suspension remain riveted to the brim. Their use is not determined, but that they were, like the Roman vessels found with them, ceremonial rather than domestic, is suggested by their delicate structure and the care taken to repair them.

A very similar discovery was made in the year 1807 at Sturmere, Essex, by the side of a Roman road, and about 500 yards from a Roman station. 'Nine thin culinary vessels of copper were found closely packed within each other and covered with a large flat vessel, three feet below

¹ *Associated Architectural Societies* (1875), *Northants*, p. 90.

² *Archæologia*, vol. 50, p. 395.

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the surface.' Some of the bowls are engraved in *Archæologia*¹ and do not differ essentially in shape from some of the Irchester specimens, while the discoveries were made in similar circumstances, which point to some connection with Roman civilization.

The general appearance of some of these bowls which are skilfully made of thin metal, suggests British workmanship of the pre-Roman period, but in the opinion of the late Sir Wollaston Franks, the set from Irchester belonged rather to the Saxon period, and differed essentially from the Roman;² and though it is true that the burial in trenches is unfamiliar, and may well be the survival of the Roman custom, the character of the objects accompanying the Desborough bowl warrants the attribution of the cemetery to the Christian-Saxon period. It must however be admitted that some of the graves in which skeletons have been found placed east and west,³ with signs of fire in the vicinity, but without any characteristic weapons or ornaments, may be those of Romanized Britons, and date from the fourth century, when the practice of cremation had given way to simple burial in coffins, or cists composed of stone slabs such as occurred at Desborough.

The closest of parallels is to be found in Northamptonshire itself. At Cransley, about four miles from Desborough, several finds were made by the ironstone diggers between 1879 and 1882, and put on record by the local secretary of the Society of Antiquaries.⁴ In one place human remains were found, but were too much decayed to afford any indication of the direction in which the burials had been made. With these was an iron sword-blade, fairly well preserved, 2 feet 3 inches in length and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth at the widest part, having at the hilt a cross-piece which broke away. Besides two circular bronze brooches, a spearhead and minor relics, a curious urn about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height came to light.⁵ It has lugs or rudimentary handles at intervals round the widest part and tapers towards the mouth, while the base is rounded with little precision. A small cylindrical bronze case or canister apparently belongs to a class of which examples have been found in Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Derbyshire and in the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire. This specimen was found in a decayed and fragmentary state, but it was furnished with a lid, and the bottom had a punctured design in the form of a cross, the sides being also slightly ornamented in the same way. It was $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, with a diameter of 2 inches; and the use of this class of objects is now fairly ascertained, as more than one specimen⁶ has been found with traces of thread and even needles inside, so that they may be regarded as the thread-boxes of Anglo-Saxon women. The occurrence of the cross as

¹ Vol. xvi. p. 364, pl. lxix.

² *Proceedings*, Society of Antiquaries, vol. vi. p. 476.

³ Cf. *Associated Architectural Societies* (1875), *Northants*, p. 113.

⁴ *Proceedings*, vol. ix. pp. 93, 94.

⁵ Figured in *Proceedings*, Society of Antiquaries, vol. ix. p. 92, where it is incorrectly said to be from Twywell.

⁶ *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 81, pl. xiii.; Jewitt, *Grave-Mounds and their Contents*, p. 285, fig. 466; Catalogue of Mortimer Museum at Driffield (1900), p. 21.

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an ornament does not of itself prove the original owner a Christian, but without indulging too freely in speculation there seems enough evidence for the inclusion of the Cransley burials among those with the Christian orientation. Perhaps the most interesting relic from this site is a bronze bowl, the description of which of itself suggests a close connection between the settlements at Cransley and Desborough. The bowl had a flat turn-over lip or rim, and was of thin metal, much corroded and broken; there were traces of gilding in the interior, and a handle with a thickened flange projected horizontally from the rim. A comparison was instituted between this bowl and those found in the Roman cemetery at Irchester; but a closer parallel, apparently overlooked at the time, is the Desborough bowl which had been described by the same writer six years previously. This has been already referred to, and a comparison of the dimensions shows that the two vessels had the same proportions, and as they were found under similar circumstances the probability is that they were used by the same people for the same purposes. The form seems to be a reminiscence of a Roman pattern, but this is not surprising, as other indications¹ point to a marked survival of Roman civilization in the county when other parts of Britain, more exposed to the sea or with more fertile soil, were being overrun by the invading Teuton.

To the same group certainly belongs Islip, which has yielded a few interesting objects of the Anglo-Saxon period. In the autumn of 1878 excavations for ironstone revealed three or four human skeletons about a yard below the surface, the graves penetrating the limestone rock to the depth of one foot, and pointing east and west. A portion of one of the skulls was found adhering to the inner side of the boss of a shield, on which the warrior's head had been laid. With a supposed female skeleton were found beads of glass, amber and terra-cotta; and a number of brooches, clasps and buckles were recovered in very good preservation. The brooches were of various designs and sizes, some 'longitudinal' and others circular, of well-known Anglo-Saxon or rather Anglian types. One of the circular specimens had a fylfot design in open-work;² and two, which must be rather Romano-British, are described as of the true 'safety-pin' type.

This batch of finds was not described as fully as could be desired, but attention was very properly drawn at the time to the opportunities afforded by the ironstone digging in many parts of the county for securing archæological remains. The nature of the work renders imperative a careful supervision if such remains are not to be lost to science.

The discoveries at Great Addington too have not been recorded with sufficient precision to be of much evidential value; but the interments appear to belong to two periods separated by a considerable interval. 'Near the south end of the village is an elevation called Shooter's Hill, which seems to have been used as a place of burial by the ancient Britons and Romans, several human skeletons and ancient relics

¹ *Journal of British Archæological Association*, 1899, p. 295.

² Figured in *Proceedings*, Society of Antiquaries, vol. ix. p. 90.

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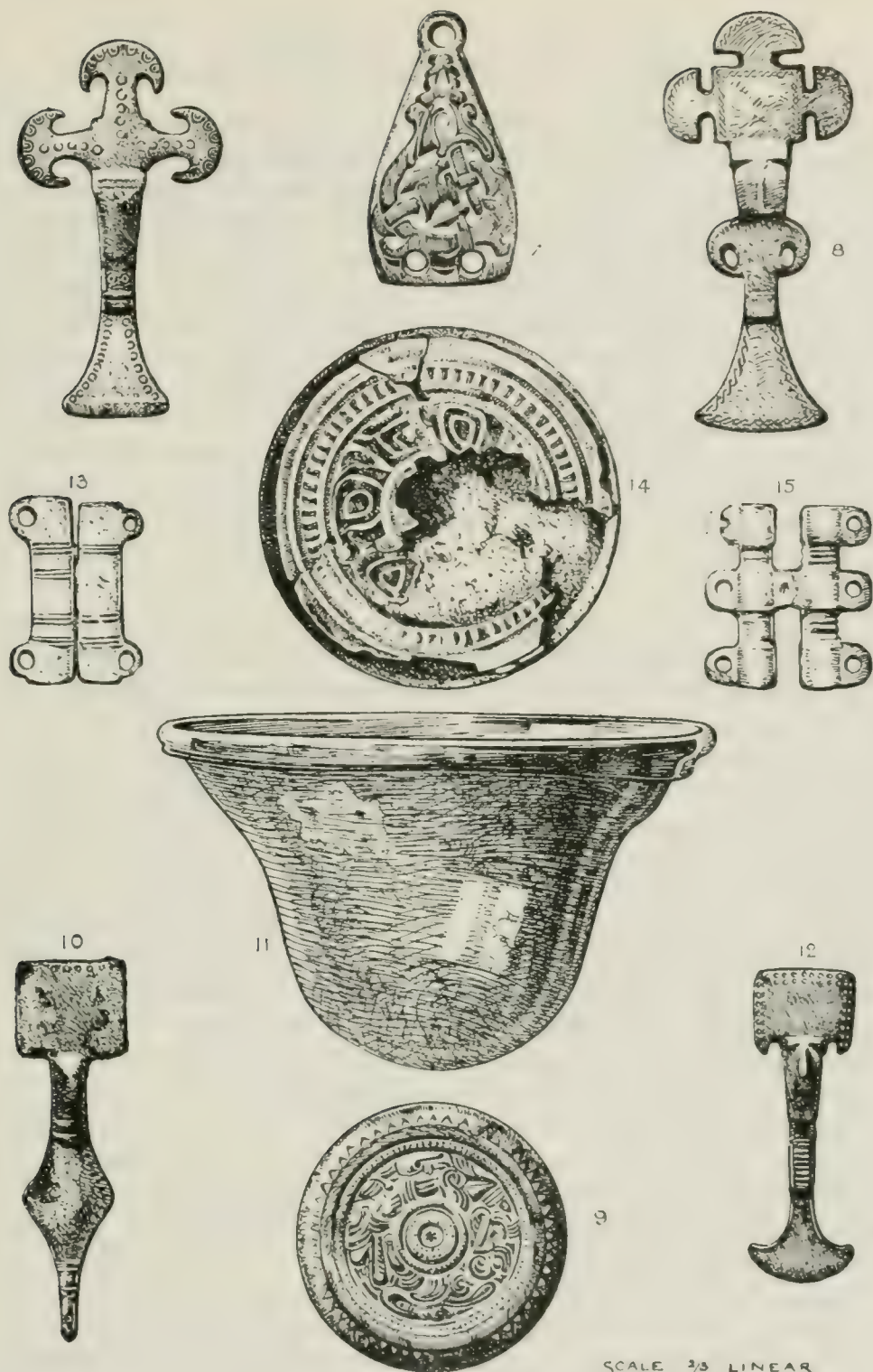
having been found here at various periods, but especially in the spring of 1847. . . . Many perfect skeletons had apparently been interred with great regularity, and nine or ten were thus disclosed, but scores were noticed. There was no appearance of heaped earth. In some cases the face was placed downwards, others on the side, and three were headless, these last having stones in place of the head ; and at the foot of one was a Druidical drinking cup. Spearheads, daggers and portions of other warlike implements, necklaces and ornaments were found near some of the skeletons.'¹ In 1866 while gravel was being dug on the same site six complete skeletons and an iron dagger were found, also two stone coffins which were preserved in the church and churchyard. The direction in which the graves were cut is nowhere stated ; but as in Anglo-Saxon burials the skeletons usually lie face upwards, those placed otherwise may perhaps on this site be considered the remains of Britons of a much earlier date ; the ' Druidical ' cup, probably the ' drinking cup ' commonly found in barrows, lending some support to this view. From the regularity of some of the burials however, and the relics discovered, it is permissible to infer an early Anglo-Saxon occupation of the site, and its proximity to Ecton, Islip and Cransley may be held to justify the inclusion of this cemetery among those in which the Christian orientation is observed. The same may perhaps be said of Twywell, only two miles distant from both Islip and Great Addington. In the middle of the eighteenth century an entire human skeleton was found on the north side of the road from Thrapston to Market Harborough, with a spear and what is described as an iron helmet.² This was no doubt the boss of the shield which had been placed on the head of the deceased warrior as at Holdenby ; but nothing is said of the direction of the grave, and the inclusion of this site in the group now under consideration is therefore conjectural.

A remarkable jug-shaped urn³ in which cremated remains had been deposited, may here be noticed. It was found in 1883 near the road from Ringstead to Great Addington, 6 feet deep in blue lias clay, on a hill overlooking the Nene, and differs from the usual cinerary urns of the pagan period in form, decoration and fabric. Comparison with certain continental specimens shows it to be a relic of the early time when the great migrations of the Teutonic peoples were still in progress, and the English kingdoms had not yet taken shape. It is possible that this form was adopted by one only of the many tribes that left the Baltic for our eastern shores, as it certainly is not one that would readily occur to the potter ; and it is interesting to find that the Kabyle population of Algeria, who are said to preserve the Mykenæan tradition, still have vessels exhibiting the same peculiarity, namely, a perforated handle, serving also as a spout. The Addington specimen is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high with an extreme diameter of 7 inches, and most closely resembles one⁴

¹ Whellan's *Gazetteer of Northants* (1874), p. 741. ² *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1757, p. 20.

³ Figured in *Proceedings*, Society of Antiquaries, vol. ix. p. 322.

⁴ J. H. Müller, *Vor- und frühgeschichtliche Altertümer der provinz Hannover*, pl. xxi. fig. 200.



SCALE 2/3 LINEAR

C. PRÆTORIUS F.S.A.

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found in the neighbourhood of Stade, near the mouth of the Elbe. Another with a somewhat longer neck¹ came from the Stavanger district in the south-west of Norway ; and a third,² of the same shape but about half the size of the others, came to light in the Danish island of Fünen. Dr. Rygh states that only six specimens are known, and Dr. Sophus Müller assigns the Danish example to the earliest years of the post-Roman period, not later than the fifth century. There need be therefore little hesitation in regarding the Addington urn, which was presented to the British Museum by Mr. H. Walters, as one of the earliest Teutonic relics in the country.

Besides the urns already mentioned as having been found in the cemetery at Marston Hill where cremation was certainly not the usual practice, there are Anglo-Saxon sites in Northamptonshire where there are no traces of any other manner of disposing of the dead than by cremation.

In addition to the comb already referred to, fragments of a vase of green glass were found at Pitsford in 1882, along with fourteen pottery vases of various sizes, some of them containing small and apparently burnt bones. The comb is characteristic of this mode of burial, but other objects are unusual ; and a sketch by Sir Henry Dryden of the glass fragment, which is in the form of a hollow claw, is sufficient to show that the vase belonged to a well-known class frequently met with in Kentish graves of this period and more rarely in some other English counties and on the continent. These delicate vases³ are mostly of olive-green or amber coloured glass, and generally contract slightly at the neck and foot ; from the centre project two or three bands of hollow claws pointing downwards, while thin threads are applied above and below in spirals, and sometimes vertically on the claws. The result is an elaborate drinking cup which, to judge by the number preserved, must have been a common object in the pagan period.

At Kettering have been found fragments of cinerary urns, and part of a circular brooch of a kind well represented in the remains from Kempston, Long Wittenham, etc., with a thin embossed gilt disc attached to the circular bronze base. In the centre is a hole that was no doubt originally filled with a slab of garnet.

Two miles to the south-east, several cinerary and other urns have been found at Barton Seagrave, which with an iron shield-boss ornamented with a disc (fig. 9) of bronze-gilt, a string of glass beads, three small cruciform brooches (fig. 8) and minor objects are now preserved in the national collection. The circumstances of the discovery are not recorded, but the remains correspond with other finds of the period in this central district of the county, and include a typical series of sepulchral pottery, illustrating the variety in shape and ornamentation of the

¹ This also contained burnt bones, and is figured in Rygh's *Norske Oldsager*, fig. 357, French edition, p. 60.

² Sophus Müller, *Nordische Altertümer*, vol. ii. p. 107, fig. 78.

³ Typical specimens are figured in de Baye's *Industrial Arts*, p. 109, pl. xv., and references given.

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wide-mouthed vessels of dark-brown or black ware which were but clumsy imitations of the Roman potter's wheel-made productions.

The evidence for cremation at Woodford is the sketch of an urn in Cole's manuscript *History of Ecton*, the original copy of which is in the public library at Northampton; but in the neighbourhood of Peterborough traces of the practice have come to light from time to time. It may be an accident that the Anglo-Saxon burials have nearly always occurred on the Huntingdonshire side of the Nene,¹ for the Romans certainly had important stations on both sides of the river and there was a Roman road running due east through Peterborough across the Fens to Denver in Norfolk.² The facilities of communication afforded by this highway to a large extent explain several indications of intercourse between the inhabitants of the eastern portion of the county and the men of Kent and East Anglia.

It has recently been pointed out that all the tracks across and along the Fens converged at Peterborough, and it is not surprising to find in this locality types of relics which are generally confined to other parts of the country. Here too are found traces of both methods of burial, but where the body was unburnt the direction of the graves was not uniform in this locality, so that little can as yet be said as to the racial connections of its early settlers. It is unfortunate that Mr. Artis' work on Castor³ contains little else but plates, for a full description of the discovery of a fine series of Anglian brooches would probably have thrown much light on this subject. These consist of five cruciform specimens with different ornamentation, one of the square-headed type, and two bracelet-clasps, all found with human skeletons on the north side of the road between Orton Longueville and Woodstone near Peterborough.

From a cemetery at Peterborough, the exact site being unknown, came also a small plain urn, which was found with an iron knife and is now preserved in the British Museum. The nature of the cemetery is uncertain, but the urn is smaller than the usual receptacles for the ashes of the dead.

Other objects from Peterborough, perhaps from the same cemetery, are in the same collection, consisting of a cinerary urn, two spearheads, three small square-headed brooches and the bronze-mounts of a bucket,⁴ perhaps the only specimen yet found in the county. These vessels were placed either at the head or feet of the skeleton and are supposed to have contained food as an offering to the dead. The presumption therefore is that here, as at Desborough, both methods of interment were in vogue either together or successively, and there are other localities in central Northamptonshire in which urns containing burnt bones have certainly been found in association with skeletons buried entire.

Two mixed places of burial have been discovered at Brixworth, but inquiries as to the direction of the graves have met with no suc-

¹ For Castor and Chesterton, see Isaac Taylor's *Words and Places*, p. 173.

² *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, 1899, pp. 52, 54.

³ *Durebriæ*, pl. lv.

⁴ Figured in Jewitt's *Grave-Mounds and their Contents*, p. 281, fig. 460; and a brooch, p. 272, fig. 451.

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cess. One, about half a mile north of the church, contained cinerary urns, spearheads, shield-bosses, knives and brooches, as well as several skeletons. Another, a quarter of a mile north-west of the church, gave similar results; and remains from both sites are now in Northampton Museum. A small rough vase in the national collection is almost spherical, and has the rounded base marked with a cross, like several found at Stade, on the Elbe.¹ This may be the impression of the stand on which it rested while being fired; or if intended as an ornament may be compared with several examples of the prehistoric period, figured in a paper by Dr. Thurnam.² There is consequently no necessity to recognize the mark on the Brixworth urn as the Christian symbol, though the orientation might have shown both cemeteries to belong to the transition period.

In February, 1864, some men who were employed in digging for stone on the side of a hill in Coneybury Hill Field at Holdenby came upon some fragments of pottery, some bones, a horse-shoe and two bronze brooches.³ The vessels have since been restored, one of them being of rough clay with projections like rudimentary handles for suspension, the second having S-shaped and other impressed ornaments in a deep band above the shoulder. This latter was evidently a cinerary urn; but in the following year the hill was again cut into and six distinct skeletons were found, one of which was in a perfect condition, and appeared to be that of a warrior. He lay as if he had been doubled up, his knees nearly touching his chin. Attached by rust to his head was the boss of a shield much decayed. The bodies did not lie in the east-and-west direction, but seemed to have been buried regardless of position. In all cases the bones were not more than a foot below the surface.

Again in 1899 thirteen interments were uncovered within a comparatively small area in the same locality.⁴ One of these was a crushed cinerary urn, with several fragments of burnt bone and a broken bronze hair-pin, but the rest were extended interments. It was again noticed that the bodies were not interred in any special direction, and in one case a female lay face downwards and rested on an earlier burial in another direction. By the side of two male skeletons were found spearheads of iron, and over the skull of one the large sharp-pointed boss of a shield with the iron handle beneath it, recalling the similar discovery in 1864. The nine female interments were rich in bead necklaces, mostly composed of glass and amber, and here, as in many Anglo-Saxon burials, was found the melon-shaped bead of green glass-paste characteristic of the Roman period. The bronze brooches (figs. 6, 10, 12) were interesting as presenting more than one design not hitherto noted. In two or three instances they were three in number, one in the centre of the breast and the other two on the shoulders. A pair of ring brooches were

¹ *Journal of Archaeological Institute*, vol. xii. p. 315. ² *Archæologia*, vol. xliii.

³ Figured in Miss Hartshorne's *Memorials of Holdenby*, p. 6.

⁴ Described in *Athenæum*, Nov. 11, 1899.

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found resembling those from Marston Hill ; and several circular specimens, including a pair with applied plates (fig. 14) bearing an embossed design like one from Kettering already described. An object generally known as a girdle-hanger was among the finds, and had probably served as a framework at the mouth of a reticule attached to the waist of Anglian women. The exact use of these bronze attachments has always been rather uncertain, but the question was virtually settled by the discovery of a specimen at Sporle, Norfolk, to which some textile had evidently been attached by metal rings.¹ The small clasps (figs. 13, 15) mentioned in the account of the Holdenby excavations resemble some already noticed from Marston and were no doubt used like them to fasten the bracelet. Several of the brooches were silvered, and one had traces of gilding. Some iron rings of various sizes were found with the female skeletons, and in one grave were found a number of broken pieces of ivory, apparently the remains of a bracelet. Ivory is very exceptional in such finds, but there are in the British Museum similar bracelets from Sleaford in Lincolnshire, and Long Wittenham in Berkshire, and also a large brooch of ivory and bronze from Kempston near Bedford.

All the interments discovered on this occasion were as before near the surface, in no case at a greater depth than twenty inches ; and many have doubtless been disturbed and destroyed in the past on this account.

In digging for the foundations of the Lunatic Asylum (St. Andrew's Hospital) at Northampton in 1836, several skeletons were found. The accompanying brooches, including one large specimen with the hollow parts gilt, resembled those from the Marston cemetery, but the find was not fully recorded.² Cinerary urns of various sizes have also been found in the town, associated with coins of the Lower Empire, while in 1837 on the same site signs of cremation were met with, also portions of two large square-headed brooches which are peculiar in having raised ornaments at the top corners as though in imitation of the garnet settings sometimes found on the better specimens of this class. They resemble in this respect specimens from Kenninghall, Norfolk, now in the British Museum, and others from Cambridgeshire.³ One has also studs projecting from the wings of the stem, and a similar stud occurs in the centre of a saucer-shaped brooch from the same site.

Seven years later in a tumulus now partly levelled but still to be recognized in Cow Meadow were discovered two small urns evidently not intended to hold ashes, with a pierced circular brooch having a fylfot in the centre and belonging to a type common in this county and in East Anglia.

Different opinions have been expressed as to the date of the earthwork at Northampton Castle, the difficulty being to decide how much earlier the mound was than the Norman structure.⁴ During some excavations

¹ C. R. Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii. p. 235 ; cf. *Archæologia*, vol. 50, p. 387.

² *Archæologia*, vol. xlviii. p. 337.

³ Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pll. 1, 5, 6.

⁴ *Associated Architectural Societies* (1881), *Northants*, p. 71 : 1880, p. 204, and 1882, p. 246.

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in 1880 a few articles of bone were discovered in the earth between the layers of stone, resembling others from the original surface of the soil. They were pronounced at the time to be of Saxon or even earlier date. In a small mound at the top of the embankment there was found at the side of a human skeleton a weapon or part of one, which was recognized as belonging to a type rarely met with in England but common on the continent. It is in the form of a single-edged knife, the edge of which is quite straight and ends in a sharp point ; the back to within a short distance of the point being strong and thick and terminating at the other end in a tang to fasten into the wooden handle, which was also found, but soon fell to pieces on exposure to the air. Another ' scramasax ' was found at Clipstone with a spearhead and knife, and is now in the Northampton Museum.

Future discoveries of burial-grounds may correct any conclusions which may be drawn from the material now collected ; but, with this preliminary caution, it may be laid down as a general rule that instances of cremation are met with north of the Watling Street and of the Tove valley, while extended burials of pagans are characteristic of the southern half of the county. Had the older records of discoveries given any hint of the orientation of the graves or even given the dimensions of the urns, the dividing line, if such existed, could have been more easily traced. But this grouping of the localities seems to afford a clue that in the present state of knowledge should not be neglected. Assuming for the moment that the north-and-south position marks an earlier period than the east-and-west, we find the earliest Teutonic inhumations at Marston Hill, Badby, Newnham, Norton and probably Welton, these being all south-west of the dividing line, while instances exhibiting a Christian influence are met with at Desborough north of this line, and at Ecton, Islip, and probably Great Addington, all in the lower Nene valley. Cremation not associated with interments of the entire skeleton can on the other hand be traced at Kettering, Woodford, Cransley, Cranford and Peterborough to the north, and at Pitsford and Northampton itself on the limit of the district. The three cinerary urns from Marston perhaps held the remains of Mercians who had come south under Penda, and had met their death before the Gospel had been preached in these parts : these may provisionally be assigned to the second quarter of the seventh century. But apart from these, the discovery of urns and skeletons together in the centre of the county at Brixworth, Holdenby and Desborough, though the cases are not all uniform, suggests that a tribe presumably Anglian barely penetrated into the uplands between Rugby and Naseby before the spread of Christianity ; for urns do not seem to occur as a rule in Northamptonshire with skeletons placed with the head to the south or the south-west in the pre-Christian manner. The excavator of the Desborough cemetery regarded these mixed burials as a sign of transition from cremation to inhumation.¹ This may be true where urns are found with bodies

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xlv. p. 467.

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placed with the head to the west, but it does not account for the presence of cinerary urns in cemeteries where the direction of the graves was fixed by pagan custom. It should be noticed in this connection that there is no mention of ordinary urns at Addington, Islip and Ecton, though some were discovered at Woodford. This may be due to accident or to defective observation, for all these localities were probably occupied by settlers of the same tribe. And it would be as idle to deny the presence of Angles in the upper Nene valley during the pagan period as to assign the graves at Ecton to the tenth century on the ground that coins of Æthelred were found during the excavations. The burials in this part of the county may be roughly attributed to an Anglian people of the century following the arrival of Christian missionaries in the midlands.

It is however clear that even on the line of the Portway, where Saxon influence would be felt more than anywhere else in the county, there is a predominance of Anglian ornaments in the graves, and written history furnishes the clue to a rational explanation. The Angles are generally allowed to have been the most numerous among the Teutonic tribes that overran Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries, and the present name of the country testifies to the eventual recognition of the Anglians as the main factor in the population. This is not the place to discuss the boundaries of the Saxon dominion in the pagan period, but there can be little question that Wessex, to which we owe our ruling line, did not extend farther north than about a line drawn from Daventry to Warwick even in its palmiest days before the rise of Northumbria in the seventh century. It was not till about the year 650, when the Mercian dominion had been for a quarter of a century gradually spreading southwards under Penda, the champion of paganism, that the exertions of Oswiu resulted in the conversion of the midland peoples to the new faith. Penda may have penetrated into the district between Daventry and Brackley along the Watling Street, which afforded easy access from his probable headquarters at Tamworth, and although it is unnecessary to assume that any violent occupation of this territory occurred during that period, the growth of Mercia and contact established with the neighbouring tribes to the north would account for the occurrence of Anglian elements in purely pagan burials within Northamptonshire. It is possible that Penda's folk also advanced south-east from the centre of Middle Anglia at Leicester along the Roman road¹ to the Nene valley; but though his successor is traditionally said to have been a party to the foundation of Medeshamstede, there are reasons for supposing that the Anglians advanced from East Anglia as well as from the middle or western kingdom. The view taken in the *Making of England* is that Penda retained but a weak hold on the South Mercians, who may have been the same as the Middle Anglians; and that 'the removal of Penda from his sovereignty over the Middle Anglians of Leicester shows that these too, probably with their neighbours the South

¹ This highway crossed the county on its way to Godmanchester and Colchester, and is generally called the Via Devana; but the term is not adopted here for reasons given above (p. 205).

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Anglians of Northampton, were freed from the supremacy of Mercia.' The death of Penda was the signal for the disintegration of Mercia, and though the revival was not long delayed, it was under a Christian prince that the kingdom of Mercia, which as early as 628 had apparently extended as far south as Cirencester, recovered prestige that was to reach a climax under Offa at the close of the succeeding century. The altered circumstances in which Mercia emerged from her eclipse are reflected in the domain of archæology, where the new religion left its mark in the gradual abolition of the funeral rites of paganism. There is some historical warrant therefore for assigning those cemeteries in Northamptonshire where urn-burial occurs side by side with inhumation to the period of Mercian supremacy. It is interesting to notice that, so far as information is available, the skeletons that are found in the neighbourhood of urn-burials are, in this county at least, oriented in the Christian manner ; and the three instances of cremation at Marston Hill are not sufficient to invalidate the rule that in the cemeteries of the south the skeletons were deposited in the earth unburnt. Anglian influence in these sites is plainly discernible, and many of the relics point to a connection with Warwickshire and Leicestershire, which were no doubt colonized from the Trent valley. It is hazardous to draw a distinction within such narrow limits of space and time, but there are grounds for believing the region north of the lower Nene to have passed into Anglian hands at a somewhat later date than the west, seeing that the district in question, known to this day as Rockingham Forest, was not sufficiently fertile to encourage cultivation. That the Romanized Britons found here seclusion from the Teutonic intruders is more than probable ; and geographical considerations rather countenance the hypothesis that the Rockingham area was eventually entered by Anglians from the fen country bordering on the Wash. It has already been noticed that the Teutonic settlers eastward of Northampton seem to have practised cremation exclusively till the introduction of Christian burial ; and it is in East Anglia that cremation seems to have been most uniformly in vogue. Between Norfolk and Peterborough however was the territory of the somewhat mysterious people called Gyrvi or Gyrwa. They were recognized as a political unit, if not as a distinct race, as late as the time of Bede, who mentions them more than once in his *Ecclesiastical History*, but very little is known of their affinities. There is no reason to doubt his explicit statement¹ that Peterborough was included in their country, nor is it likely that their attachment to the Fens would keep them from following the line of the Nene, which at that period can have been little better than a swamp, but gave access to a strip of valley that must have been thickly populated in the Roman period. Along this waterway there would be no natural obstacle to an advance, and it will be noticed that the Anglo-Saxon sites in Northamptonshire where urn-burial has been traced are all similarly situated on the banks of the Nene or its tributaries, where the upper-lias clay exposed by the action of the stream is surrounded at

¹ Bk. iv. chap. vi.

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the surface by the characteristic sand of the county. The geological aspect of the various localities in which Anglo-Saxon remains have been discovered is considered above, and is now referred to in order to emphasize the uniformity in more than one respect of the settlements north of the presumed line of the Tove valley and Watling Street. It is an easy step to the conclusion that these settlements were made by men of one race, with similar traditions and similar aspirations, and as conservative in their disposal of the dead as in their choice of a home for the living. That these men were Gyrwa is a conjecture that is not unreasonable in itself and would explain the apparent connection with East Anglia.

It will thus be seen that there is some archæological warrant for dividing the county into three sections: the southern portion being characterized by burials of the entire body, with traces of West-Saxon influence; a central area marked by cemeteries where the dead were buried entire or their cremated remains deposited in urns; and the north-eastern extremity in the neighbourhood of the Ermine Street, where the few burials that have come to light present a want of uniformity that contrasts with the regular interments beyond Watling Street. It is a remarkable and perhaps a far-reaching coincidence that these divisions correspond closely with the areas of dialectical varieties within the county. This can be clearly seen by a reference to the map of English dialects prefixed to the standard work on this subject by a former president of the Philological Society.¹

Northamptonshire is divided between two main districts, the southern and the eastern, the dividing line roughly coinciding with the Watling Street in its passage through the county. Along the northern boundary of both Northamptonshire and Rutland runs the line between the eastern and the midland linguistic areas; and running parallel to this till it strikes across Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire to the Wash, is the line south of which the peculiar northern pronunciation of a test-word does not occur. The greater part of the county is therefore included in the debatable area in which the pronunciation of the test-word is variable; and it is reasonable to suppose that this mingling of dialects is due to the absorption of West-Saxon districts north of the Thames by the Mercians during the seventh and eighth centuries. The area includes in any case east Gloucestershire, east Worcestershire and north Oxfordshire, all districts in which characteristic West-Saxon and Anglian remains have been met with in the cemeteries. And enough has already been said with regard to the apparent coalition of races in the western part of Northamptonshire, where the mingling of midland and southern dialects affords an exact parallel. All east of Watling Street, about three-quarters of the county, is included in the eastern dialect area, and a sub-dividing line from Rockingham to Fotheringhay separates the neighbourhood of Peterborough from the central portion of the county, where cemeteries have been found exhibiting both methods of interment and suggesting a mixed

¹ *English Dialects: their Sounds and Homes*, by Dr. A. J. Ellis, 1890 (English Dialect Society).

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population. The Peterborough district and the whole of Rutland are connected by dialect with Cambridgeshire; while the lower Nene valley, forming the centre of the county, is grouped with Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and Essex.

The line joining the two historic castles of the Welland and Nene valleys is only an approximate frontier, and an equally convenient and perhaps a more logical one is to be found here, as further westward, in a Roman highway. The Leicester road fairly parts the mixed cemeteries of the centre from the north-east of the county, and is virtually the same as the linguistic boundary on the dialect map.

In the light of these two instances it may not be out of place to suggest that Roman roads may have played an important part as boundaries in the early days of the Anglo-Saxon conquest. Conditions had no doubt changed by the time that the midlands came to be parcelled out and stretches of Roman highway used as the border of kingdoms and counties; but even during the pagan period these monuments of Roman civilization may have exercised considerable influence. It has often been remarked that the Romanized Britons took to the towns or chose sites within easy reach of the highways that connected the larger towns. After the withdrawal of the legions the Teutonic immigrants, who studiously avoided such localities, spread far and wide over the country; and it is just possible that for a period long enough to leave its mark in varieties of dialect, the Romano-Britons along these lines served to isolate one group of settlers from another till a social amalgamation was finally completed under the influence of Christianity.

Whether the coincidences above mentioned between linguistic and archæological areas are more than accidental may in the present state of knowledge be doubted, but should not be overlooked as a possible explanation of the diverse burial customs noticed within the county. Archæological discoveries are but seldom recorded in detail, but the objects to some extent speak for themselves; and the presence of radiated brooches, for instance, in the north of Huntingdonshire,¹ in Cambridgeshire,² in Essex and Lincolnshire³ would be easily accounted for by supposing that the kindred inhabitants of these counties, through which runs the Ermine Street, kept up some connection with the southern shore of the Thames estuary; for there is little doubt that the brooch in question belongs to a continental type, numbers of which were imported into Kent.

Further, without asserting that the dialect noticed in the strip of country between Wisbeach and Oakham is directly descended from the tongue of the Fenmen, it is more than probable that this area with Cambridgeshire formed a considerable portion of the territory in which the isolated Gyrwa so long maintained their independence and no doubt their peculiarities of language.

Among the miscellaneous discoveries of which the accounts are

¹ *Journal of British Archæological Association*, 1899, p. 346.

² Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pl. 8.

³ Both in British Museum.

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incomplete or altogether wanting, some have a special interest apart from their connection with burials of one kind or another. The foremost place must be given to a massive finger-ring (fig. 5)¹ of pure gold found in the river Nene near Peterborough, in spearing for eels, immediately under the Great Northern Railway viaduct, about 300 yards above the site of the ancient bridge. This remarkable relic has a cylindrical hoop, on which are two opposite bezels, with sets of three large pellets on both sides of them. On one of these circular plates is engraved a geometrical rosette with a cross in the centre (fig. 5a); and on the other, three triangles interlaced (fig. 5b), while the edges are ornamented with zigzags, and the loop with two open knots. All the designs are filled with niello, but their signification is uncertain. The triangular device which occurs on a piece of elk-horn from an island in the Lake of Mælär, Sweden,² and seems connected with the worship of Frey, has also been considered an emblem of the Trinity, and has certainly survived to the present day as a Masonic symbol. The prominent pellets at once present an analogy to a type of Merovingian rings found in considerable numbers on the continent;³ but the bezel generally bears a monogram or a bust with inscription. On the other hand, though niello is often found on Roman jewellery, the knotwork certainly points to a later date, and perhaps the safest course is to assign this Peterborough ring to the early Carolingian period, about the year 800, by which time the interlacing riband patterns, which are to be seen at their best in the early Irish manuscripts dating from the eighth century, were spreading over the north-west of Europe, and the arts of Rome were reviving under the patronage of Charlemagne.

Next in importance comes the richly ornamented jewel⁴ (fig. 1) found in a cemetery at Hardingstone in the year 1860, and now in the museum formed by the late General Pitt-Rivers at Rushmore.⁵ It was described in the sale catalogue of the Bateman collection as an Anglo-Saxon brooch (which it is not) in circular form, of bronze with a gold front, decorated with a centre setting and a cross band formed of four fishes extending to the border. In each angle is a wedge-shaped ornament set with a garnet on a diapered gold ground, and having at each extremity a circular setting originally filled with a garnet. The remaining portion of gold-work is chased with a delicate interlacing pattern, which is made up of animals with riband bodies, the convolutions of which can be traced throughout, though the legs are detached in the more usual manner of the time in this country. At the back are five projections, four of which are pierced evidently for fixing the ornament to leather-straps, the marks of which at right angles to one another may be seen on the back of a set of very similar ornaments from Faversham, Kent, in the Gibbs collection at the British Museum. Comparison with these further

¹ Figured in *Journal of Archaeological Institute*, vol. xiii. p. 87 and vol. xix. p. 336.

² Mr. Romilly Allen refers to *Compte rendu* of Prehistoric Congress at Stockholm, 1874, p. 634.

³ Deloche, *Anneaux Sigillaires*.

⁴ Figured in the *Illustrated Archaeologist*, vol. i. p. 128.

⁵ The present drawing has been made by kind permission of Mr. A. Pitt-Rivers.

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suggests that four tongues were fixed to the hinges which were originally four in number round the edge. It will be noticed that the leading motive of the design is a Greek cross, on the arms of which are represented four fishes. Comparison with continental specimens¹ shows clearly that both the cross and the fish are here symbolic of the Christian faith; the former taking the place of the earlier Chi-Rho monogram, and the latter long surviving the period of persecution in which it had its origin.

Another highly decorated jewel was figured and described in the *Gentleman's Magazine*² just a century ago. It had been found five or six years previously, but the locality is uncertain. The original account says it was associated with some human bones at a spot somewhere between Husband's Bosworth in Leicestershire and Welford which stands on the border of Northamptonshire. Whether this brooch was found within the limits of the county is therefore open to question, but the late Sir Henry Dryden made a drawing³ of it now among his papers at Northampton and called it 'the Naseby brooch.' The site in that case would still be on the road leading to Bosworth, and would justify the inclusion of the object among the antiquities of Northamptonshire, but no particulars of the discovery are given in the sale catalogue of the Baker collection (1842) to which he refers, and it may be a simple error, as Naseby occurs on the line above. The brooch is in the form of a flat ring, the hollow centre being spanned by the pin. The front is of gold, half an inch in width, with gold filigree and four pearls, each set with a slab of garnet, and is fastened by gold wire to a thin plate of silver which forms the base. But better than any description is the coloured drawing in Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxxii. fig. 2.

Other minor discoveries in the county are a small urn and iron knife from Thenford, not far from Marston St. Lawrence; the objects being figured and described as of the Roman period in Beesley's *History of Banbury* (p. 31), and now preserved at Northampton with one of three similar urns from Cranford.

An interesting relic of the late Saxon period is a book-clasp (fig. 7) found on the site of the Cathedral singing-schools at Peterborough and now in the British Museum. It is of triangular form, with a convex surface on which is a raised design of intertwined animals, which constituted the leading ornamental motive in the art of north-western Europe after the combination of Irish interlacing with the animal forms of the Carolingian Renaissance.

A century and a half ago some remains, apparently Saxon, came to light not far from Market Harborough, and are thus insufficiently described in the *Gentleman's Magazine*:⁴ 'In a gravel pit on the north-east side of Little Bowden field near the river Welland were found several

¹ Baudot, *Sépultures Mérovingiennes de la Bourgogne*, pll. xii., xiii. and pp. 47, 92.

² 1800, p. 121, pl. iii. fig. 1, and 1815, p. 209; another drawing is given by de Baye, *Industrial Arts*, pl. ix. fig. 5.

³ Communicated by the Curator of the Northampton Museum, whose *Archæological Survey of Northants* has been of much service.

⁴ 1757, p. 21.

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fragments of urns with four or five pieces of copper coin not legible ; as also some little bits of brass of an uncommon form, probably used about the garments of the deceased.' A remarkably well-preserved spearhead now at Northampton was unearthed with a shield-boss in 1867 at Brackley from a depth of eight feet, about one foot below what appeared to be the bottom of an old pond. And from Borough Hill, a British and Roman site which has yielded but little of Anglo-Saxon date, the county museum has a small square-headed brooch like some from Peterborough, a bronze buckle and pin, glass beads and two coins of the Constantine family pierced for use as pendent ornaments like those already mentioned from Welton. At what period such pieces ceased to be current is uncertain, but Anglo-Saxon coins are practically confined to the Christian period.

Though large quantities of our earliest English money have survived to our day, it is seldom that the site of such discoveries is recorded, and rarer still are the occasions when other objects are found associated with coins, and can thus be approximately dated. Of the earliest common type of Anglo-Saxon coins, the small thick silver pieces known as sceattas, single specimens have been found at Brackley, Dingley and Chipping Warden. After the introduction of the penny towards the end of the eighth century, the sceatta was no longer coined ; and the currency now took a more imposing form, bearing in each kingdom the name and image of king or archbishop. A silver penny of Offa, the first to coin them in England, has come to light at Newton Bromshold ; others of Edward the Elder (901-924) and Æthelward, Archbishop of Canterbury (798-805) at Brixworth ; of Æthelstan (925-940) at Bulwick ; of Ethelred II. (978-1016) at Weldon and Ecton ; and of Edward the Confessor (1042-1066) at Wellingborough. During excavations at Northampton Castle¹ others were found of Edward the Elder, Eadgar (959-975), three St. Edmund pieces of the tenth century, and one of Edward the Confessor. The value of these finds is slight enough, but a coin of Cuthred, king of Kent (798-806) was found about 1877 in ironstone workings near Brixworth, with a ring-headed pin of iron, about 6 inches long, with remains of silver-plating upon it. On one side of the disc is an interlaced ornament terminating in birds' heads ; the other was originally set with a stone, probably a garnet, and has the head of a quadruped engraved upon it. This somewhat uncommon relic is preserved at Northampton, and has been figured with the coin in the *Antiquary*, vol. xxx. p. 104.

It was not till 972 in the reign of Eadgar that a mint² was established in the county. Stamford had been included in the Danelagh, and known as one of the five burghs that figure so largely in the troubled times of the tenth century. The main part of the town always belonged to Lincolnshire, but the Anglo-Saxon moneyers worked in the Northamptonshire

¹ *Associated Architectural Societies* (1882), *Northants*, p. 246, gives numismatic details.

² Described by Mr. Samuel Sharp in *Numismatic Chronicle*, new series, vol. ix. p. 327 ; *Journal of Archæological Institute*, vol. xxxv. p. 272.

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part known as Stamford Baron or St. Martin's, on the south side of the Welland ; and it is interesting to find that coins of Stamford mintage are specially common in Scandinavian finds.

Of the later Anglo-Saxon or Danish period there are many sculptured stones,¹ as is only natural in a county so rich in pre-Norman architecture, but these do not fall to be treated here.

There is little doubt that some of the earthworks² known as burhs or motes date from this period, and many interesting examples occur in Northamptonshire. Mr. Geo. T. Clark made the subject his own, and prepared a list,³ perhaps incomplete, including Earl's Barton, East Farn-don, Lilbourne, Rockingham, Sibbertoft⁴ and Towcester.⁵ In his well known work on mediæval military architecture and in separate papers⁶ he treated some of these in detail, convincing himself and many others that all of this type, a truncated cone of earth with base court all within trenches, are earlier than the Norman period. The question can only be finally settled by the spade, and it may here be mentioned that a Leicestershire earthwork⁷ very similar to Lilbourne showed traces of British, Roman, Saxon and later occupations. Whether the mound near Towcester church was the work wrought by Edward the Elder in April, 921, is open to question. The name itself as well as coins and pottery⁸ found on the site show Roman occupation, but do not date the actual mound ; and some recent writers⁹ are inclined to attribute many of the motes to the early Norman period. At Earl's Barton however the existence of an undoubtedly Saxon church tower within the stronghold is against this view, though Prof. Baldwin Brown says¹⁰ that the mound in the churchyard is probably not pre-Norman. Clifford's Hill overlooking the Nene opposite Billing is more likely to have been a mote than a Roman *specula* or observation hill ; and finally the earthwork at Castle Dykes¹¹ with its well preserved mound and lunette enclosures faces a camp of Roman or still earlier date on the other side of a small valley, which may thus have been the scene of military operations in the opening as well as in the closing years of the Anglo-Saxon period.

¹ A very imperfect list is given in *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, vol. xli. pp. 356, 357, 418 (at Moulton).

² A map with several marked is given in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. pl. xvi.

³ *Journal of Archaeological Institute*, vol. xli. p. 209.

⁴ Figured in *Gentleman's Magazine* (1801), pt. 2, p. 689.

⁵ Whellan's *Gazetteer* (1874), p. 547.

⁶ *Journal of Archaeological Institute*, vol. xxxv. pp. 210, 211 (Rockingham), and p. 112 (Earl's Barton and Lilbourne), for which see also Whellan's *Gazetteer* (1874), p. 356.

⁷ Castle Hill, Hallaton : *Proceedings*, Society of Antiquaries, vol. vii. p. 321.

⁸ Whellan's *Gazetteer of Northants* (1874), p. 547.

⁹ Especially Mr. J. H. Round, who has kindly supplied several useful references. *Quarterly Review*, July, 1894, p. 43 ; *Scottish Review*, Oct. 1898, p. 209 ; Mrs. E. S. Armitage's *Key to English Antiquities*, p. 52 ; and Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, *Proceedings*, 1899-1900, p. 260.

¹⁰ *The Builder*, Nov. 3, 1900.

¹¹ A plan is given in Baker's *History*, vol. i. p. 376.

DOMESDAY SURVEY

FOR the study and illustration of the Northamptonshire portion of the Conqueror's great survey, we possess some peculiar advantages. A Peterborough Abbey manuscript in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries contains a list of the county Hundreds, with the number of hides in each, these being severally classified. In a paper devoted to this document, which, so far as is at present known, is absolutely unique, I showed that it was really a 'geld'-roll older than the Domesday Survey, drawn up in connection with that land-tax commonly known as the Danegeld, but in Domesday almost invariably styled 'geld' simply.¹ To the same manuscript we are indebted for a list of the knights of Peterborough, that is, of the abbey's tenants who held by knight-service, together with the lands they held. This 'descriptio' is of much service for the illustration of Domesday.² Lastly, in what I have styled 'the Northamptonshire Survey,' we have a corrupt, but important document, which gives us the tenure of estates in the county about the middle of the twelfth century, and, being drawn up Hundred by Hundred, enables us to trace clearly enough the Hundreds existing at the time of the Conquest, which we could not have done without it, as the names of the Hundreds in Domesday are, for the Northamptonshire portion, untrustworthy and misleading. Although the object of this survey was, doubtless, the right assessment of the 'geld,' its entries throw a welcome light on the descent of the local fiefs in a period of peculiar darkness.³

The features of interest in the Domesday Survey differ widely according to the county. In Northamptonshire there is a marked absence of those incidental entries bearing on personal, political, or legal history, in which some portions of the great survey are comparatively rich. On the other hand, thanks to the auxiliary information afforded by the sources mentioned above, it is possible to obtain important results from the Domesday assessments of the manors, and to identify the tenants and undertenants named in the famous record in more cases and with more precision than is feasible in some counties. There is much

¹ See 'The Northamptonshire Geld-roll' (*Feudal England*, pp. 147-156).

² See 'The Knights of Peterborough' (*Ibid.*, pp. 156-168).

³ 'The Northamptonshire Survey' (*Ibid.*, pp. 215-224), and pp. 357-389 below).

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to be said on both subjects which is not to be found in the existing histories, valuable though they are, of Bridges and Baker. And more especially is this the case with the study of the county assessments.

It is only very recently that we have begun to realise how ancient and how important is the history which underlies the local assessments entered in Domesday Book. In the southern half of England the Domesday unit of assessment was that mysterious 'hide' of which the meaning has been long disputed, and of which the derivation is even now obscure. Northamptonshire, like other counties to its south, and like, also, Warwickshire on its western, and Huntingdonshire on its eastern border, was assessed in 'hides' and 'virgates,' the 'virgate' being merely the quarter of a 'hide.' But Leicestershire to its north, like Lincolnshire, belonged to that Danish district of England which was assessed, not in hides, but in carucates and bovates, the bovate representing the eighth part of a carucate. This position of Northamptonshire on the border of the two districts has to be borne in mind.

Until explained and reduced to order, the number of the hides and of the ploughlands assigned to each manor in Domesday are, at first sight, meaningless enough. But they represent the *disjecta membra*, the surviving fragments of a system. To reconstruct that system is the function of the Domesday student. In his *Domesday Book and Beyond* Professor Maitland has shown that in what he terms 'The county hidage'—a document which he deems older than the Conquest—Northamptonshire is assigned 3,200 hides. The next document in order of date is what I have styled 'the Northamptonshire geld-roll,' and which I assign to the reign of the Conqueror, although it cannot, I hold, be later than 1075, for it mentions Edward's widow (who died in that year) as 'the lady, the king's wife.'¹ Professor Maitland, who accepts my view of this document and its nature, points out that it implies the existence of thirty-two 'hundreds' of hides, although it only actually accounts for 2,663½. But it is when we come to Domesday Book (1086) and to the Pipe Roll of 1130 that we find an extraordinary reduction on either of the above totals. The latter record debits Northamptonshire with no more than 1,192¾ hides. It is the view of Professor Maitland that this great change is accounted for by a sweeping, though unrecorded, reduction of assessment under William I.²

At this point it may be desirable to give an analysis of the 'geld-roll,' the only document of this character known to exist in England, and one for which I have claimed the status of 'our earliest financial record.'³ The successive columns represent: (1) the land which had paid the tax; (2) the 'inland' which was exempt; (3) the king's land; (4) the land on which the tax had not yet been paid; (5) the land which

¹ *Feudal England*, p. 154.

² *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 457, 469.

³ *Feudal England*, p. 156.

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was 'waste'; (6) the total accounted for; (7) the nominal total on the roll.¹

<i>Hundred</i>	'Gewered'	'Inland'	King's land	Not paid	Waste	Accounted for	Nominal total
Sutton	21 $\frac{2}{3}$	40	10		28 $\frac{1}{3}$	100	100
Warden	17 $\frac{3}{4}$	40			41 $\frac{1}{4}$	99	100
Cleyley	18	40			42	100	100
'Gravesende'	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	35	5		41 $\frac{1}{2}$	100	100
'Eadboldes stowe'	23 $\frac{1}{2}$	45	5		26 $\frac{1}{2}$	100	100
'Ethelweardesle'	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	40		7 $\frac{1}{2}$	37	100	100
Foxley	16	30	21		33	100	100
Towcester	19 ²	40	20		21	100	100
Huxlow	8	15			39	62	62
Willybrook	7	11		31	13	66	62
'Uptune grene'	50	27		3 $\frac{1}{2}$	29 $\frac{1}{2}$ ³	110	109
Navereslund	4	59		8	12 $\frac{1}{2}$		160
Navisford	15	14			33	62	62
Polebrook	10	20			32	62	62
Newbottlegrove	44 $\frac{7}{8}$	72			33 $\frac{1}{8}$	150	150
Gilsborough	16	68			66	150	150
Spelho	20 $\frac{1}{2}$		[25]	16	28 $\frac{1}{2}$	90	90
'Hwicceslea west'	10	40			30	80	80
'Hwicceslea east'	15	34			31	80	80
'Stotfalde'	9 $\frac{1}{8}$	40			50 $\frac{1}{8}$	99 $\frac{1}{4}$	100
Stoke	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$			12	42	40
Higham	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	44			56	149 $\frac{1}{2}$	150
'Malesle'	12	30	8		30	80	80
Corby	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{4}$	[? 4]	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	48	47
Rothwell	10	20		15		45	60
Andverdesho ⁵	[26?]	25			39		90
Orlingbury	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 $\frac{1}{2}$			21	80	80
Wymersley	41	60			49	150	150

It is probable that this most important record was compiled in consequence of the changes of assessment which in turn, probably, were due to the large extent of land lying waste in the county at the time. The total of the land returned as 'waste' is represented by 886 hides (which should perhaps be 901), that is, one-third of the county. But how did the assessment of the county stand at the time when this roll was compiled? It is the view of Professor Maitland that at the time of this roll, which belongs to the earlier half of the Conqueror's reign, the assessment was still as high as 2,664 hides, but that 'between 1075 and 1086 the

¹ The whole document is printed in Ellis, *Introduction to Domesday*, I. 184-187. This text was collated by me (for *Feudal England*) with the original MS., which, however, is itself corrupt in places.

² Wrongly given by Ellis as 'xviii.'

³ Wrongly given by Ellis as 'viii. and xx.'

⁴ The text here is evidently corrupt.

⁵ There are clearly some words omitted here in the Peterborough transcript. We must read: 'and thereof is "gewered" [? 26 hide and] five and twenty hides inland.'

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[a] county was relieved of about half of its hides.’¹ After long and careful consideration of the subject, I am of opinion that the roll, on the contrary, records a vast reduction of assessment previous to its compilation. We should indeed naturally expect that such reduction would follow promptly on the impoverishment of the district by ‘waste’ (if such was its cause), and not be granted later on when the county was recovering from its effects. But we need evidence to that effect. Such evidence, I think, is found in the second column. It must be remembered that the document itself, when it gives the nominal assessment of a Hundred, uniformly adds to that total the words: ‘So it was in King Edward’s day.’ This assessment, therefore, is only given as that which was in force before the Conquest. If we now turn to the second column, we find it headed ‘Inland.’ Discussing the meaning of this term, I defined it as that by which ‘Domesday describes land not liable to geld’; in Oxfordshire it meant land not subject to geld at the time when it was so described. In short, ‘the true meaning of “inland” is land free from liability to geld (“quæ est sine geldo regis”).’²

Now on looking carefully at the ‘Inland’ column, it will be observed that the amount is the same for the first three Hundreds on the list, and that, in all, seven Hundreds have exactly 40 hides—neither more nor less—‘Inland’ each. Moreover, two have 30 hides, and two others 20 hides, and one 60 hides.³ These, from their regularity, must be arbitrary sums. The conclusion, therefore, at which I arrive, is that these ‘hides’ of ‘Inland’ represented the reduction of assessment granted by the Crown on each Hundred since the Confessor’s death. The grand total of these deductions seems to have amounted, at the time of the Roll, to $935\frac{3}{4}$ hides on the 2,664 of the assessment under Edward. It would perhaps be slightly larger if the text were not corrupt, but in any case it was considerably increased before the Pipe Roll of 1130.

The probable cause of this reduction is an interesting subject for enquiry. Professor Maitland seems to have considered that Northamptonshire was relieved because the old assessment was far too high. My own suggestion was that the appalling proportion of the county which was returned as ‘waste’ in the ‘geld-roll’ pointed to some terrible devastation, such as is actually recorded in the English Chronicle under 1065.⁴ It is thus described by Mr. Freeman, paraphrasing the words of the Chronicle:—

Morkere’s Northern followers dealt with the country about Northampton as if it had been the country of an enemy. They slew men, burned corn and houses, carried off cattle, and at last led captive several hundred prisoners, seemingly as slaves. The blow was so severe that it was remembered even when one would have thought that that and all other lesser wrongs would have been forgotten in the general

¹ *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 457.

² See, for the above quotations, *Domesday Studies* (1888), pp. 107–110.

³ Four other ‘Inland’ totals are multiples of five, and others approximate closely to such multiples.

⁴ *Feudal England*, p. 149.

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overthrow of England. Northamptonshire and the shires near it were for many winters the worse.

It would seem to confirm the view I have advanced, that a careful study of the manorial valuations entered in Domesday reveals a general recovery in values between 1066 and 1086. On the great fief of the Count of Mortain they had risen from £71 11s. to £129 16s.; on that of William Peverel, from £47 12s. 8d. to £74 16s. 8d.; on that of Hugh de Grentmesnil from £18 13s. to £30 10s. The inference I draw from these figures is that the devastated manors had gradually been stocked afresh.

The above considerations invest with peculiar importance the Domesday valuation of the county. If we examine first that of its neighbours, we find that Mr. Pearson, who devoted special attention to the subject, reckoned that, on the east, Bedfordshire showed, between 1066 and 1086, a decrease in values from £1,474 11s. 8d. to £1,096 12s. 2d., and Huntingdonshire a decrease from £899 15s. 4d. to £864 15s. 4d. Buckinghamshire, on the other hand, shows an increase from £1,785 6s. 2d. to £1,813 7s. 9d., and Oxfordshire a much larger one—£2,789 15s. 5d. to £3,242 2s. 11d. Lastly, on the north, Leicestershire displays an amazing increase—£491 4s. 4d. to £736 3s.¹ For Northamptonshire itself Mr. Pearson's figures are these:—

	1066	1086
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
King's land	581 16 1	616 12 8
Church lands	149 6 4	296 12 2
Tenants in chief	676 0 11	929 15 7
	1407 3 4	1843 0 6

This shows a substantial increase of over 30 per cent. But the special feature of these figures is the great rise in the Church lands, which had all but doubled their value. And this rise is the more remarkable when reference to Domesday shows us that it is mainly due to the startling changes in the values of the many manors held by Peterborough Abbey. Now a still closer investigation reveals, I think, the fact that this was not so much a rise as a sharp recovery in value. Peterborough itself, for instance, which was worth only £1 in 1066, is entered as worth £10 in 1086. Werrington, to its north, had risen from £1 to £4, and Glinton, on the road to Market Deeping, from £2 to £10. Two manors, Tinwell and Easton, facing one another on the Welland, just above Stamford, had increased their value from 10s. to £7, and from 2s. to 30s. respectively. Warmington, one of its manors lying to the north-west, had risen from 5s. to £11, other portions of

¹ Pearson's *England in the Middle Ages*, I. 668.

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that manor improving from 2*s.* to 3*s.* and from 5*s.* to 4*s.* respectively. What can be the meaning of these figures? It is my belief that they point to these and similar manors having lain 'waste,' as it was termed, in 1066. That a manor could be worth a nominal sum, even when lying 'waste,' is shown by the cases of Charlton and Foxley, which are entered together in Domesday (fo. 223*b.*). In both these cases we read: 'It is waste; yet it is worth five shillings.'

If, then, these entries point to some devastation, we ought to examine them throughout the county, and see if their distribution can be made to enlighten us on the subject. With this object I have constructed tables containing every manor which had doubled, or more, in value within the twenty years, and then I have selected out of these the comparatively small number of which the value had increased five-fold or more. The locality in which are found most of the latter class is one that is full of significance; it is the valley of the Nen between Warmington and Northampton. With Warmington itself we have already dealt. Distributed round it in a quarter circle are Polebrook (5*s.* to £2 and 2*s.* to £1), Oundle (5*s.* to £11), and Cotterstock (5*s.* to £3). Just beyond, up the Nen, are Stoke Doyley (10*s.* to £5 10*s.*) and Pilton (5*s.* to £3 10*s.*). Luddington, also, had risen in value from 10*s.* to 30*s.* There is no questioning the evidence of figures so decisive as these; including Warmington the whole group had risen, we see, in value from £2 14*s.* to £41 10*s.* Following up the valley of the Nen, we have notable rises at Titchmarsh (£4 to £9 15*s.*), Woodford (£1 10*s.* to £4 10*s.*),¹ Addington Magna (10*s.* to £2), and Irthlingborough (£1 to £5). Further up, Irchester had risen from £1 to £8, and Knuston, adjoining it, from 5*s.* to 20*s.*

Apart from the above district there are others in which may be traced a recovery from some devastation. In the north-eastern extremity of the county, Barnack, with Burghley and Pilsgate adjoining it, had all quadrupled in value; Glinton, Warrington, and Castor (with Milton and Ailsworth) had all more than doubled; Wittering had nearly quadrupled, while Southorpe, adjoining it, had increased three-fold. All this evidence points to one conclusion. When, in 1065, Morcar marched south with the Northumbrian host, he would have entered the county at Stamford, advancing from Doncaster and Grant-ham. It is possible that the men of Lincolnshire who, according to the Chronicle, joined him, crossed the Welland at Market Deeping, but, in any case, his host must have ravaged Peterborough, and the district lying to its north-west, before marching up the valley of the Nen to Northampton. The men of Derbyshire and Notts, who are similarly stated to have joined him, would have crossed the river at Market Harborough. Little Bowden, the spot at which they would have entered the county, shows an increase from 5*s.* 4*d.* to £1 10*s.*, which implies that it had been devastated. If

¹ Besides a small manor worth 10*s.* (in 1086) which had been 'wholly waste.'

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they marched south on Northampton they would next pass by Little Oxendon, where we have a rise in value from 1s. to 10s., and would also traverse Kelmarsh, of which the value had recovered from 5s. to 40s.

Meanwhile Eadwine was coming to his brother's help, and must, with his Mercian and Welsh host, have marched down the Watling Street. He would enter the county, therefore, at Lilbourne, where we find a recovery in value from 1s. to 10s., and have passed on through Crick (£1 10s. to £4 10s.) and Watford (10s. to £2), striking off through Whilton (10s. to £3), Brington (5s. to £1), Althorpe (5s. to £1), and Harleston (5s. to £1 10s.), and passing between Dallington (£2 to £5), and Duston (£2 to £5) to join his brother at Northampton.

Bearing in mind how small, comparatively, was the average rise throughout the county—an average itself largely due to these exceptional manors—we cannot really doubt that their striking figures have a meaning, and that the explanation must be sought in the devastating march of the earls' hosts in 1065, the results of which must have specially impressed a Peterborough Abbey chronicler. I have elsewhere shown that Sussex presents a similar phenomenon in its record of manors which, although 'wasted' by the presence of the warring hosts in 1066, had recovered, in the main, their value by 1086.¹

It is one of the advantages presented by this series of county histories that they are enabling the study of Domesday to be carried out in greater detail and on a more uniform system than has ever yet been possible. Writing, for instance, on Domesday as a whole, Professor Maitland could only suggest that Northamptonshire had its assessment reduced by about fifty per cent. But when we examine more closely the survey of this particular county, we are led to an interesting discovery. For, we shall find, it is practically certain that the reduction of assessment was not uniform, but varied, as I have shown it did in Cambridgeshire,² in different portions of the county.

A very peculiar and distinct phenomenon is presented by the Domesday assessment of south-west Northamptonshire. In the modern Hundreds of Fawsley, Warden, Sutton, Norton, Towcester, and Cleyley, in short throughout that portion of the shire which lies south of the Nen—except the Hundred of Wimersley, on the east—we find that the ratio of 'hides' to ploughlands is constant, and that this ratio is 2 to 5. To use less technical language, if a manor, in 1086, was assessed at two 'hides,' it was normally entered as containing land for five ploughs; if it was assessed at four hides, its land was said to be for ten ploughs, and so on in proportion. The extreme artificiality of this whole arrangement is accentuated by the fact that we sometimes find more ploughs employed on a manor than it is said to have land for. Moreover, though the Domesday assessment in 'hides' is, in normal counties, conventional, the number of ploughlands usually is not. The figures,

¹ *Feudal England*, pp. 150–152.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 50–53.

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therefore, for this district are altogether abnormal. There are, for instance, forty entries relating to the modern Hundred of Sutton ; in twenty-eight of these the hides stand to the ploughlands in the exact ratio of 2 to 5 ; in four others it is almost exact ; and the eight remaining ones do not differ from it widely enough to prevent the ratio for the whole Hundred being 2 to 5.¹

It is obvious that something must be hidden behind this artificial arrangement ; and it is the more obvious when we see, as the Domesday expert does, how peculiarly inconvenient its figures were, in practice, for the payment of the 'geld.' The point is too technical for full discussion here, but its essence is that a tax which was reckoned in shillings on the 'hide' could not be paid with exactitude on one or more 'fifths' of a hide, which were the fractions resulting from this peculiar assessment. To obviate this difficulty, the awkward fractions, we find, were in some cases ingeniously adjusted so as to preserve the assessment on the whole vill intact, and yet to enable its constituent portions to pay, each of them, an even number of pence. Of this, we have beautiful examples in Silverstone and Blakesley.

SILVERSTONE		BLAKESLEY	
Hides	Ploughlands	Hides	Ploughlands
1	3	1½	3½
½	1	½	1½
½	1	2	5
2	5	4	10

Here, the superficial inquirer might say, there is but one out of six entries in which the ratio is 2 to 5. And yet, when we group the entries under their respective vill, the ratio is seen to hold good, while the actual fractions are so adjusted that their liability under a tax of one or more shillings on the hide presented no difficulty. It was only, of course, in the case of fractions that such adjustment was needed.²

Now for this peculiar ratio I have advanced the explanation that it really represents the result of a great reduction of assessment, a uniform reduction of sixty per cent. My theory is that the so-called ploughlands of the Northamptonshire Domesday are not ploughlands at all, but represent the old assessment before this great reduction. That is to say, that when a vill is entered as assessed at four 'hides' and as containing ten ploughlands, the combination really means that its assessment has been reduced from ten units to four. This theory is so novel,

¹ See, for the details, my paper on 'The Hidation of Northamptonshire,' in *English Historical Review*, January, 1900.

² The whole subject is worked out in my above paper.

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so contrary to accepted views, that one would not venture to advance it without adducing strong and concurrent evidence in its favour. In the first place, a great reduction is insisted on, we have seen, by Professor Maitland, and the figures available point to that reduction having even exceeded the fifty per cent. which he thought probable. In the second place, if my theory be right, it at once brings this district into line with the other hidated counties, lying to its south and east, by assigning its vills for their old assessment arbitrary sums of five and ten ; for the law of 'the five-hide unit,' enunciated in my *Feudal England*, has received general acceptance. Thirdly, we shall find reason to believe that in other parts of the county also the so-called ploughlands of Domesday had once been units of assessment.

On crossing the Nen we enter a fresh belt of Hundreds—Guilsborough, Newbottle, Spelho, and Hamfordshoe. Here we can no longer trace so clear a ratio ; but there is a typical assessment, of which I will give some instances.

GUILSBOROUGH			NEWBOTTLEGROVE		
	Hides	Ploughlands		Hides	Ploughlands
Cold Ashby . .	4	8	Church Brampton .	4 ¹	8
Creek	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	8	Dallington . . .	4	8
Thornby . . .	1	2	Duston	4	8
'Nortot' . . .	2	4	East Haddon . . .	3	6
Watford . . .	2	4	Teton	2	4
Welford . . .	4	8	Whitton	1	2

SPELHO			HAMFORDSHOE		
	Hides	Ploughlands		Hides	Ploughlands
Abington . . .	4	8	Ashby Mares . . .	4	7
Billing Magna .	4	8	Earls Barton . . .	4	8
Billing Parva .	4	8	Dodington	4	8
Pisford	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Ecton	4	8
Spratton . . .	4 $\frac{1}{8}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	Wilby	4	7

Here, I think, we may similarly detect a reduction, not indeed of sixty, but of fifty per cent.² In Guilsborough Hundred, indeed, two-thirds of the entries in which we can be sure of our figures show us the hides standing to the ploughlands in a ratio of exactly 1 to 2. A further question, however, arises : Why was the typical number of ploughlands in this district eight, while south of the Nen it was ten ?

¹ Less 5 acres.

² It is very noteworthy that in the 'geld-roll' the Rutland portion of the county ('Wicceslea') is reckoned at the nominal amount of 160 hides. On the 1130 Pipe Roll it is reckoned at 80 hides (160 shillings), a reduction of exactly fifty per cent.

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One is tempted to suggest that, as the typical number was as arbitrary in the one as in the other, the eight units had originally been ten, and thus represented a previous reduction of twenty per cent. on the old total.¹

It is very difficult to detect the principle of assessment at work in the rest of the county till we reach its north-eastern portion. Here we observe a most suggestive contrast to the typical figures in the south-west. The vills of five or of ten ploughlands have entirely disappeared, and, in their place, are distinct traces of that duodecimal system which prevailed in Lincolnshire and Leicestershire. Here are some examples taken from those Hundreds of Nassaburgh and Willibrook which occupy the north-eastern regions of the county.

NASSABURGH			WILLIBROOK		
	Hides	Ploughlands		Hides	Ploughlands
Pilesgate . . .	6	6	Colly Weston . . .	2	6
Southorp . . .	2½	6	Cotterstock . . .	3	6
Castor . . .	3	12	Easton	3	6
Ailesworth . . .	6	12	Fotheringay . . .	6	12
Milton . . .	2	3	Tansor	6	18
Werrington . . .	8¼	12			
Glington . . .	3	12			

We are justified, I think, by these figures in holding that this district had been under the same Scandinavian influence as the adjacent region to its north. For when we turn to the entries on that region, we find Tallington, Lincolnshire, just across the Welland, assessed at 12 [5+7] 'carucates of land,' and Easton, Leicestershire, which similarly lay at the nearest angle of that county, assessed at 12 'carucates of land.' Between Leicestershire and Lincolnshire lay what is now Rutland, of which the south-eastern portion was then part of Northamptonshire, and though termed a 'wapentake,'² was similarly assessed in hides. This is not the place in which to discuss the assessment of Rutland as a whole ; but its close connection with that of the adjacent district of Northamptonshire requires some mention of it. The Domesday Rutland consisted of two wapentakes (the third being then in Northamptonshire), and, like Leicestershire and Lincolnshire, was intensely duodecimal. One wapentake consisted of two 'hundreds,'³ with 12 'geld' carucates and 24

¹ This suggestion would bring us appreciably nearer to the 3,200 hides of 'the County Hidage,' which Prof. Maitland believes to have been the original assessment of the shire, and would also re-establish the original prevalence of the normal unit of five hides in the district affected.

² See p. 268 below.

³ These Scandinavian 'hundreds,' consisting of twelve 'geld' carucates each, must be carefully distinguished from the Hundreds of the counties to their south, with which they had nothing to do.

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(*sic*) ploughlands in each ; in the other there was only one 'hundred,' consisting of 12 'geld' carucates, but this 'hundred' contained 48 ploughlands. These ploughlands were divided thus (*D.B. fo. 293b*) :—

	'Geld' carucates	Ploughlands
Oakham	4	16
Hambledon	4	16
Ridlington	4	16
	12	48

It is, I think, no mere coincidence that not only Lyddington, Rutland (then in Northamptonshire), but Peterborough itself, Wittering, Nassington, and Harringworth,¹ all in Northamptonshire, had 16 ploughlands each, as had the Peterborough manor of Great Easton, Leicestershire, in the angle formed by Northamptonshire and the modern Rutland.²

The above wapentake, with its simple distribution, shows us how the figure 16 might really form part of a rigidly duodecimal system. When we turn to the other wapentake (Alfnodestou), with its 24 'geld' carucates and its (alleged) 48 ploughlands, we find figures very helpful for explaining those of Northamptonshire, because, at first sight, they do not suggest either a fixed ratio or a strictly duodecimal basis. Here are the names in their order (*D.B. 293b*) :—

	'Geld' carucates	Ploughlands
Greetham	3	8
Cottesmore	3	12
Overton and Stretton . . .	3½	12
Thistleton	1	2
Teigh	1½	5
Whissendine	4	12
Exton	2	12
Whitwell	1	3
'Alestanestorp'	1	5
Burley	2	7
Ashwell	2	6

As a matter of fact, these figures, when they are added up, give us 24 carucates and 84 ploughlands (not 48). Their extreme value for the study of the figures in northern Northamptonshire consists in the demonstration they afford that a rigidly duodecimal arrangement may underlie figures which do not, at first sight, imply it. In the Hundred of Nassaburgh, for instance, we have similarly four manors with 12 ploughlands, and two with 6 ; but we have also one of 5, one of 3,

¹ Three miles from Lyddington and six from Ridlington.

² 'Ipsa abbatia tenet in Estone xii. carucatas terræ. Terra est xvi. carucis' (*D.B. fo. 231*).

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and two of 2 each, which would not seem to fit a duodecimal system. Yet the Rutland evidence, thanks to Domesday's introductory note (fo. 293*b*), enables us to see how such figures could be, and were, combined in twelves.

In the Hundred of Corby, which bordered on Leicestershire, we may trace the same influence as in those of Nassaburgh and Willibrook. Blatherwick, for instance, had 6 ploughlands; Carlton, 18; Corby, 9; Dingley, 9; Stoke Albany, 6; Wakerley, 6; and Weekley, 6. Nor should we forget that in that portion of Rutland which was then in Northamptonshire, North and South Luffenham together are assigned 24 ploughlands. Enough has now been said to prove that in the north-east of our county the ploughlands show traces of a reckoning as artificial as in its south-west, and that this arrangement was duodecimal in the former district and decimal in the latter. Tedious as may have seemed the process by which we reach this conclusion, the result is well worth it; for we learn from these figures that the Danish element from the north must have established a strong footing in a good part of Northamptonshire, although, as the Domesday assessment shows, it was so far driven back that not only the whole county, but one of the Rutland 'wapentakes'—a name which implies a Danish district,—was eventually assessed in hides, like the counties to the south.¹ It is, however, worth noting that a 'bovate' (which was alien to the 'hide' system) does occasionally appear, as if a stray survival. We may, therefore, compare this evidence, afforded by the local assessments, with that derived from the county place-names, in its bearing on the character and limits of Scandinavian settlement within the borders of the shire.²

The Hundred of Nassaburgh itself is said to derive its name, 'the *Nass* or *Ness* of Burgh', from its situation, stretching out in the form of a promontory between the Welland and the Nene;³ and within it we find such significant names as Northolm, Gunthorp, Worthorp, Dosthorp, and Southorp. It is, moreover, very remarkable that, in the Peterborough Survey, we find an entry (under Henry I.) that 'Gilbert owes 45 shillings from the two Hundreds "de Wapentach (*sic*) de Burch."' ⁴ This was the double 'Hundred' of Nassaburgh. Thus, although described as a 'Hundred' in Domesday, the Scandinavian name here survived, just as in Rutland, to its north-west, 'Wiceslea'—the Northamptonshire portion—is styled a 'Hundred' three times,⁵ and a 'Wapentake' five

¹ It is possible that the even numbers of the hides in the local Hundreds, as shown in the Northamptonshire geld-roll, may be due to the comparatively late date of this assessment.

² On the duodecimal system of the 'Danish' districts see my *Feudal England*, pp. 69–82, 86–90, 196, 573. It is only right, however, to add that my theory of 'the six-carucate unit,' while it has not been challenged, has not been endorsed, so far as I know, by historians. As yet, therefore, it represents my own view alone.

³ Bridges' *Northamptonshire*, II. 483. This suggestion is confirmed by the fact that the adjacent (south-western) angle of Lincolnshire was called 'Nesse' wapentake (*D. B.*, fo. 376*b*).

⁴ *Chronicon Petroburgense*, p. 167.

⁵ In one of these cases 'Wap' is written in the margin.

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times in Domesday. Further illustration of the survival in 'Nassaburgh' of the system prevailing to its north-east, beyond the Welland, is found in the very singular formula employed at Werrington, Wittering, and Glinton: 'There were, in king Edward's time, thirty ploughs' (fos. 221, 221b). For this is a Leicestershire formula.¹

Before we pass from this subject it may be desirable to recapitulate the chief conclusions at which we have arrived. It has been shown that the assessment of the shire originally stood in all probability at 3,200 'hides.' But, 'in the day of Edward the King,' the assessment stood no higher than 2,664. The 'geld-roll' figures lead us to believe that the difference is accounted for by reductions in assessment, varying in amount on certain Hundreds, some of the Hundreds being still rated at 100 'hides,' while others fall short, more or less, of that amount.² From this total of 2,664 a further subtraction was made, after the Norman Conquest, but before the date of the 'geld-roll,' by striking off so many 'hides' from the assessment of each Hundred as 'Inland' (exempt from geld). Lastly, a further reduction was granted even before Domesday, the final result being that the south-western Hundreds had 60 hides struck off their original assessment (instead of 40 as in the 'geld-roll'), while in 1130 the assessment of the whole shire had sunk to 1193 $\frac{3}{4}$ 'hides.'

We have further seen reason to believe that the 'ploughlands' in the south of the county represent an artificial decimal arrangement, while those in the north show traces of a no less artificial duodecimal arrangement, similar to that prevailing in the counties on which they border.

One of the special difficulties presented by the Domesday portion of Northamptonshire is that which is caused by its inclusion of manors in other counties. This is a disturbing element in more ways than one, for these intruding manors present features of assessment at variance with those prevailing in the shire. As an instance of this peculiarity, and of the confusion it may cause, the Northamptonshire fief of William Fitz Ansculf comprises four manors, of which one is in Rutland, one in Northamptonshire, one in Staffordshire, and one in Warwickshire! Nearly two centuries ago, Morton, an early student of the record, who had printed its text for Northamptonshire (1712), drew attention, in his MS. Notes, to this peculiarity.³ It is, however, only now that we can

¹ See Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 421, 469. Mr. Maitland, who seems to have been unaware of these Northamptonshire cases, points out that 'on no single occasion,' in Leicestershire, where this formula is used, is the number of ploughlands mentioned. But in the three Northamptonshire manors above, the number of ploughlands is given.

² This applies *pro rata* to the 'double' Hundreds and to those of (originally) 150 hides. It is probable that the curious sum of 62 hides, at which stand the Hundreds of Huxlow, Willibrook, Navisford, and Polebrook, is accounted for by a block reduction of 150 hides on the 400 hides of these adjacent Hundreds. This would reduce them severally to 62 $\frac{1}{2}$, or, excluding the fraction, 62.

³ Additional MS. (Brit. Mus.), 3560, fo. 159.

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make a really complete list of these extraneous manors. In Rutland alone there are more than twenty,¹ but these, it must be remembered, were included at that time in Northamptonshire. Staffordshire, though it did not touch the county, contributes three intruding manors, Marston, Lapley, and West Bromwich. In Warwickshire are Sawbridge in Wolfhamcote (just over the border), Berkswell and Whitacre (in the heart of the county), Over (on the Leicestershire border), and Whichford (in the south of the county).² Portions of the neighbouring Bedfordshire parishes of Farndish and Puddington are entered under Northamptonshire (fo. 225*b*), on the border of which they lie. In Huntingdonshire, but on the border of Northamptonshire, are Stibbington, Elton, Thurning, and Catworth; portions of all four are surveyed under the latter county. It is to Oxfordshire, however, that the greater part of the interpolated manors belong. As it was quaintly observed by Mr. Morton, they are found chiefly in 'two companies,'³ one of them at the end of the fief held by the bishop of Coutances (fo. 221), the other at the end of that of Hugh de Grentmaisnil (fo. 224*b*). The former consists of a group of villis in north-east Oxfordshire, Finmere, 'Hedham' (? Hethe) and Shelswell,⁴ with Glympton in the heart of the county, 'Oitone' (? Wootton), 'Hortone' (? Worton), and 'Egforde' (? Upper Heyford).⁵ The other 'company' consists of Cottisford, Charlton-on-Otmoor,⁶ 'Scipford' (Sibford Gower), and 'Scriptune'⁷ (Shipton-on-Charwell).

The remaining Oxfordshire locality is Mollington, which appears on fo. 226 as 'Molitone.' Mr. Stuart Moore identifies it as "Milton or Middleton Malsor," Northants, but the Domesday form of this place

¹ Ketton, Tixover, Barrowden, Seaton, Thorp, Morcot, Bisbrooke, Glaston, North Luffenham, South Luffenham, Great Casterton, Little Casterton, Horn, Lyddington, Essendine, Tinwell, Empingham, Tolthorp, Ryhall, Belmesthorp, and Tickencote.

² See text for proof of these identifications.

³ Additional MS., 3560, fo. 159.

⁴ These three villis formed part later of the Gloucester fief (*Testa de Nevill*, p. 104).

⁵ If I am right in these suggested identifications, we have here the survey of Wootton, Oxfordshire, hitherto supposed to be wanting. 'Egforde' is left by Mr. Stuart Moore and by the author of the valuable *Notes on the Oxfordshire Domesday* (1892), as an unknown Oxfordshire manor; but, as Upper Heyford, is assigned 5 hides, as 'Hegford,' under Oxfordshire, it can hardly be doubted that the 5 hides of 'Egforde' represent its other half, especially as its neighbour, Lower Heyford ('Haiforde'), was assessed at 10 hides. 'Hortone' is similarly unidentified by the above writers, but as the latter assigns the two 'Hortone' manors, surveyed under Oxfordshire, to Worton, this is probably the place. There is, however, a Horton, by Otmoor, on the Bucks border, with which Mr. Morton identified it.

⁶ Mr. Stuart Moore identifies this considerable manor as Carlton, Northamptonshire, which, however, duly appears, under 'Stoche' Hundred, as 'Carlinton' (fo. 223). There can be no doubt that the *Notes on the Oxfordshire Domesday* (p. 20) is right in assigning it to that county, like the manors which precede and follow it. Indeed, its identity with Charlton-on-Otmoor is proved by *Testa de Nevill*, p. 108.

⁷ These two manors are left unidentified in the *Notes on the Oxfordshire Domesday* (p. 20), but they appear together in the *Testa de Nevill* (pp. 100, 112), under the forms 'Sibbeford' and 'Shipton' (or 'Scipton'), as held of the earl of Winchester, an heir of Hugh de Grentmaisnil; and their entry there on pp. 103, 104 proves them to have been Sibford Gower (near Swalcliffe) and Shipton-on-Charwell respectively.

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is 'Mideltone' (fo. 227). Mollington lies in the extreme north of Oxfordshire, in an angle formed by Warwickshire and Northamptonshire, and is surveyed partly in Warwickshire as 'Mollitone,' partly in Oxfordshire as 'Mollitone,' and partly in Northamptonshire as 'Molitone.'¹

From such peculiarities as these in this and adjoining counties, Mr. Eyton argued not only that Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, and Staffordshire must have been surveyed by the same group of Domesday commissioners, but also that 'Northamptonshire belonged to the same Domesday circuit.'² This suggestion might account for much of the above confusion; but all conclusions on Domesday circuits have to be accepted with great caution.

In addition to the difficulty caused, as we have seen, by the entry, under Northamptonshire, of manors lying in other counties, questions have arisen as to the identity of manors in Northamptonshire itself. 'Haselbeech,' for instance, has been strangely confused with Cold Ashby, and Addington with Elton, as I have explained in the notes to the text (fos. 221, 223). It was most natural that confusion should arise between Luddington and Lutton on the eastern border of the county. 'Lidintone' and 'Lullintone' are found close together among the Peterborough manors in Domesday (fo. 221*b*); and Mr. Stuart Moore notes that 'there appears to be some doubt as to the proper identification of these two places.' Not only did they both belong to Peterborough Abbey; their bounds actually touched. We can, however, clearly discern that one of them had 'Lullington' for its mediæval form. Now a perambulation of the Huntingdonshire border, executed in 1244, and entered in the Ramsey Cartulary, shows that the vills of Winwick, Thurning, 'Lullington,' 'Lodington,' and Elton, follow one another in this position.³ This decisively identifies 'Lullington' as Luddington ('in the brook'), and 'Lodington' as Lutton. This conclusion, moreover, is confirmed by the 'Northamptonshire Survey,' which places 'Lillington' in Polebrook Hundred, in which Luddington is situate, while it assigns 'Lodington' to Willibrook Hundred, in which still is Lutton. So unlikely, however, might this seem, that Mr. Stuart Moore adopted the opposite identification in his edition of the local Domesday. Bridges, however, had rightly identified the 'Lullintone' of Domesday (the mediæval Lullington) with Luddington,⁴ and its 'Lidintone' or 'Luditone' with Lutton.⁵

¹ See *Notes on the Oxfordshire Domesday*, pp. 14, 20, where it is acutely pointed out that the 1 hide, under Northants, makes, with the 4 hides in Oxfordshire, the normal 5 hides, which group therefore must be older than the county boundary. The 5 hides entered under Warwickshire raise the total to 10 hides.

² *Domesday Studies, Staffordshire*, pp. 1-6.

³ *Cartularium de Rameseia* (Rolls Series), II. 40. Oddly enough, Mr. Kirk, in the index, identifies both as Luddington.

⁴ *History of Northamptonshire*, II. 402.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 462. 'Luditone' (fo. 222) was the portion of Lutton which Peterborough Abbey had made over to Ramsey Abbey, which held the rest of the vill, as 'Lodintune,' in

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This latter identification can be proved by the manorial descent. For though Bridges could not actually connect the 'Luddington,' which the Cromwells and Fitz Hughs shared under Henry IV. with the later 'Lutton,' it is clear that Gregory Lord Dacre, who sold his moiety of 'Lutton' under Elizabeth, was senior co-heir of the Fitz-Hughs, while Tateshall College, which the Cromwells endowed from their moiety under Henry VI., is found holding lands in 'Lutton' under Henry VIII.

As Luddington and Lutton have been confused, so have Duddington and Denton. 'Dodintone' is entered five times in the county Domesday, and two of these entries undoubtedly refer to Duddington (or Doddington), on the Welland, in the extreme north of the county. Bridges referred the other three to Denton, in Wymersley Hundred, near Northampton; and he was clearly right. For the first (fo. 222) places it, with Whiston and Brayfield, in Wymersley Hundred; the second (fo. 228*b*) places it in that Hundred, next to Grendon and Whiston; while the third (fo. 229), though the Hundred heading is wrong, places it between Bozeat and Brayfield. Mr. Stuart Moore, however, assigns all five entries to 'Doddington,' and, stranger still, Mr. Kirk in his index to the Ramsey Cartulary¹ identifies Denton (where Ramsey had a manor) as Doddington, although that Cartulary actually includes it in an 'extent' of Whiston. Lastly, one has to allow for amazing eccentricities of spelling on the part of the Domesday scribe. Little Billing is found, in entries close together, as 'Belinge' and as 'Bellica' (fo. 223), Blakesley as 'Blacheslewe,' and as 'Baculveslea,' Braybrook as 'Bradebroc' and 'Baiebroc,' Croughton as 'Creveltone' and 'Cliwetone,' and so forth. Stranger still, he sometimes gave the wrong initial letter. Draughton, for instance, occurs both as 'Dractone' and 'Bracstone'; Clopton as 'Clotone' and as 'Dotone.'² There is a parallel to this last mistake in the Domesday of Sussex, where the scribe has similarly confused 'cl' and 'd' in the MS. from which he copied. When we add to these peculiarities the fact that the 'Hundred' headings cannot be relied upon in Northamptonshire, unless they immediately precede an entry, it may be understood how difficult, and how, at times, uncertain is the process of identifying the places to which the Domesday entries refer.

The chief object of the Domesday Survey, that of securing an exact record of the liability to 'geld,' better known as Danegeld, has been dealt with above, at some length, in the section devoted to assessment.

There was, however, another subject on which the king needed information, namely, the dues payable to the Crown in what may be termed its seigneurial capacity as distinct from the special tax styled the 'geld.' This revenue was of two kinds: there were rents to be re-

Huntingdonshire. This proves Mr. Kirk's identification of the Ramsey Abbey manor to be erroneous.

¹ *Cartularium de Rameseia* (Rolls Series), vol. III. (1893), p. 397.

² Both these errors were detected by Bridges (II. 28, 421).

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ceived from the royal manors, whether of 'ancient demesne' or acquired since the Conquest; and there were certain payments, more or less archaic, often representing money commutations of some contribution due in kind.

The most striking feature, perhaps, presented by the local manors of 'ancient demesne' (that is, those which had been held by the Crown before the Conquest) is the roundness of the sums received from them. Hardingstone, Rothwell, and Brixworth were valued at £30 a year apiece, Gretton, Tansor, and Finedon at £20, Fawsley, Brigstock, Faxton, Kingsthorpe, and Upton at £15. Even in the very few cases where the sums seem to be odd, the same system can be traced. Thus, for instance, the adjoining manors of Nassington (£26 13s.) and Apthorpe (£13 7s.) constitute a joint whole paying £40. From this we may infer that Barnwell (£13 6s. 6d.) must have had some correlative, the payment from which would have similarly made its value even money. This valuation in round sums of the old royal manors is found in other parts of the country, and points to a primitive financial system.¹ The old rents, clearly, were revised at the time of the Domesday Survey, but with no definite results. Some were raised considerably, a few lowered, and a fair number remained unchanged. In addition to these ancient manors the forfeiture of earl Morcar had brought to the Crown Casterton (now in Rutland), together, doubtless, with King's Cliffe and Weekley, which had been held by his father Ælfgar. The death of Edith, Edward's queen, had increased the demesne of the king, as her heir, by the rich manor of Finedon, and by a group of manors in the Rutland portion of the country, which were farmed, *en bloc*, in accordance with a practice common at the time, by a great tenant-in-chief (in Hampshire), Hugh de Port.² The rental of all queen Edith's manors had been at least doubled since king Edward's time.

Northamptonshire is one of a group of counties which present in common a feature as yet imperfectly realised. This is the payment of certain sums for special purposes connected with the king. At the head of the survey of the shire we find this entry:—

Northantone scire reddit firmam trium noctium xxx. libras ad pondus. Ad canes xlii. libras albas de xx. in ora. De dono reginæ et de feno x. libras et v. oras. De accipitre x. libras. De summario xx. solidos. De elemosina xx. solidos. De equo venatoris xx. solidos.³

On turning to Oxfordshire, adjoining it on the south, we find a very similar entry, beginning: 'Comitatus Oxeneford reddit firmam trium noctium' (fo. 154b). Each county has to pay twenty shillings for a sumpter horse, and £10 for a hawk; and each has to make a contribution towards the king's hounds, though that of Oxfordshire is £23,

¹ See the *Commune of London and other studies*, pp. 70-72; *Feudal England*, pp. 110-115.

² Earl Morcar's manor of Casterton was similarly farmed by Hugh Fitz Baldric, a Yorkshire tenant-in-chief.

³ See Domesday text for translation and further comments.

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as against £42 from Northamptonshire. To the west of the latter county is Warwickshire, where again we find, at the head of its survey (fo. 238), a note of similar payments: twenty shillings for a sumpter horse, £10 for a hawk, and £23 for the hounds. It may perhaps explain the absence of attention hitherto given to these entries that the Index to Domesday Book is so deplorably imperfect (and, in consequence, misleading) as to give only two references to contributions to the hounds, although they are found in Gloucestershire and Bedfordshire, as well as in the three above counties. In the latter, which adjoined Northamptonshire on the east, three royal manors between them contributed £12 5s. to the hounds (fos. 209, 209b); in Gloucestershire, Cheltenham and three other of the king's manors had to supply bread for his hounds. But hawks, as well as hounds, were needed by the king. When a thegn died in Berkshire the hawks and hounds that had been his had to be offered to the king; and entries relating to these precious birds, their nests, their eyries, and their keepers, are plentiful enough in Domesday.¹ Ten pounds for a hawk, in the money of William's days, may seem an enormous sum; but under Worcestershire (fo. 172) we find similar payments from the shire, namely, twenty shillings for a sumpter-horse, and £10 in cash 'or a Norway (*norresc*) hawk.' In the reign of Henry II. the sheriff of Worcestershire had still to pay at the Exchequer yearly £13 'for hawk and sumpter-horse.' It will be observed that Northamptonshire had also to provide a huntsman's horse—or rather, its money equivalent—and a commutation for hay. The sumpter-horse was of great importance for a court which was ever on the move; some half a century after Domesday, the quaint document on the king's household proves that even the royal 'chapel' was packed upon his patient back. An entry (fo. 219b) relating to a doubtful locality, shows us an estate which paid ten shillings a year for the rugs (*feltræ*) that covered them.

A great and as yet insoluble difficulty is presented by the fact that while Northamptonshire was liable, as above, to pay annually 'three nights' ferm (that is) £30, Oxfordshire paid 'three nights ferm, that is £150.' It seems impossible at present to account for the great variations in the sums representing the night's (or day's) 'ferm.' Great groups of manors in Hampshire and the south-west paid, under this head, over £100;² on the other hand, the same due was paid by single manors, worth, in Sussex, no more than £20 or £30, while, in Cambridgeshire, a manor could commute its liability to provide 'three days' ferm' for £13 8s. 4d. It is interesting however, to learn, at least, the essential constituents of this 'ferm.' In Gloucestershire and in Cambridgeshire alike they were wheat, honey, and malt (fos. 162b, 189, 189b). Only wheat and honey are mentioned on the royal manors of Bedfordshire (fos. 209, 209b), but the malt, doubtless was included in

¹ In the famous *Dialogue on the Exchequer*, under Henry II., they are termed 'royal birds,' and the practice of offering them in lieu of cash is mentioned.

² The details will be found in the *Introduction to the Hampshire Domesday*, in the 'Victoria' history of that county.

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their 'other things appertaining to the ferm'; for Professor Maitland shrinks from 'attempts to measure the flood of beer' that our ancestors then consumed.¹ In addition to these payments in kind (or their money commutations), Northamptonshire was bound to make a yearly gift to the queen of (apparently) £5.² Those of Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, and Worcestershire were £5 each. In Bedfordshire a different system prevailed; from three royal manors the queen received in all eight 'ounces of gold' (nearly £5). To the interesting subject of 'the queen's gold' a chapter is devoted by the author of the *Dialogue on the Exchequer*, but when he wrote (under Henry II.) the amount that she could claim on payments to the King was still under discussion.

It must be remembered that not only the queen, but the king also received money from these counties, as well as his wheat and honey and other payments in kind. As it is now the fashion to detect archaic survivals in nursery rhymes, one may perhaps be permitted to suggest that we obtain a glimpse of that royal household to which these Domesday entries relate in those venerable and familiar lines:—

The king was in the parlour,
Counting out his money;
The queen was in her closet,
Eating bread and honey.³

What the money was which the king (or his agents) counted is by no means a simple question. The payments were made in silver pennies (*denarii*); but these might be reckoned 'by tale' simply, or might be due on the basis of twenty pence to the ounce, or again, as with the sum due from the county at large, might be payable in 'assayed (*blancas*) pounds of twenty pence to the ounce,' or, lastly, as at Finedon, 'weighed pounds of twenty pence to the ounce.' The chaos of systems prevailing at the Treasury was simplified under Henry I., and it may not, even under William, have been as bad as it seems, for the Domesday scribes had a habit, most misleading to the student, not only of using alternative phrases, but also of omitting at times as surplusage the qualifying phrases they added at others.

The revenue derived by the Crown from Northamptonshire was swelled by sundry items. Prominent among these were the profits of jurisdiction, or, as it was termed, 'soc' (*soca*). Both 'soc' and 'sokemen' are of frequent occurrence in the Domesday Survey of the shire, but the meaning of these terms is too vague, and the whole subject too technical for discussion here. The latest and most authoritative study is that of Professor Maitland, to which the reader is referred.⁴ It is, however, of great importance and of much local interest to observe that Northamptonshire, in Domesday, is distinguished from the counties

¹ *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 438, 441.

² Domesday combines this 'gift' with the payment due for hay, but the latter is entered separately under Wiltshire (fo. 64b), and its deduction would leave £5.

³ Mr. Stevenson, however, thinks that the honey may have been used for making mead.

⁴ *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 66-79 ('The sokemen'), 80-107 ('Sake and Soke').

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round it (Leicestershire excepted) by the large number of its *sochmanni*. This fact is best brought out in Mr. Seebohm's work, *The English Village Community*.¹ It is there seen that, while in Northamptonshire the proportion of 'sochmanni' was 13 per cent. of the population, it was only 1 per cent. in Huntingdonshire, 3 per cent. in Bedfordshire, and $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in Bucks. In Warwickshire and Oxfordshire, where free men ('liberi homines') are found instead of 'sochmanni,' the proportion is only $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. There remains the intensely 'Danish' Leicestershire, where the proportion is more than twice as high as in Northants, namely 28 per cent. It is clearly seen, in Mr. Seebohm's maps, that these 'sochmanni' were, as he asserts, the class characteristic of the 'Danish' district of England, so that we have here further evidence of that 'Danish' settlement and influence in the shire of which I claimed to find traces in the assessment of its northern portion.² Although certain dues, which varied in amount and in character, were derived from these 'sochmanni' by those who had rights over them, they admittedly held a higher and a freer position than the 'villeins.'

The consideration of 'soc' and 'sochmen' has somewhat drawn us away from the subject of the Crown and its revenue. We have yet to deal with Northampton itself and the rights which the king had there. So far as the 'geld,' or land tax was concerned, I have argued, on the evidence of the local 'geld-roll,' that the borough was assessed, in the Hundred of Spelho, at 25 'hides,'³ as were Bath and Shaftesbury at 20, Chester and Huntingdon at 50.⁴ But the king drew from the boroughs a revenue, as distinct from the tax. This revenue was derived partly from dues, such as the profits of jurisdiction, and tolls, partly from those houses which lay in his 'demesne'; for a borough, like a rural manor, consisted of two portions—the demesne, here in the king's lands, and the houses held by private persons, mainly tenants-in-chief. At Northampton, the sixty burgesses' houses which king Edward had held in his demesne had suffered some diminution by 'waste,' but a 'new borough,' such as arose in several towns under the Conqueror, already contained forty burgesses as an addition to the king's 'demesne.' The three great tenants-in-chief of the county held between them ninety-two houses, a hint, surely, that these houses were appurtenant, as was so often the case, to their rural manors. This conclusion is confirmed by a study of the other names of those who held houses in the town, most of whom will be recognised as holders of manors in the shire. The number of houses entered, in all, seems to be about 316. This total is rather smaller, it seems, than that of the houses at Leicester, but exceeds the total at Warwick. In annual value, the houses varied from threepence to sixteenpence; but a shilling was about the typical value. The actual letting value, however, may have been greater. The disproportion between the nominal values, then and now, of property is greater perhaps

¹ See pp. 86–89, and the maps there given by Mr. Seebohm.

² See p. 268 above.

³ 'Fif and xx. hida byrigland.'

⁴ *Feudal England*, p. 156.

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in the case of houses than in that of rural manors; but the primitive simplicity of the former at the time has to be borne in mind. In the case of one holding we can make an interesting comparison. Domesday assigns to the abbot of Peterborough, in 1086, 15 houses, worth 14s. 8d. a year, besides two which were 'waste.' Forty years later (1125-1128), the Peterborough *Liber Niger* gives the details of this holding. The abbot, it says, has in Northampton fourteen tenants, besides two houses which are empty. Twelve of these tenants pay him sixteenpence yearly (a sum of frequent occurrence), one eightpence only, because he acts as 'beadle to the others,' and the remaining tenant, Warin Mansel, 32 pence.¹ The total rental then, therefore, was 19s. 4d., an increase since Domesday.

Professor Maitland attaches some importance to the fact that ' (the) burgesses of Northampton ' are entered as paying £30 10s. a year to the sheriff, which sum 'belonged to his ferm' (*firmam*). For it bears on the question of collective liability, which implies some kind of communal action :—

' It certainly seems to tell us of a composition, not indeed between the burgesses and the king, but between the burgesses and the sheriff. . . . We may believe that "the burgesses" who pay this sum have a chance of making a profit. If so "the burgesses" are already beginning to farm the borough.' . . . 'If the burgesses make profit out of tolls and fines, . . . they may divide the surplus every year, or we may suspect them of drinking the profits as soon as they are made.'²

Northampton had to wait a century longer before it was allowed to 'farm' the borough direct from the Crown, instead of through the sheriff; and it only obtained the privilege then (1185) by paying for it 200 marcs (£133 6s. 8d.), and by submitting to have its annual render raised from £100 to £120. Other boroughs had a similar experience. The Domesday payment of £31 10s. had been raised to £100 even in the days of Henry I. It is taken for granted by Professor Maitland that the sheriff, in 1086, was already 'liable to the king for a round sum as the farm of the shire,' which was the *firma* spoken of in the above Northampton entry. This, no doubt, is the natural inference, but the fact that counties were farmed as a whole even at the time of the survey must not be taken for granted, although it is highly probable.³

One of the most difficult questions raised by the Domesday Survey of the shire is the nature and locality of that 'Portland' which is entered immediately after Casterton on fo. 219b. It appears to have baffled previous students, although they assumed that the entry must refer to Northamptonshire.⁴ It speaks of 'the other issues of the borough,' and

¹ See *Chronicon Petroburgense* (Camden Soc.), p. 166.

² *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 204, 208.

³ See my *Commune of London and other studies*, pp. 72-3.

⁴ Sir Henry Ellis placed 'Portland in Northamptonshire' (*Introduction to Domesday*, I. 263). Mr. Stuart Moore wrote: 'The king's demesne of Portland I can nowhere trace, but from the reference to the churches of St. Peter's and All Saints, it is possible that it had some connection with the town of Northampton, and was probably attached to the castle. This, however, is mere conjecture' (p. vii.). In *The Records of the Borough of Northampton* (1898)

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yet that borough can hardly be Northampton, of which the survey is separate and complete (fo. 219). If the 'port,' from which 'Portland' was named,¹ had indeed been Northampton, the entry should clearly have been found in the survey of that town. So far back, I discovered, as the beginning of the last century, this difficulty had been felt by Mr. Morton, who first printed the Northamptonshire Domesday. In his unpublished notes thereon² he ingeniously suggested that, as following Casterton, this entry might refer, not to Northampton, but to Stamford; and he induced Peck, in his *Annals of Stamford* to adopt this view. Unfortunately, neither of these writers tried to identify at Stamford any locality of the name; and, by ill luck, the churches named (All Saints' and St. Peter's) are found both at Stamford and at Northampton. It seems to be clear that no 'portland' has been met with hitherto at Northampton, but I have also searched the histories of Stamford in vain for such a name.³ The difficulty is greatly increased by the fact that Stamford stood in three counties, and that its Rutland portion was then in Northamptonshire. We shall see below that its own survey includes a piece of Northamptonshire supposed to have been unsurveyed.⁴

The only suggestion one can offer is that, as this 'Portland' is measured in 'carucates' (*carucatas*), it would probably be found in that 'Danish' district where land was so measured. Now when we turn to the survey of the Lincolnshire boroughs in Domesday (fos. 336-7), we find 'carucates' of land mentioned under Lincoln, Stamford, and Torksey. Moreover, under Lincoln we actually find one carucate belonging to a church of All Saints and half a carucate to St. Mary's (now the cathedral) in like fashion as with 'Portland.'⁵ It would seem, therefore, most probable that the 'Portland' of which we are in search was not connected with Northampton, but was a portion of Stamford field appurtenant to the king's manor of Casterton, and carrying with it certain dues from Stamford town.

Leaving now the Crown revenues and the survey of Northampton itself, let us turn to the rural districts, with their primitive agriculture, their struggling industries, and their great tracts of woodland.

As we might expect, the proportion of 'serfs,'⁶ which is highest in the west and south-west of England, is lower in Northamptonshire (ten per cent.) than in the counties to its west and south, where it ranges from thirteen to fifteen per cent., though it is substantially higher than

we read that 'It is not known where the demenses of Portland were situated, but they were probably part of the adjoining meadows' (I. 7). Dr. Cox, who edited Vol. II., succeeded in identifying a 'Port meadow' (pp. 164, 166) and has shown its position on his map.

¹ Port-reeve, Port-way, Port-soken, and the well-known Port-meadow at Oxford were similarly derived from 'port,' a market-town.

² Add. MS. 3560 (Brit. Mus.) fos. 159-165.

³ Blore's *Rutland*, under Casterton, gives no assistance; nor can I find this 'portland' mentioned either in the Hundred Rolls or in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II.

⁴ See p. 285.

⁵ 'Quarta carucata adjacuit in æcclesia omnium sanctorum. . . . Residuam dimidiam carucatam terræ habuit et habet Sancta Maria de Lincolia.'

⁶ See Mr. Seebohm's *English Village Community*.

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in Leicestershire, where it is only six per cent., and here again we are reminded that our shire occupies a border position on the edge of the 'Danish' district. It is, however, of more importance, perhaps, to observe that Domesday, in this county, associates the serfs closely, in its entries, with the lord's demesne, giving us thereby a clear hint as to their sphere of labour. It was pointed out by Ellis as a peculiarity of Northamptonshire that its survey 'appears to class the priest with the villeins and bordarii' (the class below the villeins); but to this I do not attach much importance. Some light is thrown on the rural economy of the shire and on its agricultural classes by the valuable 'Liber Niger' of Peterborough, which is about forty years later than the Domesday Survey.¹ Prominent in that record are the 'full' villeins holding a 'virgate' (or yardland) each, and the 'half' villeins with half a virgate. These tenants were bound to perform certain work on the lord's demesne in addition to the payments due from them in money or in kind. It is notable that at South Luffenham and Kelthorpe, in the Rutland portion of the shire, Domesday specifies that this labour was not limited, but was to be such as the reeve commanded.²

Ironworks or forges are mentioned at Gretton and Corby, and 'smiths' at Towcester and Green's Norton. For these the forests of the shire would provide abundant fuel. Markets are mentioned at Oundle and at Higham (Ferrers), the former being valued at twenty-five shillings a year, and the latter at twenty. The 'forum' also at King's Sutton, entered as worth twenty shillings, was doubtless a market. The 'money-changers' of the market at Oundle and the payments due from them to the abbot are mentioned some forty years later in the Peterborough 'Liber Niger.' Quarries, which are mentioned in Sussex and Surrey, are not spoken of in Northamptonshire; but this is no proof that they did not then exist there.

In addition to their value for fuel, for fences, and for building purposes, the forests contributed so largely to the wealth of the rural district by the sustenance their 'pannage' afforded to great herds of swine, that their extent, in some counties, was reckoned on the basis of their swine.

Apart from the forests of Rockingham and Whittlebury—the influence of which on the settlement of the shire is suggested by the Domesday map—Northamptonshire was rich in woodland. Although on those manors where the woodland was of small extent we find it measured in 'acres,' its usual mensuration is of a complicated character. Mr. Eyton, in his essay on the Dorset Domesday, discussed the peculiar measures employed for the purpose by the survey in Dorset as in Northamptonshire.³ In the latter county woodland was measured by perches, furlongs (*quarentenæ*), and leagues (*leucæ*). It is of some importance to determine the meaning of these words, in order to form an approximate conception of the extent of woodland existing in 1086. Perches and furlongs speak

¹ It was printed by the Camden Society as an appendix to the *Chronicon Petroburgense*.

² 'Homines operantur opera Regis quæ præpositus jussit' (*D. B.*, fo. 219).

³ *The Dorset Survey* (1878), pp. 24-35, 57 *et seq.*

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for themselves, the latter being (as their name implies) forty times as long as the former ; but the 'leagues' present difficulty. Mr. Eyton,¹ who evidently wrote under the influence of Ellis,² relied on a statement in the 'Ingulf' forgery, which the latter had accepted as 'good authority,' and arrived at the conclusion that the 'leuca' was a mile and a half, that is, twelve 'quarentenæ,' or 2,640 yards. The ultimate authority for this reckoning seems to be a Battle Abbey Register, where it is stated that the *leuca* contains 12 quarentines, and the quarentine 40 perches.³ Mr. Stuart Moore, however, has cited another record in which the proportions are the same.⁴

When we come to apply this reckoning in practice to Northamptonshire, certain questions present themselves. If a wood is said to measure so many perches, or even furlongs, in length, and so many more in width, we may look on the figures as possibly and even probably correct. But what are we to say to such figures as these for the Peterborough manors of Werrington and Oundle (fo. 221)? The woodland of the former manor measures two 'leagues' by one ; of the latter, three 'leagues' by two ! This would give, on Mr. Eyton's system, 2,880 acres of woodland to Werrington, and 8,640 acres to Oundle. But in 1535 the abbey had only 15½ acres and 208 acres of woodland in these two manors respectively.⁵ Allowing even for the clearances of four and a half centuries, these figures make one sceptical. The two royal manors of Gretton and Corby, which are entered together in the survey (fo. 219b) are, of course, in a forest district, and there is nothing inherently suspicious in the measurements of their woodland. At Gretton they are one 'league' by half a 'league,' and at Corby eighteen furlongs by four, figures which according to Mr. Eyton would represent 720 acres in both cases. But is it not obvious that measurements in which a 'league' is a unit are of the crudest character ? They cannot, in fact, represent actual measurements at all. When, on the other hand, we meet with such measurements as these, we must almost infer that a rod was used.

	furlongs.	perches.		furlongs.	perches.
Horn (fo. 220)	1	12	by		17
Potterspury (fo. 225) . .	6	14	"	2½	
Barby (fo. 226)		6	"		4
Paulerspury (fo. 226) . .	6		"	4	2
In Cleyley Hund. (fo. 226b)	3		"	3½	10
Astwell (fo. 227)	6		"	1	5
Empingham (fo. 227b) . .	1		"		10
Newton (fo. 227b)	½		"		5
Roade (fo. 227b)	½		"		4

But even in these cases the figures on the whole suggest that the

¹ *The Dorset Survey*, pp. 25-26.

² *Introduction to Domesday*, I. 159-160.

³ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, III. 241.

⁴ MS. Lansdown 761, fo. 69b. Document relating to 'Herleston' (see his *Northamptonshire Domesday*, p. 89).

⁵ Bridges' *Northamptonshire*, II. 405, 537.

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eye rather than the hand had measured them. Where, as at Braunstone (fo. 226) we read of 'one acre' of wood, we may suppose that it was kept up for the requirements of the manor. It is very singular that, in this instance, we find the manor, when held by the Ros family, more than four centuries after Domesday, similarly returned as containing 'one acre of wood.'¹

Another point which has to be considered is the size of the perch employed. As Ellis observed, 'a larger perch than that fixed by the Statute of Measures is still in use for woodland';² and there is some evidence to show that this perch, in mediæval England, was twenty feet in length. Such a perch, for instance, is mentioned in a grant to Grosmont Priory, *temp.* John, in Eskdale forest, Yorkshire,³ and again in an Ivichurch charter, *temp.* Edward II. in Clarendon forest,⁴ as also in a grant to Brinkburne Priory of land in 'Evenewode.'⁵ Agard too speaks of this perch of twenty feet. Therefore, when king John, in 1203, granted, in Northamptonshire, to the monks of Bec forty-eight acres 'of the new clearing according to his perch' (*ad perticam nostram*)⁶ quit of essarts, he probably referred to a standard perch as distinct from that in use for woodland.

But, apart from that increase of twenty per cent. in the Domesday measurements which would be involved by the use of a twenty foot perch, it is surely out of the question to assume that, at the time of Domesday, the woodland was either in rectangular blocks or was reduced, on paper, by elaborate calculations, to their equivalent; yet this assumption, it will be found, is involved in Mr. Eyton's calculations. In Lincolnshire we find similar measurements, even where the woodland is distinctly stated to be scattered (*per loca*) over the estate. We must therefore conclude that, in those cases where the Domesday measurements are large, it is not possible to reduce them to any definite number of acres; but, broadly speaking, there was a marked difference in 1086, as there is at the present time, in the distribution of forest land in the county. And although in such a case as that of Oundle we must not accept literally the Domesday measures, we may fairly infer that the process of clearing—or as it was termed 'essarting'—was carried on extensively during the Middle Ages.⁷

After surveying the manors held, at the time of its compilation, by the Crown, Domesday gives us, in their order, the tenants-in-chief (that is to say those who held directly from the Crown) with the lands they severally held. First come the church dignitaries, bishops and so forth, whether holding in their private capacity or as the official tenants of church lands. These are followed by the lay holders, headed by the

¹ Bridges' *Northamptonshire*, I. 29.

² *Introduction to Domesday*, I. 159.

³ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, VI. 1025.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VI. 417.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VI. 332.

⁶ 10th Report Historical Report MSS. Commission, I. 352.

⁷ It might, of course, be urged that so great a tract of woodland as Domesday here suggests was largely or partially detached and at a distance from the manor. But although, in some counties, there are traces of such a system, I do not find it in Northamptonshire.

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earls. Last of all, in most cases, we find the small folk, divided into Normans who held by serjeanty and Englishmen styled 'the King's thegns.' In Northamptonshire these last classes are not specially distinguished, being, we shall find, very limited.

The lands in the hands of churchmen may at once be broadly divided into two great classes. There were the old endowments of the religious houses which, in theory at least, they continued to hold as before the Conquest; and there were the lands which, under the Confessor, had been held by English laymen, but which the Conqueror had bestowed on churchmen, such as his half-brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, or his follower and trusted officer Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, or had given to religious houses, English or Norman. In Northamptonshire the second of these classes was very largely represented. Of parochial endowments in this county there is a singular absence of mention.

Of the ancient possessions of the church, the bulk belonged to Peterborough abbey; indeed, the rest were insignificant as compared with the lands of 'the Golden Borough.' But their condition, as revealed in Domesday Book, raises questions of some importance in the history of the Norman Conquest. The manors which in this county the abbey retained in demesne had risen, in 1086, to the total value of £104 13s. 4d., their value at some previous period, which must be assumed to be the eve of the Conquest, being reckoned as only £30 17s. But the rise in value was very unequal; for, while Kettering had only risen from £10 to £11, Oundle and Warmington had both risen to £11 from five shillings.

From the figures given it is clear, at least, that some of the abbey's manors had been absolutely laid waste at the earlier period spoken of. Assuming this to be the close of Edward the Confessor's reign, I have connected the devastation of which the traces are thus preserved with the ravages in this county described by the English Chronicle in 1065.¹ And this conclusion seems to be supported by the fact that in other counties such as Huntingdonshire, the value of the abbey's lands changed little if at all, while in Lincolnshire their tendency on the whole was, it seems, to a decrease. For, if the abbey's manors had been 'wasted' under the Conqueror, we should expect to find the process more general. Otherwise it might have been supposed that, in this devastation of its lands, the abbey had paid the penalty of its guilt in William's eyes, a guilt incurred since Edward's death in more ways than one. Leofric, its patriotic abbot, had fallen at the battle of Hastings, and when Brand, his elected successor, accepted investiture at the hands of the English Ætheling Eadgar, 'King William,' says the Chronicle, 'was very wroth, and said that the abbot had done despite to him. But "gode men" went

¹ See p. 263 above. It must be remembered that the Peterborough Chronicle, being composed locally, might be influenced by the losses of its own abbey in its highly-coloured account of these ravages, as (I have suggested in my *Geoffrey de Mandeville*) may have been the case with its picture of the anarchy under Stephen. The other version, however, of the Chronicle also records the ravages of 1065.

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between them, and reconciled them, because that the abbot was a good man ; and then he gave the king forty marcs of gold [$\pounds 240$] for reconciliation.' Mr. Freeman assigned this event to the very beginning of William's reign, and his charter confirming the abbey in its possessions 'at the request of abbot Brand,' which I have been fortunate enough to identify, confirms, by the names of its witnesses, Mr. Freeman's conclusion.¹ Since then much had happened. In 1069 abbot Brand died, and William seized the opportunity of appointing a warrior monk from Fécamp, Turolde by name, to guard the abbey from a threatened attack by Hereward and his outlaws in the fens. 'By the splendour of God,' the king exclaimed, 'as he is more of a soldier than a monk, I shall place him where he will find his match ; he can there prove his valour in the fight.' Turolde hastened to 'the Golden Borough' with 'ealle his Frencisce menn.' His arrival at Stamford was the signal for a dash by Hereward 'and his gang.' The bewildered monks were scattered to the winds, and the English outlaws, with their Danish allies, looted and wrecked the minster, and hurried back with priceless treasure of sacred objects and 'red gold.'²

With a hundred and sixty 'French' warriors, Turolde reached his abbey, only to find it a blackened ruin, silent and abandoned. Its inmates, of course, had to be recalled, its buildings replaced, its services restored ; but, over and above all this, the 'Frencisce menn' had to be provided for ; the knights who had come with abbot Turolde had come to stay. When the Conqueror fixed the military quotas to be provided by the bishops and abbots, he made Peterborough Abbey liable to find sixty knights, a total equalled only by those of three bishop's sees and exceeded by none.³ In this, I think, we see that his hand lay heavy on the house. Even Turolde, though glad to provide for his own friends and followers, would have no wish to impoverish his abbey by quartering on its lands the king's knights.

The enfeoffment of military tenants on the lands of the religious houses was a constant grievance with the latter in the days of the Norman Conquest. In Northamptonshire we find it well illustrated on the manors of Peterborough Abbey. The whole of those on which knights had been enfeoffed, to discharge the military service of the house, are entered together in Domesday under a separate heading (fo. 221b) ; and Peterborough records enable us to identify their holders and the service they performed. Anschild de St. Medard, for instance, had received a fee which, although entered as 'Witheringham' (Wittering) only in Domesday, extended right across the neck of the county, from Easton, on the Welland, to Wansford, on the Nene, with an outlying portion

¹ See my *Commune of London and other studies*, pp. 29-30.

² See further, for all this, Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, IV. (1871), 56, 335, 457-461.

³ See my *Feudal England*, p. 278. According to the abbot's *carta* in 1166, no fewer than 63½ knight's fees had been carved out of the abbey's estates by 1135 (for these were all of 'the old feoffment').

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at Elton. For this he owed the abbey the service of four knights.¹ King William, to oblige his *dapifer* Eudes, son of Hubert de Ryes, sent over a writ from Normandy, commanding that Eudes should be given the Easton portion of this fief, and that the abbot should assign to Anschitil an equivalent estate somewhere else.² This the abbot declined to do; but Eudes secured the Easton property, which is entered in Domesday under his fief, though with the note that 'the land belongs to Peterborough Abbey' (fo. 227). Another instance of arbitrary action, on king William's part, is afforded by the entry under Aldwinle St. Peter's, that 'this land in king Edward's time belonged to the sustenance of the monks; Ferron holds it, by the king's command, against the will of the abbot' (fo. 222). In Wiltshire, similarly, a tenant on the episcopal manor of Potterne 'is a knight by the king's command' (fo. 66); and in Cambridgeshire, Picot is found holding land of the abbot of Ely 'by the king's command' (fos. 191, 200). In Northamptonshire again, Pytchley, which under Edward had been assigned to the sustenance of the monks, was held of the abbot by Azo (fo. 222). Thirty years later, however, both manors were held once more by Peterborough Abbey in demesne;³ Pytchley had been regained on the death of Geoffrey Ridel (1120),⁴ but the early history of Aldwinle St. Peter's seems to be obscure, as the Watervilles, who held so much from the abbey, are found in possession of the manor.⁵

The case of Isham is of another kind. It is the first manor entered (fo. 228) on the fief of Eustace (sheriff of Huntingdonshire); but the entry ends with the note that Eustace has seized it by force from Ramsey Abbey. Within nine years of Domesday we find a writ from William Rufus⁶ directing William de Cahagnes—clearly as being the sheriff—to convene the county (court) of Northamptonshire and take its decision whether 'the land of Hisham' had 'rendered ferm' to Ramsey Abbey in the days of the Conqueror, in which case it was to be (again placed) in the abbot's demesne.⁷ But if it was pronounced to have been then 'teinland,' its holder was to hold it of the abbot.⁸ Should he decline⁹ to do so, the abbot was to have it in demesne. This writ should be compared with one of the Conqueror himself in favour of Ely Abbey,¹⁰ similarly directing that county courts should decide the question,—was it 'demesne or teinland' in 1066? The effect of that decision was to be the same as in the Isham case above. 'Teinland' was that portion of an abbey's possessions which was not in demesne, but was held of it by thegns, or, in Norman times, by knights.

¹ And two more for Osgodby, which he held of it in Lincolnshire.

² *Chronicon Petrobургense*, p. 168.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 166.

⁴ Bridges' *Northamptonshire*, II. 121-2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁶ *Ramsey Cartulary* (Rolls Series), I. 223-4.

⁷ As, we have seen, was Pytchley in that of Peterborough Abbey.

⁸ Which he is not entered as doing in Domesday.

⁹ The editor has read 'voluerit' in error for 'noluerit.'

¹⁰ *Inquisitio comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, p. xviii.

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It was the custom to provide quarters close to a religious house for the knights who owed it service. Such quarters are mentioned in Domesday at Westminster and at Bury St. Edmund's.¹ At Evesham, also, the knight's quarters were so close to the abbey as to cramp it. Although we do not find them till some forty years later at Peterborough,² it is probable that some already existed even at the time of Domesday.

It was alleged by Bridges, of Stamford 'Baron' (or 'St. Martin's'), that 'There is no mention of Stamford in Domesday Book.'³ But this was an error. That interesting possession of Peterborough Abbey is entered under Stamford (Lincolnshire). We there read that, of its six wards, the sixth lay in Northamptonshire (*Hantunescyre*), and the abbot of Peterborough 'had and has' its *gafol* and toll (fo. 336b). Forty years later the abbot had on this land fifty-nine tenants and fifteen 'Undersetes,' distinct, as in Domesday, from his tenants in the Lincolnshire portion of Stamford.⁴ And sixty years after Domesday, Pope Eugenius confirmed to him the dwellings of these fifty-nine tenants, with the toll and the other appurtenances.

Of the other religious houses holding land in the shire, Westminster Abbey retained its two small estates, while that of Bury St. Edmund's had increased its possessions. Warkton, which had belonged to Ælfgifu, wife of earl Ælfgar and mother of earl Morcar, had been given to the abbey by queen Matilda, after whose death king William had added earl Ælfgar's lands in Scaldwell. Possessions of the earl at Boughton and East Farndon had also been acquired by the abbey.

The most difficult question connected with the lands of the religious houses is that raised by the entry of Badby among the manors of Crowland Abbey. Unaware, at the time they wrote, that the chronicle assigned to 'Ingulph' (abbot of Crowland) was a forgery, the historians of Northamptonshire accepted, and repeated without question, its statements concerning this manor, which, it alleged, had been given to Crowland so far back as the year 833.⁵ The manor, however, is subsequently found in the hands of Evesham Abbey, and this had to be accounted for. Ingulf's story, is that about 1006 a lease of the manor of Badby for 100 years was given to Norman, brother to earl Leofric, at a peppercorn rent, to secure his protection. On his death, the manor, it was alleged, passed to his brother the earl (*temp.* Canute), and by the earl, at the prayer of his confessor Avicius, prior of Evesham, it was bestowed on Evesham Abbey, which declined to give it up. In Domesday, however, as the writer insists, the manor was entered as belonging to Crowland, apparently (according to his own story) in consequence of his proving its right to it before the king.⁶ His so-called continuator, 'Peter of Blois,' has a long story about the manor, in which he makes the holy hermit Wulfsize

¹ 'xxxiiii. milites inter francos et anglicos' (II. 372).

² 'Milites Abbatis habent xviii. hospicia in burgo' (Peterborough, *Liber Niger*).

³ *History of Northamptonshire*, II. 578.

⁴ *Chronicon Petroburgense*, pp. 165-6.

⁵ Bridges' *Northamptonshire*, I. 19-20; Baker's *Northamptonshire*, I. 253-255.

⁶ Ed. Gale, pp. 57, 85.

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give Badby at his death to Evesham, he having inherited the remainder of the lease. On the expiry of the lease, he tells us, the abbot of Crowland (1109-1124) claimed the manor from Evesham, and urged the Domesday entry in support of his suit. But, continues the writer, the abbot of Evesham, Reginald, was a nephew of Milo, earl of Hereford, who gave him his support. Abbot Reginald insisted that his house had been given the manor by Avicius the prior and by 'Wulsi' the hermit, whose patrimony it had long been. The support of so powerful a man as earl Milo of Hereford made resistance useless, and the abbot of Crowland returned to his house unsuccessful in his claim.¹

Unluckily for this story, there were only twenty years of the lease to run in 1086, according to 'Ingulph,' and abbot Reginald was not appointed till 1122 ;² while earl Miles of Hereford, his 'uncle,' did not obtain that dignity till 1141. On the other hand, the Evesham story was that Badby was given to the abbey by Canute in 1018, and afterwards 'restored' by prior Avitius and 'the blessed Wlsi' as of their inheritance.³ This 'Wlsi' appears to have died under William Rufus.⁴ Canute's charter was printed by Kemble, who did not throw any doubt on its authenticity.⁵ But this charter dates itself as granted in 1020, and it does not profess to give, but only to 'concede' the manor.⁶ Its contents certainly are more consistent with a confirmation by Canute of a gift by 'Avicius' than with the subsequent detention and final restoration of the manor by Avicius. Evesham documents themselves are not above suspicion, and in the absence of any real evidence, one can only conjecture that the Domesday entry may have been due to Wulfsgie being connected with Crowland in 1086.

No Norman religious house is found, in Northamptonshire, 'holding in chief,' save that abbey of Grestain on which the count of Mortain had bestowed endowments in several counties. As he held here so many manors, it is probable that in this county also the abbey owed its possessions to his favour. Indeed, as I have elsewhere shown, it obtained Harrington, at least, from his wife Maud, to whom it had been given by her father, earl Roger de Montgomery.⁷ The countess Judith had given to the Norman abbey of St. Wandrille, which enjoyed the duke's favour, an estate at Boughton 'by the king's leave' (fo. 229) ; but the abbey is not entered as a tenant in chief. On the Norman abbey of St.

¹ Ed. Gale, pp. 123-125. ² *Chron. Evesham*, p. 98. It may even have been as late as 1130.

³ 'Iste prior quasi ex paterna hereditate duas villas Baddebi et Neueham huic sanctæ ecclesiæ reddidit. Hoc idem fecit postea beatus Wlsius quum parentes sui easdem villas iterum injuste occupassent; de una enim erant parentela.—*Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 394.

⁵ *Codex Diplomaticus*, VI. 178, from Harl. MS., 3763 (in which I have verified the readings). Mr. Stevenson tells me that he thinks it is forged on the basis of the genuine charter in *Cod. Dip.*, IV. 18 (Brit. Mus. Facsimiles, IV. 16), granting to 'Æuic' five hides at 'Niweham.'

⁶ 'Ob beneficium et reverentiam nostri dilectissimi monachi nomine Euich, æcclesiæ . . . in Evesham iiii.^{or} mansas in Badebi et in Newæham in æterna concedimus hæreditate.' Euich (Evich) is Avicius.

⁷ *Feudal England*, p. 104.

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Pierre-sur-Dive, Gilbert of Ghent had similarly bestowed a small estate at Easton ; but this also was entered under his own fief.

In the absence of other foreign monasteries, we may note the appearance of a foreign monk, Benedict, formerly of Auxerre, who, as abbot of the newly-founded Benedictine abbey of Selby, is entered in Domesday as holding two houses in Northampton and land at Stanford.

Stanford (on Avon) supplies an example of a lordship formed before the Conquest passing down for centuries. Leofric had 'held freely,' in the days of Edward the Confessor, not only Stanford in Northamptonshire (fo. 226*b*), but two manors in Leicestershire, which 'belonged to Stanford' (fo. 235). From Guy de Renbudcurt, his Norman successor, Benedict abbot of Selby acquired all three ; and with Selby Abbey these manors remained till the Dissolution, after which they were held, still together, by the family of Cave. It is particularly interesting to note that Benedict, according to Domesday, 'bought' Stanford of Guy, though the charters represent Guy as 'giving' the manor to the abbey.¹ There is reason to believe that there were other cases of the same kind.

None of the bishops mentioned in Northamptonshire was holding land derived from his predecessors, a fact which emphasises the small proportion of the land in this county that was held by churchmen before the Conquest. Of these prelates, who were all Normans, the bishop of the diocese, Remi of Lincoln, had been given the lands of a Lincolnshire thegn, Bardi, whose chief holding was at Sleaford (fo. 344*b*), but who also held a manor in Leicestershire (fo. 231) and land in Northamptonshire and Rutland (fo. 221). Hollowell, which the bishop of Lincoln thus obtained in our county, passed to his successors in the see.

Intermediate between the church lands and those of the lay tenants in chief are the fiefs held in their personal capacity by Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances.

The great fief of the latter prelate, a trusted officer of the king, enables us to catch glimpses of an English landowner and his son. A namesake of the last king of Mercia, he appears in Domesday as Borgeret, Borgret, Borred, Borret, Burgret, Burred, or Burret, holding lands not only in Northamptonshire, but in Bedfordshire and Bucks as well. In one place (fo. 210) he is styled 'a thegn of King Edward,' but he himself is entered, in Bucks, as having 'thegns' under him. Eadwine, his son, who also (fo. 145) is styled 'a thegn of King Edward,' had held some Oxfordshire manors, which are entered under Northamptonshire (fo. 221), and is also doubtless the 'Edwinus' who had held Harrowden Magna in the latter county (fo. 220*b*). All the lands of the father and the son had passed to the bishop of Coutances, who accordingly claimed, as Burred's successor, the 'homage' of William Peverel's sochmen at Rushden, Irchester, and Raunds (fo. 225*b*), together with some land at Piddington which had been held by 'two "men" of Burred' (fo. 229). As the bishop had

¹ See *Monasticon*, III. 499, and the royal charters of confirmation in *Coucher Book of Selby Abbey*, vol. I.

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received his great possessions in this and other counties, not in his episcopal, but in his personal capacity, they passed, it seems, to his brother's son, Robert de Mowbray, as his secular heir. In any case they escheated to the Crown under William Rufus, whether on the forfeiture of the uncle or of the nephew for rebellion. As some of them afterwards formed part of the great 'Honour of Gloucester,' it has been presumed that William Rufus bestowed them on Robert Fitz Hamon, who stood high in his favour, and whose daughter and heir married Robert first earl of Gloucester.

Of the lay fiefs the greatest by far was that of the count of Mortain, whose widespread lands will be found marked on the Domesday map. It is a peculiarity of the vast estates held by this half-brother of the Conqueror that—as with those of the bishop of Bayeux, William's other half-brother—Domesday has a tendency to group them, in each county, under the names of the under-tenants, who were themselves as richly endowed as many an ordinary tenant in chief. Thus, for instance, William 'de Cahainges,' who held only a single hide in this county as tenant-in-chief (fo. 225*b*), is found as a tenant of the count of Mortain in no fewer than twenty-five consecutive entries (fo. 223*b*), although only his Christian name is there given. His surname was derived from Cahagnes, now in the *arrondissement* of Vire (Calvados). This family was a great one in Northamptonshire, where it flourished in the male line for some three centuries. William's holdings are followed by those of 'Alured,' nine in number. This 'Alured' was the count's 'butler,' whose office, in feudal times, was one of honour. He was succeeded in his holdings, in this and other counties, by his son William. The action of count Robert in joining the rebellion against William Rufus led to the forfeiture of his vast fief, but it was restored, wholly or in part, to his son, count William. The latter lost it finally in 1106, having taken sides against Henry I., who thus obtained ample means for rewarding his friends and supporters. His trusted minister, the count of Meulan, obtained a good share, while lands which were held of count Robert, in 1086, by 'Alan,' were bestowed on Roger de Mowbray (*né de 'Albini'*) or his father.

Like his brother the count of Mortain, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, had a great under-tenant, no less a man than William Peverel, who held of him all his Northamptonshire lands, except Charlton, of which the tenant, 'Adam,' I think, was a brother of 'Eudo Dapifer' (No. XLII.), son of Hubert de Ryes.¹

William Peverel, whose name is familiar from Scott's novel, *Peveril of the Peak*, was the founder of the line subsequently known, for distinction, as Peverel 'of Nottingham.' His Northamptonshire estates cover more than a page of Domesday, besides which in Northampton itself he held no fewer than thirty-two houses. The bulk of his lands in this county, including their chief manor Higham (Ferrars), had been held,

¹ Compare p. 284 above.

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before the Conquest, by a certain 'Gitda,' whom Ellis did not attempt to identify. We obtain, I think, a clue to her identity under William Peverel's fief in the adjacent county of Bucks (fo. 148). For he there held one manor which is entered as having belonged to 'Gethe wife of earl Ralf,' and two which had been held by 'the countess Gueth.' Again, his one Berkshire manor had been held by 'earl Ralf' himself (fo. 61). This was earl Ralf of Hereford, nephew of Edward the Confessor, who had married a namesake of 'Ghida,' 'Gida,' or 'Gueda' (for such are her Domesday names), wife of earl Godwine. Not only did these two countesses bear the same uncommon name, but each of them was the mother of a son Harold. There has, I suspect, been more confusion between the two in Domesday than has ever been imagined.

Dugdale, in his *Baronage*, asserted, on the strength of Glover the herald's 'collections,' that William Peverel was a natural son of the Conqueror himself. This story has been steadily repeated by local and other antiquaries,¹ but was dismissed by Mr. Freeman as 'an utterly uncertified and almost impossible scandal.'² He was the founder of St. James', Northampton, and of the Cluniac house of Lenton, Nottinghamshire, endowing the latter from his Domesday holding at Courteenhall, Northants. The tragic fall of William's heir, in the opening days of Henry II.'s reign, placed his extensive fief at the disposition of the Crown.

This catastrophe may be said to close that long series of forfeitures by which so much of the land granted out at the Conquest returned into the hands of the Norman kings, and enabled them to endow fresh favourites and reward useful ministers. In Northamptonshire this had begun even before Domesday, as is seen in the case of 'Earl Aubrey,' whose fief had already reverted to the king (fo. 224).³ Of the vast estates of the bishops of Coutances and of Bayeux and of the count of Mortain I have already spoken; and when we add to these the fief of William Peverel, and the smaller ones of Robert de Buci, Drogo de Bevrere, and Eudo, with those also, possibly, of Winemar and of Eustace (of Huntingdon), we see how much of the land was destined to pass away to fresh grantees.

It is interesting to note that the Fleming element was well represented in Northamptonshire among the tenants-in-chief. In addition to Walter the Fleming, Gilbert of Ghent, and Dru (Drogo) de Bevrere—of whom the last derived his name from La Beuvrière (or possibly Beuvry) near Bethune,—Gunfrei and Sigar 'de Cioches,' came from Chocques, an ancient *seigneurie* also in the neighbourhood of Bethune. 'Winemar,' too, is styled in Bucks Winemar the Fleming (fo. 152). Of those specially

¹ As, for instance, by Ellis, in his *Introduction to Domesday* (I. 467).

² *The Norman Conquest*, III. (1875), pp. 80, 662; IV. (1871), 200. Mr. Freeman added, with grim force, 'The uncorroborated assertions of a herald are not materials for history.'

³ There can be little doubt that this was the Aubrey who had acted as earl of the Northumbrians a few years previously. Mr. A. S. Ellis has ingeniously urged his identity with 'Albericus de Coci,' who is found among the Yorkshire tenants-in-chief in 1086, and with the progenitor of the famous Sires de Coucy.

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connected with the county, the Chocques family will be dealt with under the 'Feudal Baronage,' as the *caput* of its barony was within the shire. Walter the Fleming had his at 'Wadehelle' (now Odell), Beds., whence the great barony of his heirs was known as that of Wahull. He had succeeded there, as in all his Northamptonshire manors, a thegn of king Edward, Leofnoth by name.¹ It appears to me highly probable that this unfortunate man was he who was allowed to retain, of all his wide estates, a single hide at Plumpton, as an under-tenant of Walter. Such cases were not uncommon, as we are painfully reminded at Stanion (fo. 220b), where the wealthy thegn Eadwine, whom the bishop of Coutances had succeeded,² retained, as his under-tenant, an insignificant estate. The fief of 'Winemar' must be dealt with here, because it raises some difficult questions. He is twice termed, in the Domesday Survey (fo. 229), Winemar de Hamslepe ('Anslepe,' 'Hanslepe'), from his Bucks manor of that name—adjoining his Northamptonshire manor of Cosgrave—the only part of his fief that was outside our shire, in which, in addition to six estates, he had twelve houses in the county town. Moreover, he was also under-tenant to five Northamptonshire tenants-in-chief, so that, in one capacity or the other, he held a considerable amount of land. It has been alleged that Michael 'de Hamslepe,' in whose hands his fief (or most of it) was found in the days of Henry I., was his 'immediate descendant';³ and indeed Lipscomb, in his *History of Buckinghamshire*, asserted that 'Michael de Hanslepe was undoubtedly a son of Winemar, and inherited his father's property in this county, as did Walter Fitz Winemar the portion which was in Northamptonshire.'⁴ Baker also, without hesitation, made Michael the elder son of Winemar, and Walter the younger.⁵ It is quite possible that this was so, but, though I have gone through the evidence on Michael in the Beauchamp cartulary, which was unknown to Lipscomb and Baker, I have found no actual proof of the fact. The difficulty is that Michael and his heirs ought, in that case, to have succeeded also to Winemar's under-tenancies, and that, on the contrary, those lands at least which Winemar held of countess Judith passed, not to Michael, but to Walter and his heirs. This Walter, thus becoming a tenant of the earl's by knight-service, witnessed the foundation charter of St. Andrew's Priory,⁶ and bestowed on it the church of Little Billing, which manor he seems to have obtained with his wife.⁷ The most interesting point about him is that I have found his name in that important document known as the Glasgow Inquisition.⁸ For this is a clear instance of that process by which the tenants of the Scottish kings, in their capacity

¹ A few scraps of his estates had been secured by others, the count of Mortain, for instance, picking up a ploughland at Croughton, and Evesham Abbey, apparently, succeeding him at Lichborough.

² See p. 287 above.

³ See Mr. Stuart Moore's edition of the *Northamptonshire Domesday*.

⁴ Vol. IV. p. 165.

⁵ *History of Northamptonshire*, II. 129.

⁶ *Vesp. E. XVIII.* (fo. 1d).

⁷ *Ibid.*, fo. 57.

⁸ *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Bannatyne Club), p. 5; and compare my *Calendar of Documents preserved in France*, p. 506.

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of earls of Northampton, followed their lords to Scotland. The most striking case, perhaps, is that of the house of Oliphant, the ancestor of which must have owed his connection with the Scottish realm to his holding Lilford of the earls of Northampton.¹ The name can be carried far back, for Roger 'Olifard,' like Walter Fitz Winemar, witnessed the foundation charter of St. Andrew's Priory. As for Walter's own descendants, Baker seems to have shown clearly that they were the Prestons of Preston 'Deanery,' whose lands there had been held by Winemar, as an under-tenant, in Domesday. Suddenly, under Henry VI., they revived the name of their Domesday ancestor; but a Winemar was the last, as he was the first, who held the lands of Preston. Parting with these and his other lands, he disappears from view.

Next to Flanders lay Picardy, whence there came the founder of a race of Northamptonshire barons. The *Vidames de Picquigny* were among the magnates of mediæval France; hereditary officers of the bishops of Amiens, their house in that city is still called *le Vidame*.² Two members, it is clear, of their house followed the Conqueror to England. These were Ansculf de 'Pinchengi,' as the Bucks Domesday styles him (fo. 148b),³ and Ghilo, his brother. The former, who received what was afterwards the great barony of Dudley, had died before Domesday, leaving a son and heir, William, who succeeded to his only Northamptonshire manor, that of Barnack.⁴ Ghilo obtained a barony of which the *caput* was at Weedon, which heads, in the Domesday Survey, the list of his manors in the shire, and which took from his descendants its name of Weedon 'Pinkeney.'⁵ This barony, which was held of the Crown by the service of fifteen knights,⁶ comprised lands also in Berks, Bucks, and Oxon, some of which, as in Northamptonshire, had been previously held by 'Siward.' At Weedon Ghilo founded a priory as a cell to St. Lucien of Beauvais, his choice of that house being clearly due to the fact that its monks had a small priory ('Notre Dame de Mont') near Picquigny (in the direction of Ailly).⁷ This confirms my view that Pinkeney is simply Picquigny, though the fact, owing to the change of form, has eluded the historians of the shire.

Picquigny, it is interesting to learn, was a test-word for the English, who were never able to pronounce it. It was used as such for their recognition when they were expelled from Ponthieu, and, in 1489, a Frenchman, employed in London, could still use it as a test:—

¹ *Feudal England*, pp. 223-4.

² 'Les seigneurs barons de Picquigny étaient vidames de l'évêque d'Amiens et avoués de l'abbaye de Corbie' (Darsy's *Picquigny et ses seigneurs* [1860], p. 9). *Vidame* represented *Vicedominus* (*Ibid.*).

³ Baker, misreading this passage, declares that it 'establishes Ansculf's connection with, or residence in, England prior to the Conquest' (*History of Northamptonshire*, II. 105). But this is not so.

⁴ Compare p. 269 above.

⁵ As did Morton 'Pinkeney,' close by.

⁶ *Feudal England*, p. 255.

⁷ Darsy, p. 101.

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Jamais François bien ne saura
Jurer *bigod* ne *brelare*
By my trost n'y pourfitera
Ne *maistre milord*, ne *sere* ;
Anglois aussi tant soit cure,
Ne formera bien *Pinqueny*.¹

Another tenant-in-chief who had a large holding in the shire was Guy de 'Reinbuedcurt,'² whose whole barony was held, in the hands of his heirs the Foliots, by the service of fifteen knights. Although there is in France more than one place from which his name might be derived, Raimbeaucurt in the 'Nord,' near Douai, seems to me the most likely. In that case we must add him to the Flemings.

It is a far cry from Flanders to Brittany, but their combination may help to remind us that the 'Norman' Conquest was the work of more than William's subjects. In the list of Northamptonshire tenants-in-chief we note at once Oger 'the Breton' and Maino 'the Breton,' of whom the former was lord of Bourne in Lincolnshire,³ while the latter had his chief seat at Wolverton in Bucks. To these we must add Geoffrey 'de Wirce,' who, as Mr. Ellis has ably shown, derived his name from La Guerche, a town near Rennes on the borders of Brittany.⁴

Of the other tenants calling for mention under this county Geoffrey 'Alselin' had obtained, as Mr. Ellis has shown,⁵ the great estates of an English thegn, Tochi son of Outi, in the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, Notts, Leicester, Derby, and Yorks, together with his 'hall' in Lincoln itself. 'Eustace,' who held, as a tenant-in-chief at half a dozen places in the county is styled in the schedule of landholders Eustace 'de Huntedune,' as he also is in Cambridgeshire (fo. 199*b*) and under Stamford (fo. 336*b*). This is an interesting illustration of the practice by which a sheriff took his name from the chief town of his county. For he was no other than 'Eustace the sheriff,' as he is styled in Huntingdonshire (fos. 203, 206, 208), over which county he presided. Like some other Norman sheriffs, he was a shocking oppressor, robbing, as the pages of Domesday reveal, abbeys, churches, and private persons. He was the 'Eustace' who held in Northamptonshire, as an under-tenant of Peterborough Abbey, at Polebrook, Winwick, Clapton, and Catworth.⁶ Let us pass from the grasping Norman sheriff to the dispossessed Englishman. The 'Suain' who held Stoke Bruern, as a tenant-in-chief, in Domesday is luckily identified for us by the entry, under Northampton, that 'Suain son of Azur,' held there twenty-one houses 'belonging to Stoches.' Following this clue we find that Gunfrei de 'Cioches' had succeeded an 'Azur' in two of his estates and a 'Suain' in most of the others (fo. 227). Glancing outside the

¹ Robert Gaguin's *La Roine de bon repos*.

² In auxiliary documents relating to Cambridgeshire his surname is found as Raimbecurt, Rainbucurt, Rainbudcurt, Rainbuedcurt, Ramburtcurt, Rambutcurt, etc., etc.

³ *Feudal England*, p. 220.

⁴ Mr. Ellis' 'Landholders of Yorkshire' (*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*).

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Feudal England*, pp. 167, 222-3.

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county we find him succeeding 'Azor' in an estate at Stamford (fo. 336 *b*) and a Lincolnshire manor (fo. 366), while 'Suen, a thegn of King Edward,' had preceded him in a Bucks manor (fo. 152 *b*). Putting this evidence together we may safely infer that 'Suain' who, in 1086, held Stoke Bruern and the houses in Northampton, was the predecessor, together with his father Azor, of Gunfrei de 'Cioches' in many manors.¹ This conclusion is of some importance, because, if it had not been for the entry under Northampton, we should have supposed Gunfrei's predecessors to be two contemporary and unconnected Englishmen. But we saw above (p. 287) that Burred and Eadwine his son were similarly spoken of as independent predecessors of Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances; and, in the greatest instance of all, Harold and his father, earl Godwine, are both spoken of in Domesday as independent predecessors, though the latter, we know, died before Edward the Confessor. Here then we extend our knowledge of the system of the great survey.

I have kept, as does Domesday, to the last, the fief of 'Countess Judith,' widow of earl Waltheof. Apart from its extent, this fief is of special historic interest as that which descended to the local earls of the houses of Senlis and of Scotland. As was justly observed by Professor Freeman, the Domesday estates of the countess 'had partly belonged to her husband, partly to other English owners,' which 'gives the impression that most of the lands were personal grants to herself;' ² for the king was her uncle. That these estates were held by her in 1086 is a fact which has a most important bearing on the acquisition of the earldom, with her daughter, by Simon de Senlis. The accepted date for the foundation of St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton, is 1084,³ but Simon, in the foundation charter, deals with the estates of the earldom as then in his own possession. His charter, therefore, must at least be later than the Domesday survey. I believe that we can go further and assign this important foundation to the years 1093-1100. For I have found one of these terse documents characteristic of William Rufus, in which, without mentioning St. Andrew's, he confirms the gift of earl Simon to Ste. Marie de la Charité⁴ and its monks.

The names of the under-tenants on the countess Judith's fief deserve careful study, for they and their descendants, as might be expected, occur in connection with the earls and with St. Andrew's Priory. Grimbold, for instance, who held of the countess at two places in Leicestershire (fo. 236 *b*) as well as in Northants and Rutland (fo. 228 *b*), witnessed the foundation charter of St. Andrew's and gave it the church

¹ See, further, the note on 'Suain' on p. '43' below.

² *History of the Norman Conquest* (1871), IV. 603-4.

³ Bridges took this to be a 'restoration,' because 'Ingulphus acquaints us' that, in 1076, he found at Crowland two monks who had been 'professed' at St. Andrew's. There is an allusion also to this statement in the *Records of the Borough of Northampton* (Vol. I.), but 'Ingulphus' has now long been known to be a forgery.

⁴ MS. Vesp. E. xviii., fo. 13*d* (pencil). This document, which seems to have been hitherto overlooked, is addressed to Bishop Robert (of Lincoln), appointed in 1093.

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of Moulton and seven virgates of land there.¹ His descendants can be traced for several generations, and one of them was sheriff of the county in 1155.² The relations of this family with the earls were close. Of Wine-mar, another tenant of the countess, I have already spoken above (p. 290).

At the close of the survey of the shire are a few small fiefs, of which the most interesting by far are those of Richard and William Engayne ('Inganie'). The surname of these tenants is not given in the text or in the schedule of landholders, but we find it under Northampton itself, where Richard held four houses and William one as an under-tenant. They are also found, as 'Richard' and 'William,' holding their lands in Spelho Hundred, even before Domesday, in the Northamptonshire geld-roll.³ The special interest of their fiefs is found in Domesday's statement that they had belonged to Ælfwine 'the huntsman;' for one of the two manors held in chief by William was that of Pytchley, the connection of which with hunting is thus carried back even beyond the Conquest. Moreover the Engaynes are found holding it, in later days, by huntsman service, so that we may assume it to have been among the tenures in serjeanty even in 1086.⁴ William, in addition to Pytchley and Laxton, held Moulton and some other lands of Robert de Buci as an under-tenant (fo. 225 *b*), while in Hunts he held one manor in chief of the Crown. It should be observed that Richard's heir returned himself, in 1166, as the king's forester in fee; for Richard is found in Domesday claiming some land in Hunts as belonging to the forest (fo. 208), while in Oxon, where (as in Bucks) he held a single manor, his name heads the list of 'the king's officers' (fo. 160 *b*). Under William Rufus we find him at Brigstock, witnessing the charter by which the king granted to Peterborough Abbey a tithe of his proceeds of the chace.⁵ Of the three small holders with which the survey closes, Dodin was a foreigner who held also as an under-tenant in the county; he was doubtless the father of that Walter Dodin whose widow is mentioned in 1130.⁶ Olaf and Oslac would be natives. As the latter's holding was at East Farndon, we may safely infer that he was also the dispossessed holder of lands at Marston Trussell and Thorp Lubenham adjoining it (fo. 224 *b*), and therefore also at Lubenham itself across the border (fo. 230 *b*), and, perhaps, at Swinford and Walcote (fo. 234).

It is possible, I think, that Professor Freeman attached too much importance to the absence or presence of 'king's thegns' in any given county.⁷ They were not, it must be remembered, recognised as on an

¹ MS. Vesp. E. xviii., fos. 1*d*, 43*d*. He styles himself in the charter Grimbald 'de Houghton.'

² Ossulston (Owston) Abbey, Leicestershire, was founded by Robert Grimbald, his descendant, on one of the manors he held of the countess in 1086. Baker's account of the descent, under Moulton (I. 46), appears to me unsatisfactory.

³ See *Feudal England*, pp. 154-6.

⁴ *Ibid.* It should be observed that Domesday classes him with the thegns (*taini*).

⁵ Gunton's *Peterborough*, p. 143.

⁶ *Pipe Roll*, 31 Hen. I., p. 82.

⁷ *History of the Norman Conquest*, IV. (1871), 38-43.

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equal footing with the military tenants-in-chief; Domesday ranks them, where they are numerous, even after the serjeants. There may not, therefore, in practice have existed much difference between the thegns who held of the king and those who held of great nobles, such as his half-brother. In Northamptonshire we find a group of thegns holding of the count of Mortain and ranked, like those who held of the king, after his Norman tenants. Five at least of these were holding lands they had held before. A similar group is found on the fief of the countess Judith, and here again four at least were still holding lands they had held under the Confessor. Even with such additions as these the Englishmen here who weathered the Conquest were few and their holdings small. But the virtual absence of king's thegns must not lead us to infer that all the English holders had lost their lands.

No discussion of the settlement of the county under William the Conqueror would be complete without some reference to the system of castle-guard. For although it is not even alluded to in the Domesday survey of Northamptonshire, this marked feature of the feudal system must have been already introduced.¹ An important entry under Rockingham (fo. 220) tells us of the castle being there constructed by command of king William; and its garrison, we subsequently find, was provided by making it a charge on the barony of Warden, held in 1086 by Guy de 'Reinbuedcurt.' Its fifteen knights had to serve at the castle, a service commuted, it would seem, within a century of the Conquest for a payment of five shillings from each knight's fee.² Northampton castle was garrisoned by the knights of another local barony, that of Gunfrei de 'Cioches,' the fifteen fees of which are afterwards found liable to an annual payment of ten shillings each in commutation. Yet another local barony, that of the Pinkeneys, was liable to provide knights for castle-guard at Windsor, each of its fifteen fees being charged, at a later time, with a pound a year for the purpose. One Northamptonshire manor, that of Hartwell, owed the ward of two knights to the distant castle of Dover. So improbable might this seem that, in the lists of manors owing such service, which are found in *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, 'Hertwelle' has been officially supposed to be some place in Kent.³ Its liability is accounted for by the fact that it was obtained, in the Norman period, by Walchelin Maminot, whose barony was charged with a quota of guard at that important fortress. The two knights due from Hartwell had to serve, every year, fifteen days each, so that the subsequent commutation of a pound a year for the two represented eightpence a day, which, as I have shown,⁴ was a knight's pay under Henry II.

¹ A valuable hint to this effect is given by the incidental mention, under a Bucks manor, of a liability to provide knights for castle-guard at Windsor (fo. 151b).

² See the interesting return (probably of 1170) printed in *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. cclxxxii. Peterborough Abbey knights also went on guard there.

³ *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hubert Hall (Rolls Series), p. 1205.

⁴ *Feudal England*, pp. 271, 272.

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There is little to be said, in the case of Northamptonshire, on the actual manuscript itself. The survey of the county occupies twenty-one pages (ten and a half folios) of Domesday Book, and its chief peculiarity is the discrepancy, at times, between the order in which the fiefs are entered and the list of the tenants-in-chief at the head of the survey of the shire. That of Hugh de Grentmaisnil was entered by inadvertence before that of earl Hugh of Chester. The numbers prefixed to their names in the text are, therefore, in reverse order. William Peverel's fief also is wrongly numbered in the text, as are the others on its own and the preceding pages. The bishop of Durham, it is clear, had been overlooked by the scribe, for his holding has been huddled in at the foot of a column. This was also the case with the tiny fief of Hugh Luri, and possibly with that of William de 'Cahainges.' It seems probable, from these circumstances, that the numbers were prefixed to the names in the text after the scribe had written it, and that the schedule of tenants-in-chief was added last of all. But our knowledge of the actual system on which Domesday Book was compiled is as yet so imperfect that on this and other points one can only speak with caution.

THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE HUNDREDS

We have in Northamptonshire exceptional facilities for tracing the changes in the boundaries and names of those venerable divisions of the land, the Hundreds. Our earliest list is found in what I term the Northamptonshire geld-roll, which is of the reign of William I., and some years earlier than Domesday Book. This list gives us the names of 28 Hundreds, two of which ('Navereslund' and 'Uptune') are styled double Hundreds, while four more ('Neoubotle grave,' 'Gildesburh,' 'Hehham' and 'Wimereslea') are styled, each, a Hundred and a half.¹ In Domesday Book the number is unchanged, but on the one hand the Hundreds of East and West 'Hwicceslea' (the Rutland portion of the shire) appear there as one only, while on the other, an interesting Hundred makes its appearance, as it would seem, there only. This is the Hundred of Collingtree ('Colentreu' 'Colestreu'), to which are assigned the adjoining vills of Collingtree, Milton ('Midleton Malsor'), Rothersthorp, Blisworth, and Courteenhall, on the west of Wymersley Hundred.² In the Northamptonshire Survey (12th cent.) this Hundred disappears, as does also 'Wicesle,' which was now part of Rutland. On the other hand the 'double' Hundred of 'Navereslund,' as the geld-roll styles it, is here surveyed, as two Hundreds, 'Suthnaveslunt' and 'Northnaveslunt.' In this survey, also, Foxley has become 'Norton,' and Gravesend has already added that 'Fawsley' which is its later designation. 'Optone,' moreover,

¹ Compare p. 259 above.

² A Hundred of 'Geritone' is alluded to once (fo. 220), but nothing seems to be known of it.

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Northants geld-roll, (before 1076)	Domesday Book, 1086	Northants Survey, 12th cent	Nomina Villarum, 1316	Population Abstract, 1841
Suttunes . . .	Sutone, Sudtone . . .	Sutton . . .	Sutton	King's Sutton
Werdunes . . .	Wardone, Wardune, Waradone, Waredone	Wardon . . .	Wardon	Chipping-warden
Klegele. . .	Clailei, Claislea, Claves- lei, Claislund, Cailæ, Claiesle, Clailea	Cleyle . . .	Cleyle.	Cleley
Gravesende . .	Gravesende	Graveshende Falwesle	Falewesle.	Fawsley
Eadboldestowe	Alboldestou, Elboldestou, Holeboldestou, Od- boldbestou, Otboldes- tou, Edboldestou	Abbodestowe .	(now in Sutton)	
Egelweardesle ¹	Alwardeslea, Aluratleu	Aylwoldesle .	(now in Fawsley)	
Voxle	Foxle, Foxele, Foxleu, Foxlay, Foxeslau, Fox- hela	Norton . . .	Norton	Green's Norton
Vycestre . . .	Tovecestre	Tovecester . .	Toucestre	Towcester
Hoches hlawa .	Hocheslau	Hokeslawe . .	Hokeslowe	Huxloe
Wilebroce . . .	Wilebroc, Wilibroc . .	Wylebroke . .	Welybrok'	Willybrook
Uptune (2 Hundreds)	Optone, Optonegrene, Optonegrave, Opton- gren	Duo hundreda de Nasso	(in Nassaburgh) . .	The two Hun- dreds of Nassa- burgh
Navereslund (2 Hundreds)	Neveslund	Suthnaveslunt Northnaveslunt	(now in Huxloe) .	
Neresforda . .	Naresford, Narresford .	Navesford . .	Navesford	Navisford
Pocabroc . . .	Pochebroc.	Pokebroc . . .	Polebroke	Polebrook
Neoubotle grave (1½ Hundreds)	Neubotlagrave, Niue- botlegrave, Nivebote, Niwebotle	Neubotlegrave	Newbotlegrave . .	Nobottle-Grove
Gildesburh (1½ Hundreds)	Gisleburg (1½ Hundreds)	Gildesboru. .	Gildesburgh . . .	Guilsborough
Spelhoh . . .	Spelho, Spelehou, Spele- hot, Sperehou, Spere- holt	Speleho. . .	Spelho	Spelhoe
Hwicceslea west	Wicesle, Wicelea, (Wapentake);		(now in Rutland)	
Hwicceslea east				
Stotfalde . . .	Stodfalde, Stotfald, Sto- falde	Stotfolde . .	(western part of Roth- well Hundred)	
Stoce	Stoche, Stoc	Stokes	(now in Corby) . .	
Hehham (1½ Hundreds)	Hecham	Hecham . . .	Hegham	Higham-Ferrers
Malesle	Malesle, Maleslea . . .	Malleslea . . .	(now in Orlingbury)	
Corebi	Corbi, Corbie, Corbei .	Coreby	Corby	Corby
Rothewelle . .	Rodewelle, Rodewel . .	Rowell	Rothewell	Rothwell
Andverdesho .	Andferdesho, Anves- desou, Handvordesho	Andfordesho .	Aunfordeshoe . .	Hamfordshoe
Ordlingbære . .	Ordinbare, Ordibaro . .	Orlingberge .	Orlyngb[eri]e . . .	Orlingbury
Wimereslea (1½ Hundreds)	Wimareslea, Wimerleu, Wimerslea, Wimersle, Winemerslea. Colentreu, Colestreu	Wymeresle. .	Wymeresle	Wymersley
			(now in Wymersley)	

¹ The 'g' is clearly an error for 'th' as so often happened.

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which here appears as the double Hundred of 'Nassus,' is on its way to become Nassaburgh. By 1316 there had been further changes; 'Edboldestou' is now included in Sutton, 'Alwardeslea' in Fawsley, 'Malesle' in Orlingbury, 'Stotfalde' in Rothwell, 'Stoche' in Corby, and the double Hundred of 'Naveslund' in Huxloe. The accompanying table (page 297) will show that since that date there have been virtually no changes.

It may be observed that those Hundreds the names of which have been abandoned suggest an early derivation and an open-air assembly. Mawesley, 'a hamlet of one or two cottages and a wood,'¹ gave name to Malesle. Gravesend, Alwardslea, and Edboldestou appear to be lost names. The general impression conveyed by the names of the Hundreds as a whole is that they point to primitive meeting-places, which were gradually superseded by villages and towns, as the Hundred courts came to represent the jurisdiction of a lord. Baker, indeed, gives (I. 238) an actual, though late instance in the case of the Hundred Court of Fawsley, which 'was formerly held in Fawsley park beneath the spreading branches of an enormous beech-tree,' but 'was removed about the beginning of the last century to Everdon.'

One of the most curious features in the names of these Hundreds is the great variety of form which is found, for some of them, in Domesday. As Domesday Book was compiled from returns which were made Hundred by Hundred, it is difficult to see how the scribe could have before him more than one form of the Hundred's name. But indeed this same remark applies to the case of the vill; for each Hundred was surveyed vill by vill, so that it is not easy to account for the startling variations in their names, the scribe, presumably, having before him but one form of the name, which would stand at the head of the survey of the vill.

¹ Bridges, II. 96.

NOTE

The following translation agrees in the main with that of Mr. Stuart Moore, my predecessor in this field ; but I have been compelled in certain cases, as for instance on p. 327, to differ from him in identifying places, a matter of the utmost importance. For the original identification of the places named in Domesday one is, of course, indebted to the labours of Bridges and of Baker. The reader should bear in mind throughout that the date of the Domesday Survey is 1086 ; that King Edward, to whose time it refers, died January 5, 1066 ; that the 'hide' was the unit of assessment on which the (Dane)geld was paid, and that the 'virgate' was its quarter. Parallel with the 'hide' was the 'carucate' of the region to the north of Northamptonshire, the 'bovate' representing an eighth of it. The essential portion of the plough ('caruca') was its team of oxen, eight in number. The 'demesne' was the lord's portion of the manor, the peasantry holding the rest of it under him. 'Farm' or 'ferm,' the *firma* of Domesday, was virtually the rent for which the 'farmer' (*firmarius*) of a manor or group of manors was liable. The woodland measures are discussed in the introduction, and the modern names of the Hundreds will be found on pp. 296-298 above.

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NOTES TO DOMESDAY MAP

(Compiled by J. HORACE ROUND, M.A.)

In this Map those manors in which the King had an interest have a scarlet line under them; a blue line is under those in which the chief ecclesiastical tenant, namely, Peterborough Abbey, held land; a green line denotes those in which land was held by the greatest lay tenant, Robert, Count of Mortain, half-brother to the Conqueror.

The Hundreds existing at the time of Domesday have been reconstructed, so far as possible, with the help of "The Northamptonshire Survey" of the 12th century. In Domesday itself the rubrication (indicating the names of the Hundreds to which the manors belong) is too imperfect for the purpose.

It should be remembered that the Domesday names, both of Hundreds and of manors vary much, and that only one variant can be given in each instance on the map.

It should also be observed that the boundaries of the county are, for uniformity and convenience of reference, depicted as they now stand. But, in 1086, "Northamptonshire" comprised the south-eastern portion of what is now Rutland, and the Domesday survey of that portion is scattered accordingly throughout the survey of Northamptonshire. The modern names of the rivers are given for the same reason as above; they are not mentioned in Domesday.

The influence of the forests and the fen district on the density of the place-names and the size of the Hundreds is seen, to a certain extent, on the map.

REFERENCE TO COLOURING

King's Manors	thus	blue
Peterborough Abbey's Manors	..	blue and red
Count Robert of Mortain's Manors	..	scarlet

Scale of English Miles
0 5 10

[NORTHANTONESCIRE]

^{fo. 219} IN KING EDWARD'S TIME there were in NORTHANTONE (Northampton), in the King's demesne, 60 burgesses, having as many dwellings (*mansiones*). Of these (dwellings), 14 are now waste ; 47 are left. Besides these, there are now in the new borough (*burgus*) 40 burgesses in king William's demesne.

In the same borough the bishop of Coutances has 23 houses, rendering (*de*) 29 shillings and 4 pence.

The abbot of S. Edmund (St. Edmund's, Bury) (has) 1 house, rendering (*de*) 16 pence.

The abbot of Burg (Peterborough), 15 houses, rendering (*de*) 14 shillings and 8 pence. Two are waste.

The abbot of Ramesyg (Ramsey), 1 house, rendering (*de*) 16 pence.

The abbot of Couentreu (Coventry), 4 houses, rendering (*de*) 12 pence. Three are waste.

The abbot of Evesham 1 house (lying) waste.

The abbot of Salebi (Selby), 2 houses, rendering (*de*) 32 pence.

The count of Moriton (Mortain), 37 (houses), rendering (*de*) 45 shillings and 8 pence. Two are waste. Of 9 of these houses the King has the soc.

Earl Hugh [of Chester], 1 house, rendering (*de*) 4 pence.

The Countess Judith, 16 houses, rendering (*de*) 12 shillings. One is waste.

Robert de Toden, 4 houses, rendering (*de*) 4 shillings. One is waste.

Henry de Fereires, 8 houses, rendering (*de*) 9 shillings and 4 pence.

Ansger, the King's chaplain, 1 house, of which the King ought to have the soc.

William Peurel (Peverel), 32 houses, rendering (*de*) 28 shillings and 8 pence. Three of these are waste.

William, the son of Boselin, 2 (houses), of the fee of the bishop of Bayeux and of the Countess Judith, rendering (*de*) 16 pence.

William Inganie (holds) 1 house of Robert de Boci, and renders nothing.

Guy de Rainbudcurt, 4 houses, rendering (*de*) 64 pence.

Walter Flandrensis (the Fleming), 10 houses, rendering (*de*) 8 shillings. One is waste.

Winemar, 12 houses, rendering (*de*) 3 shillings. Of these, 4 are waste.

Richard Inganie, 4 houses, rendering (*de*) 4 shillings.

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Robert de Aluers, 1 house, rendering (*de*) 12 pence.

Roger de Boscnorman, 1 house, rendering (*de*) 16 pence.

Geoffrey de Wirce, 4 houses, rendering (*de*) 4 shillings.

Geoffrey Alselin and his nephew Ralph, 2 houses, rendering (*de*) 2 shillings.

Gilo, the brother of Ansculf, 3 houses, rendering (*de*) 32 pence.

Gunfrid de Cioches, 1 house, rendering (*de*) 8 shillings. Three are waste.

Suain, the son of Azur,¹ 21 houses, rendering (*de*) 10 shillings, pertaining to Stoches (Stoke Bruern).

Ansfrid de Valbadon, 2 houses, rendering (*de*) 2 shillings, of the fee of the bishop of Bayeux.

Baldwin, the moiety of a waste dwelling (*mansio*). Lefstan, 1 house, rendering (*de*) 4 pence.

Osbern Gifard, 1 house, rendering (*de*) 4 pence. Godwin the priest, 1 house, rendering (*de*) 12 pence.

Durand the reeve, 1 house, rendering (*de*) 16 pence, of the fee of Robert Toden.

Dodin, 2 houses, rendering (*de*) 20 pence. One is (held) of the Countess Judith, the other of Winemar.

Hugh de Widville² 2 houses, rendering (*de*) 32 pence.

NORTHANTONESCIRE renders 3 nights ferm (*firmam*)³ (that is) 30 pounds by weight. For dogs, 40 assayed (*blancas*) pounds of 20 (pence) to the ounce. For a gift to the queen, and for hay, 10 pounds and 5 (ounces of silver).⁴ For a hawk, 10 pounds. For a sumpter horse, 20 shillings. For alms, 20 shillings. For the huntsman's horse, 20 shillings. For queen Edith's manors, 40 pounds. For Clive [King's Cliff], 10 pounds.

The burgesses of Hantone (Northampton) render to the sheriff yearly 30 pounds and 10 shillings. This belongs to his ferm (*firmam*).⁵

The Countess Judith has 7 pounds of the issues of the same borough.

¹ This can hardly be other than the 'Swegen filius Azor,' who is among the tenants of the see of Worcester called upon to pay relief nine years later (1095). See *Feudal England*, p. 309.

² It was of this family, which is found at Grafton 120 years later, that sprang the queen of Edward IV. Hugh also held, as 'Hugo de Witvile,' 5 houses in Leicester of Hugo de Grentmesnil.

³ Originally provision for the King and his household in kind.

⁴ Comparison with the Wiltshire payment on fo. 64b shows that the Queen's share of this was five pounds.

⁵ *i.e.* to the sum for which he is liable to the king as sheriff.

HERE ARE ENTERED
THE HOLDERS OF LANDS
IN NORTHANTONESCIRE

I	KING WILLIAM	XXXI	Ralf Pagenel
II	The bishop of Bayeux	XXXII	Ralf de Limesi
III	The bishop of Durham	XXXIII	Robert Albus
IIII	The bishop of Coutances	XXXIIII	William de Cahainges
V	The bishop of Lincoln	XXXV	William Pevrel
VI	The abbey of Peterborough	XXXVI	William the son of Ansculf
VII	The abbey of Westminster	XXXVII	William Loueth
VIII	The abbey of St. Edmund	XXXVIII	Walter de Aincurth
IX	The abbey of Ramsey	XXXIX	Walter Flandrensis (the Fleming)
X	The abbey of Thorney	XL	Winemar
XI	The abbey of Crowland	XLI	Guy de Renbodcurth
XII	The abbey of Coventry	XLII	Eudo the son of Hubert
XIII	The abbey of Evesham	XLIII	Ghilo the brother of Ansculf
XIIII	The abbey of Grestain	XLIIII	Geoffrey Alselin
XV	The church of S. Remigius of Rheims	XLV	Geoffrey de Manneville
XVI	Ansger the chaplain	XLVI	Gilbert de Gand
XVII	Lewin the priest, and other clerks	XLVII	Geoffrey de Wirce
XVIII	The count of Moriton (Mortain)	XLVIII	Gunfrid de Cioches
XIX	The count of Mellent (Meulan)	XLIX	Sigar de Cioches
XX	Count Alan (of Richmond)	L	Suain (the son of Azur)
XXI	Earl Aubrey	LI	Sibold
XXII	Earl Hugh (of Chester)	LII	Oger the Breton
XXIII	Hugh de Gretemaisnil	LIII	Drogo de Beurere
XXIIII	Hugh de Juri (Ivry)	LIIII	Maino the Breton
XXV	Henry de Ferieres	LV	Eustace de Huntedune
XXVI	Robert de Toden	LVI	The Countess Judith
XXVII	Robert de Statford	LVII	Gilbert the cook
XXVIII	Robert de Oilgi	LVIII	David
XXIX	Robert de Veci	LIX	Richard (Inganie)
XXX	Robert de Buci	LX	William (Inganie) and other thegns

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

THE KING'S LAND

IN WICESLEA WAPENTAKE¹

The King holds CHETENE [Ketton].² There are 7 hides. There is land for 13 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs) and 3 serfs; and (there are) 12 sochmen and 24 villeins and 5 bordars, with the priest, having 11 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering 6 shillings and 8 pence, and 40 acres of meadow. Of underwood (*silvæ vilis*) there are 16 acres.

To this manor pertains TICHESOVRE [Tixover]. There are 2 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. There 16 sochmen, with 3 bordars, have 6 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 5 shillings, and 8 acres of meadow, and 3 acres of spinney (*spinetum*). The whole in king Edward's time was worth 100 shillings (and is) now (worth) 10 pounds.

The King holds BERCHEDONE [Barrowden]. There are 4 hides, less 1 virgate. There is land for 10 ploughs. There are 9 villeins and 10 sochmen with 3 bordars, having 6 ploughs and a half. There (are) 16 acres of meadow and 6 acres of spinney (*spinetum*). To this manor pertain these members:—In SEIETON [Seaton], 1½ hides and 1 bovaté of land. There is land for 6 ploughs, and (there are) 4 acres of meadow. In TORP [Thorpe], 1 hide and 1 virgate of land. There is land for 4 ploughs, and (there are) 3 acres of meadow. In MORCOTE [Morcot], 4 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs, and 6 acres of meadow. In BITLESBROCH [Bisbrooke], and GLADESTONE [Glaston], 1½ hides. There is land for 4 ploughs, and 8 acres of meadow. In LUFENHAM [North Luffenham], 4 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs, and 16 acres of meadow. In these lands there are 15 sochmen and 33 villeins and 23 bordars, with the priest, having 19 ploughs. In Seitone [Seaton] there is a mill rendering (*de*) 36 pence. Wood(land) 1 furlong in length and 1 in breadth. Spinney (*spinetum*) 6 furlongs in length and 2 furlongs in breadth. The whole in king Edward's time was worth 3 pounds; now (it is worth) 7 pounds.

The King holds LUFENHAM [South Luffenham] and SCULETORP [Kelthorpe]. There are 7 hides and 1 virgate of land. There is

land for 14 ploughs. There are 12 sochmen and 16 bordars with the priest, having 12 ploughs. There are 2 mills rendering (*de*) 40 pence, and 10 acres of meadow. In king Edward's time it was worth 30 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings. The men labour at the king's work (*opera*), which the reeve shall command. Queen Edith held these lands. Hugh de Porth³ now holds (them) of the King at farm.

fo. 219b

The King holds CASTRETONE [Casterton]. Earl Morcar held it. There are 3½ hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 24 villeins and 2 sochmen and 2 bordars, with the priest, and 2 serfs have 7 ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 16 shillings, and 16 acres of meadow. Spinney (*spinetum*) 3 furlongs in length and 2 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 6 pounds; now (it is worth) 10 pounds. Hugh, son of Baldric,⁴ holds (it) of the king at farm.

The King has in demesne of Portland⁵ 2 carucates and 2 thirds (*partes*) of a third carucate and 12 acres of meadow. 1 carucate of land belongs to the church of S. Peter, and half a carucate to the church of All Saints. Portland, with the meadow, in king Edward's time used to render 48 shillings, and 10 shillings for the rugs (*feltris*) of the king's sumpter horses. Besides this the King ought to have 9 pounds and 12 shillings for other issues of the town.

The King holds NORTONE [Greens Norton]. King Edward held it. There, with 2 members, Blachesleuue [Blakesley] and Atenestone [Adstone], are 7 hides and 1 virgate of land. There is land for⁶ In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 3 serfs and 2 bondwomen; and (there are) 19 villeins and 15 sochmen and 5 bordars, having 21 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering (*de*) 15 shillings. Wood 4 leagues in length and 3 leagues in breadth. When stocked (*oneratur*) it is worth 60 shillings, and (the) honey 4 shillings. The sochmen render 30 shillings. It was worth 12 pounds; now (it is worth) 20 pounds. The smiths used to render 7 pounds⁷ in king Edward's time.

³ See the *Victoria History of Hampshire* for this great tenant-in-chief in that county.

⁴ See the *Victoria History of Yorkshire* for this great tenant-in-chief in that county.

⁵ See Introduction for this locality.

⁶ Blank in the original.

⁷ From the large amount of these payments, it may be conjectured that the 'fabri'

¹ For the modern names of the hundreds, see p. 297.

² This and the following eleven places are in Rutland.

THE HOLDERS OF LANDS

The King holds TOVECESTRE [Towcester]. There are $7\frac{1}{2}$ hides. There is land for 22 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs, and (there are) 15 villeins with 10 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 13 shillings and 4 pence, and 12 acres of meadow. Wood 2 leagues in length and 1 in breadth. The smiths used to render 100 shillings,¹ but now they render nothing. There one sochman renders 5 shillings, having half a hide and the 5th part of half a hide. In king Edward's time it was worth 12 pounds; now (it is worth) 25 pounds.

The King holds SUDTONE [King's Sutton]. There are 3 hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs) with one serf; and (there are) 7 villeins and 10 bordars with $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 10 shillings and 8 pence. From the meadows (come) 20 shillings. From the market (*forum*) (comes) 20 shillings. In other land of the same manor are 4 villeins with 2 ploughs.

To this manor belongs WITEFELLE [Whitfield]. There are 2 hides and inland² for 2 ploughs, and for the men land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs) with 1 serf; and (there are) 8 villeins and 3 bordars with $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. Wood(land) 1 league in length and 7 furlongs in breadth. The whole in king Edward's time was worth 19 pounds; now (it is-worth) 32 pounds of 20 (pence) to the ounce.

IN GRAVESENDE HUNDRET

The King holds FALELAV [Fawsley]. There are $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and the 5th part of a hide. (There) is inland² for 4 ploughs. There are 2 ploughs; and 6 bordars have 4 ploughs. In the other land without the demesne there are 6 villeins, with a reeve having 4 ploughs. From the meadow come (*exeunt*) 2 shillings. In king Edward's time it was worth 15 pounds. Now it renders as many pounds of 20 (pence) to the ounce. To this manor pertains the soc of 1 hide less 1 bovate; it renders 4 shillings.

IN COLTREWESTAN HUNDRET

The King holds HARDINGESTORP [Hardingstone]. There are 5 hides, besides the in-

were ironworkers, not smiths. (Mr. Stuart Moore's note). ¹ See preceding note.

² The difficult term 'inland' seems to mean here, as in some other cases, land not assessed for the 'geld' (see my observations in *Domesday Studies*, pp. 107-109).

land (where there)³ is land for 4 ploughs. There are 2 ploughs, and 4 villeins and 10 bordars with 4 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering 50 shillings. From the meadows and pastures (come) 66 pence. In king Edward's time it was worth 30 pounds; now (it is worth) 12 pounds. William Pevrel and Gunfrid de Cioches have there 2 hides and 60 acres of meadow, by the king's gift, as they say.

IN CORBEI HUNDRET

The King holds GRETONE [Gretton]. There are 3 hides and 3 virgates of land. There is land for 14 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 1 bondwoman; and 15 villeins and 5 bordars, with the priest, have 6 ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 3 shillings, and 20 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 league in length and half a league in breadth. It was and is worth 20 pounds. Very many things are wanting to this manor which in king Edward's time were appendant to it (*ibi*) as well in wood and ironworks (*ferrariis*), as in other returns (*redditiibus*).

The King holds CORBEI [Corby]. There are $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 7 villeins, with the priest and 3 bordars, have 4 ploughs. Wood(land) 18 furlongs in length and 4 furlongs in breadth. In king Edward's time and now it (was and) is worth 10 pounds. Many things are wanting to this manor which in king Edward's time belonged to it in wood and ironworks (*ferrariis*) and other matters (*causis*).

The King holds BRICSTOC [Brigstock]. There are $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. In demesne are 3 ploughs and 6 serfs; and 16 villeins, with the priest and 4 bordars, have 5 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 5 shillings, and 7 acres of meadow. Wood 15 furlongs in length and 1 league in breadth.

To this manor belong these members:—SLEPE [Islip]. There is 1 hide and 3 virgates of land; in GEITENTONE [Geddington], 1 hide; in STANERE [Stanion], $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land. There is land for 8 ploughs. There are 4 sochmen and 9 villeins and 7 bordars. Among (them) all they have 7 ploughs. In SLEPE [Islip] there are 4 acres of meadow.

The whole manor, with its appendages, in

³ The meaning here is doubtful.

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king Edward's time was worth 15 pounds; now (it is worth) 20 pounds.

IN WILEBROC HUNDRET

The King holds DODINTONE [Duddington]. There is 1 hide. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 10 villeins with the priest and 2 bordars, have 3 ploughs. There (are) 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 league in length and 6 furlongs in breadth. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 4 shillings. This land belongs to Gretone [Gretton] Manor aforesaid. In king Edward's time it was worth 10 pounds, and now the same (*similiter*). Many things are wanting to it which belong to (the sources of its) ferm (*firram*),¹ in woods and other matters (*causis*).

IN RODEWELLE HUNDRET

The King holds RODEWELLE [Rothwell] and OVERTONE [Orton]. There are 8 hides and 2 thirds of 1 hide. There is land for 40 ploughs. In demesne there are 4 ploughs; and 19 villeins and 45 bordars have 10½ ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering (*de*) 9 shillings and 4 pence, and 8 acres of meadow.

To this manor belong these members:— LODINTONE [Loddington], with (*de*) 1 hide and the 3rd part of 1 hide; CLENDONE [Clendon], with (*de*) half a hide and the 3rd part of 1 hide; DRACONE [Draughton], with (*de*) 1 hide and half a virgate of land; ARNINGVORDE [Arthingworth], with (*de*) a half virgate of land; DEREBUG [Desborough], half a virgate of land; KEILMERSE [Kelmarsh], with (*de*) 2 hides and the 3rd part of 1 virgate; OXENDONE [Oxendon], with (*de*) 1 hide and 1 virgate of land; CLPESTONE [Clipston], with (*de*) 1½ virgates; CRANESLEG [Cransley], with (*de*) 2 hides and 1 virgate of land; BURTONE [Broughton], with (*de*) half a hide. There is land for 19 ploughs in all. There are 47 sochmen, having 18 ploughs.

This manor of Rodewelle [Rothwell], with its appendages, in king Edward's time was worth 30 pounds: now (it is worth) 50 pounds.

IN MALESLEA HUNDRET

The King holds BRICLESWORDE [Brixworth]. There are 9½ hides. There is land for 35 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and (there are) 14 villeins, with the priest and 15 bordars, having 15 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering (*de*) 33 shillings

and 4 pence, and 8 acres of meadow. To this manor pertains a wood which used to render yearly 100 shillings. This is now in the king's forest.

To this manor belongs HOLECOTE [Holcot]. There are 2 hides and 2½ virgates of land. There is land for 10 ploughs. There are 11 sochmen with 4 ploughs. The whole in king Edward's time rendered 30 pounds; now (it renders) 36 pounds.

The King holds FEXTONE [Faxton]. There are 2 hides. There is land for 12 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs and 6 serfs; and (there are) 6 villeins and 9 bordars with 3 ploughs. There are 16 acres of meadow.

To this manor belong WALDA [Wold] and WALDGRAVE [Walgrave].² There are 2 hides and 3½ virgates of land. There is land for 7 ploughs. There are 14 sochmen with 6 ploughs. There are 12 acres of meadow. The whole in king Edward's time rendered 15 pounds; now (it renders) 16 pounds.

The King holds TORP [Kingsthorpe].³ There are 4 hides and 3 virgates of land. There is land for 20 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs; and (there are) 16 villeins and 8 bordars with 3 ploughs. There are 3 mills rendering (*de*) 43 shillings and 4 pence, and 5 acres of meadow.

To this manor belongs MULTONE [Moulton]. There are 1½ hides and 1 bovat of land. And WESTONE [Weston], with 1 hide, similarly belongs to it. There is land for 5 ploughs in all. There are 10 sochmen with 3 ploughs, and 3 acres of meadow.

The whole in king Edward's time rendered 15 pounds; now (it renders) as much.

The King holds OPTONE [Upton]. There are 2 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 10 villeins and 10 bordars have 5 ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 12 shillings and 8 pence, and 6 acres of meadow.

To this manor pertains ERLESTONE [Harleston]. There is half a hide. There is land for 2 ploughs. There are 2 sochmen with 1 plough. The whole in king Edward's time was worth 15 pounds; now (it is worth) as much.

² The letters *a* and *b* placed above these names in the original denote transposition. (Mr. Stuart Moore's note).

³ In Spelho Hundred.

¹ *i.e.* the rent paid for it as a whole.

THE HOLDERS OF LANDS

The King holds NASSINTONE [Nassington]. There are 6 hides. There is land for 16 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs); and 24 villeins, with the priest and 2 bordars, have 14 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering (*de*) 30 shillings and 8 pence, and 40 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 league in length and half a league in breadth. In king Edward's time it rendered 26 pounds and 13 shillings by tale; now (it renders) 30 pounds.

fo. 220

In BEREฟอร์ด [Barford]¹ is 1 hide. Oslac the White (*Albus*) held this with 2 sochmen, of whom he himself had the soc. There is land for 2 ploughs. There are 4 villeins and 3 bordars with 2 ploughs, and a mill rendering (*de*) 32 pence. This land king William granted to Godwin.

In RICSDONE [Rushton] is half a virgate of land. The soc pertains to Bereford [Barford]. There is 1 sochman having 2 oxen.² It is worth 10 shillings.

In PATORP [Apthorp] are 2 hides pertaining to Nassintone [Nassington]. There is land for 12 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs); and (there are) 16 villeins and 4 bordars with 10 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 6 shillings, and 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 league in length and as much in breadth. In king Edward's time it rendered 13 pounds and 7 shillings.

The King holds TANESOVRE [Tansor]. There are 6 hides. There is land for 18 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs; and (there are) 15 villeins and 4 bordars with 14 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 10 shillings, and 12 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 league in length, and half a league in breadth. In king Edward's time it rendered 20 pounds by tale.

The King holds BERNEWELLE [Barnwell All Saints]. There are 6 hides, and 1 virgate of land. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs); and (there are) 12 villeins and 2 bordars with 4 ploughs. There are 24 acres of meadow. In king Edward's time it rendered 13 pounds and 6 shillings and 6 pence by tale; now (it renders) 30 pounds together with TANESOVRE [Tansor].

The King holds CLIVE [King's Cliff].

There is 1 hide, and 2½ virgates. Earl Ælfgar held (it). There is land for 14 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs with 1 serf; and (there are) 7 villeins with the priest, and 6 bordars having 5 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 12 pence, and 4 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 league in length, and half a league in breadth. In king Edward's time it rendered 7 pounds; now (it renders) 10 pounds.

The King holds ROCHINGEHAM [Rockingham]. There is 1 hide. There is land for 3 ploughs. There are 5 villeins, and 6 bordars with 3 ploughs. Boui held this land with sac and soc in king Edward's time. It was waste when king William ordered a castle to be made (*fieri*) there. It is now worth 26 shillings.

In STOCHE [Stoke Albany] is 1 hide of the soc (land) of Corbi [Corby], the king's manor. There is land for 2 ploughs. There are there with 5 sochmen, who render 64 pence to CORBI [Corby].

In WILBERTSTONE [Wilbarston] are 3 virgates of land. There is land for 2 ploughs. There are 5 sochmen with 3 bordars having 1½ ploughs. It was and is worth 4 shillings.

The King hold PASSONHAM [Passenham].³ There is 1 hide. There is land for 12 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) with 1 serf; and (there are) 8 villeins and 6 bordars, with 1 free man, having 5 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 13 shillings and 4 pence, and 30 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 league in length, and as much in breadth.

To this manor pertains POCHESELEI [Pokesle]. There is half a hide. There is land for 1 plough. There is 1 sochman, having half a plough, and he renders 5 shillings.

The whole, in king Edward's time, rendered 8 pounds by tale; now (it renders) 10 pounds.

IN CORBI HUNDRET

The King holds WICLEI (Weekley). Earl Ælfgar held (it). There are 2½ hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs) and 4 serfs; and (there are) 12 villeins and 6 bordars with 4 ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 64 pence. It was worth 3 pounds; now (it is worth) 6 pounds.

¹ A decayed hamlet in Rushton parish.

² *i.e.* a quarter of a plough-team.

³ Passenham and Pokesle, or Puckesley, are in Cleyley Hundred.

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IN NEVESLUND HUNDRET

The King holds TINGDENE [Finedon]. Queen Edith held (it). There are, with its appendages, 27¹ hides. There is land for 54 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 hides, and there (are) 4 ploughs and 7 serfs; and (there are) 30 villeins and 15 bordars with 11 ploughs, and 50 sochmen with 24 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills, rendering (*de*) 18 shillings, and a third rendering (*de*) 16 shillings. There (are) 50 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 league in length and half a league in breadth. In king Edward's time it rendered 20 pounds by tale; now (it renders) 40 pounds by weight of 20 (pence) to the ounce. The 50 sochmen render yearly for the soc (*de soca*) 8 pounds and 10 pence. The land of this manor lies thus: In Hecham [Higham] Hundred, 10½ hides; In Hocheslau [Huxlow] Hundred, 1½ hides; In Geritone Hundred,² 1 hide; In Rodeuuel [Rothwell] Hundred, 3 quarters of 1 hide; In Ordinbaro [Orlingbury] Hundred, 3 hides and 1 virgate of land; In Neueslund³ Hundred, 9½ hides.

II. THE LAND OF THE BISHOP OF BAYEUX

The bishop of Bayeux holds of the King, and William Peurel [Peverel] of him, half a hide in HALECOTE [Holcote]. There is land for 1 plough. This is in demesne with 4 bordars. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 8 pence, and 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 furlong in length and half a furlong in breadth. It was worth 8 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Almar held (it) with sac and soc.

Of the Bishop's fee⁴ William holds 1½ virgates of land in HOHTONE [Houghton Parva]. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) and 2 serfs; and (there are) 9 villeins and 6 bordars with 3 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering 8 pence, and 20 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 furlong in length and half a furlong in breadth. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 40

shillings. Ulf, son of Azor, held (it) with sac and soc. The Countess Judith claims (it).

Of the bishop of Bayeux's fee William holds 3 virgates of land in BRACHESFELD [Brayfield]. There is land for 2 ploughs. These (ploughs) 5 villeins with 2 bordars have there. There (are) 5 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 20 shillings. Nigel claims (it) to the use of the Countess Judith. Ulf, son of Azor, held (it) in king Edward's time.

Of the bishop of Bayeux's fee, William holds 2 hides in GRENTAVORDE [Greatworth]. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne is 1 (plough) and 2 serfs; and (there are) 10 villeins and 5 bordars with 3 ploughs. It was worth 4 pounds; now (it is worth) 3 pounds. Saulf held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

Of the bishop of Bayeux's fee, William holds 1 virgate of land in BRANDESTONE [Braunston]. The soc of this lies in Faleuuesle [Fawsley]. There is land for 1 plough. This is there with 2 villeins and 3 bordars. It was and is worth 20 shillings. Sawin held (it) in king Edward's time.

Of the bishop of Bayeux's fee, William holds 1 virgate of land and the 5th part of 1 virgate in WALTONE [Walton].⁵ The soc of this lies in Sutone [Sutton]. There is land for 1 plough. This is there with 1 serf and 2 villeins. There (is) a mill rendering .4 shillings. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 15 shillings. Ulfric held (it) of Alnod of Canterbury.⁶

Of the bishop of Bayeux's fee, the same William holds 4½ hides and the 5th part of a half a hide in HERTEWELLE [Hartwell]. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne (there are) 2 (ploughs) and 5 serfs; and 11 villeins and 9 bordars with the priest, have 4½ ploughs. There (are) 12 acres of meadow, and a mill rendering (*de*) 17 shillings and 4 pence. Wood(land) 8 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth. It was worth 4 pounds; now (it is worth) 70 shillings. Edmar held (it) freely.

IN CLAILEI HUNDRET

Of the bishop of Bayeux's fee, William holds half a hide less the 5th part of half a hide in POCHESLAI [Pokesle]. There is land

¹ 'Require hidarum numerum' is added in the margin.

² We have no other mention of this Hundred in Domesday.

³ Contained in the present Hundred of Huxlow.

⁴ This technical phrase should be noted. The Bishop had forfeited his land at the time.

⁵ In Sutton Hundred.

⁶ Æthelnoth 'cild,' a Kentish noble and great landowner.

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for 1 plough. There is 1 villein with 1 bordar having half a plough. It is worth 4 shillings. Almar held (it) in king Edward's time.

In Rode [Roade] Stefan holds of the Bishop 1 hide. It is waste. It is in the king's hand.¹

IN GRAVESEND HUNDRET

Of the bishop of Bayeux's fee, William holds half a hide in EVERDONE [Everdon]. The soc of this land lies in Felesleuue [Fawsley]. There is land for 1 plough. This is there with 2 villeins and 2 bordars, and (there are) 6 acres of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Bern held (it) in king Edward's time.

IN SUTONE HUNDRET

Of the bishop of Bayeux's fee, Adam holds in CERLINTONE [Charleton], 3 virgates of land and the 5th part of 1 virgate. The soc lies in Sutone [Sutton]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) with 2 bordars. It was and is worth ten shillings.

IN NIWEBOTE HUNDRET

Of the bishop of Bayeux's fee, William holds 2 hides and $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land in HEIFORDE [Nether Heyford]. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs and 2 serfs; and (there are) 7 villeins and 2 bordars with 1 plough. There are 10 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Biscop and Ailet held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

III. THE LAND OF THE BISHOP OF DURHAM

IN WICESLEA WAPENT[AKE]

The bishop of Durham holds 2 hides of the King in HORNE [Horn].² There is land for 4 ploughs. (There is) now in demesne 1 plough; and 12 villeins with the priest and 1 sochman and 7 bordars and 1 serf, have 4 ploughs. There (are) 3 mills rendering (*de*) 20 shillings. Wood(land) 1 furlong and 12 perches in length and 17 perches in breadth. It was and is worth 4 pounds. Langfer held (it) of king Edward with sac and soc.

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IV. THE LAND OF THE BISHOP OF COUTANCES

The bishop of Coutances holds of the King RANDE [Raunds]. There are 6 hides and $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates. There is land for

In demesne there are 2 ploughs, and 4 serfs; and (there are) 4 villeins and 6 bordars with 2 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 34 shillings and 8 pence and 100 eels. There (are) 20 acres of meadow. Of this land, 3 sochmen hold 2 hides; Robert, 1 hide; Goisfrid, 1 hide; Algar, $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates. There are in demesne $6\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and (there are) 7 villeins and 4 bordars, with 2 serfs having 2 ploughs, and a mill rendering 12 pence. It was worth 60 shillings; now (it is worth) 100 shillings. Of this land, William⁴ claims against the Bishop 1 hide and half a virgate of land. Burred held this manor with sac and soc.

The same Bishop holds DENEFORDE [Denford]. There are 5 hides. There is land for⁵ In demesne there are $4\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and 3 serfs; and (there are) 12 villeins and 18 bordars and 4 sochmen with 12 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering (*de*) 50 shillings, and 8 pence, and 250 eels. Burred held this manor freely. It was worth 100 shillings; now (it is worth) 8 pounds.

IN NARRESFORD HUNDRET

Of the same Bishop, Aubrey⁶ holds $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 1 bovat in WADENHO [Wadenhoe]. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 (ploughs), and 4 serfs; and 3 villeins and 14 bordars, with the priest, have 2 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 12 pence, and 11 acres of meadow. It was worth 3 pounds; now (it is worth) 4 pounds. To this land pertain 3 virgates of land in SCALDEWELLE [Scaldwell]. There is land for 1 plough. That is there with 2 villeins and 2 bordars. The soc is the king's.

Of the same Bishop, the same Aubrey holds 2 hides and half a virgate of land in Wadenho [Wadenhoe]. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs and 4 serfs; and 9 villeins and 3 bordars with 1 sochman have $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 13 shillings and 4 pence, and 65 eels. There are 16 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 3 furlongs in length and 1 league

² A blank is left in the original.

⁴ Apparently William Pevrel (see p. 337, col. 1).

⁵ Blank in original.

⁶ Aubrey de Vere (see p. 362 below).

¹ This is entered in the margin.

² In Rutland.

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in breadth. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings. Burred held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

IN ORDINEBARO HUNDRET

Of the same Bishop, Walchelin holds 2 hides and 3 virgates of land in HARGINDONE [Harrowden Magna]. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and (there are) 12 villeins and 13 bordars with $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 8 shillings. Of this land, 1 knight holds 3 virgates of land, and has there 1 plough with 2 villeins and 1 bordar. It was worth 60 shillings; now (it is worth) 100 shillings. Edwin held (it) freely.

Of the same Bishop, Walchelin holds 1 hide, and a half in another HARGINDONE [Harrowden Parva]. There is land for 3 ploughs, and those are there in demesne. This land is valued with that above.

Of the same Bishop's fee,¹ Hardwin, a man of Walchelin's, holds 1 hide and 1 virgate of land in the same vill. There is land for 2 ploughs, and they are in demesne with 1 serf; and 4 villeins with 1 bordar have half a plough. There (are) 5 acres of meadow. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Siuerd held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

Of the same Bishop, Walchelin holds 3 virgates of land in HISHAM [Isham]. There is land for 1 plough, and that is in demesne with 4 bordars who have half a plough. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Burred held (it) with sac and soc.

Of the same Bishop, Walchelin holds 2 hides and 3 virgates of land in BURTONE [Burton Latimer?]. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), with 1 serf and 1 bondwoman. There 9 villeins and 5 bordars have $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There are 15 acres of meadow. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Burred held (it) with sac and soc.

IN STODFALDE HUNDRET

Of the same Bishop, Walchelin holds half a hide and 3 quarters of 1 virgate in CLIPSTONE [Clipston]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 4 villeins and 2 bordars have $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. To this land belongs 1 virgate of land and 2 thirds of 1 virgate. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings.

IN WARDONE HUNDRET

Of the same Bishop, Walchelin holds 2 hides in HOCECOTE [Edgcott]. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), with 2 serfs; and 21 villeins, and 2 bordars have 3 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 10 shillings, and 6 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 4 pounds. Burred held (it) with sac and soc, and likewise the above-mentioned (lands).

IN NEVESLUND HUNDRET

Of the same Bishop, Richard holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides in BURTONE [Burton Latimer]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) with 1 serf; and 3 villeins with 1 bordar have 1 plough. There (are) 6 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 10 shillings.

Of the same Bishop, Richard holds half a hide in TINGDENE [Finedon]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) with 3 bordars. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 5 shillings, and 3 acres of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Burred held both.²

Of the same Bishop, Geoffrey holds 1 hide and half a virgate of land in HANTONE.³ There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 3 serfs; and (there are) 4 villeins and 2 bordars with 2 ploughs. There (are) 4 acres of meadow. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. Alwin Cubold held (it).

IN WIMERESLE HUNDRET

Of the same Bishop, Winemar holds half a hide in HACHELINTONE [Hackleton]. There is land for 1 plough, and that is there with 1 serf and 3 bordars. It was worth 16 pence; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Burred held (it).

Of the same Bishop, Winemar holds 1 hide in PRESTON [Preston Deanery], and it was assessed at 1 hide in king Edward's time. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 2 serfs; and 4 villeins with 1 plough. There (are) 6 acres of meadow. It was worth 2 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Wlwara, the widow, held (it) in king Edward's time.

¹ 'Feudo' is interlined above 'ipso.'

² *i.e.* this and the preceding estate.

³ The name is now lost.

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Of the same Bishop, Robert holds BERTONE [Barton Segrave]. There are $4\frac{1}{2}$ hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 4 ploughs and 7 serfs, and 1 bondwoman; and 23 villeins with 3 bordars have 6 ploughs. There are 2 mills rendering 10 shillings, and 40 acres of meadow, and 8 acres of wood. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 100 shillings. Burred held it.

IN NEVESLUND HUNDRET

Of the same Bishop, Robert holds 1 virgate of land in CRANFORD [Cranford]. There is land for 1 plough. There are 5 villeins and 1 sochman with 2 bordars; they have 2 ploughs. It is worth 10 shillings. It was waste.

IN HANVERDESHO HUNDRET

Of the same Bishop, Norgot holds 1 virgate of land in WENDLESBERIE [Wellingborough]. There is land for half a plough. There are 2 sochmen with that (half a plough). It is worth 2 shillings. The soc pertains to the bishop's manor of Hargintone [Harrowden].

Of the same Bishop, William holds 2 hides, less half a virgate, in NIWETONE [Newton Bromswold]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs, and (there are) 8 villeins and 6 bordars with 2 ploughs. Wood(land) there 2 furlongs in length, and 1 furlong in breadth. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Azor held (it) in king Edward's time.

IN NEVESLUND HUNDRET

Of the Bishop's fee, Hugh holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides in EDINTONE [Adington Magna]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 6 villeins with 1 bordar have 3 ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 16 pence, and 4 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

Of the Bishop's fee, Osmund holds 1 hide and 1 virgate of land in another EDINTONE [Adington Parva]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 plough; and 4 villeins have 2 ploughs. There (are) 2 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Azor held (it) of king Edward.

Of the same Bishop, Ralf holds 1 hide and

1 virgate of land in WODEFORD [Woodford],¹ There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs; and 1 villein with the priest and 5 bordars have $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There (are) 6 acres of meadow, and 1 acre of wood. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. Burred held (it), but the soc pertained to Burg [Peterborough].

Of the same Bishop, Odelin holds 3 virgates of land in TRAPESTONE [Thrapston]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) and 2 serfs; and 1 villein with 4 bordars have 1 plough. It was worth 12 pence; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Burred held (it) freely.

Of the same Bishop, Edwin holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land in STANERE [Stanion]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) and 3 bordars have 1 plough. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 32 pence. Wood(land) 4 furlongs in length and 2 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 2 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. The same (Edwin) held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

IN HOCHESLAU HUNDRET

Of the same Bishop, Edwin and Algar hold 2 hides less 1 virgate in LUHWIC [Lowick]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 plough and 1 bondwoman; and (there are) 7 villeins and 2 bordars with 2 ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 64 pence. Wood(land) 5 furlongs in length and 3 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 25 shillings.

Of the same Bishop, Algar holds 1 hide and 1 virgate of land in ISLEP [Islip]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 2 serfs; and 5 villeins with 2 bordars have 1 plough.

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Of the same Bishop, Turbern holds 3 virgates of land in HORTONE [Horton]. There is land for 1 plough. That (plough) is there, with 2 villeins and 2 bordars. It was worth 6 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Frano held (it) in king Edward's time.

IN SUDTONE HUNDRET

Of the Bishop, Alvríc holds in CREVELTONE [Croughton] four-fifths of half a hide. There is land for half a plough. There are

¹ In Huxlow Hundred.

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3 bordars with 1 plough. It is worth 10 shillings. The same (Alvric) held (it) of the son of Burred, and could not leave (*discedere*).¹

Of the Bishop, Robert holds FINEMERE [Finmere].² There are 8 hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs, and 4 serfs; and (there are) 10 villeins and 5 bordars with 6 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 14 shillings, and 100 acres of pasture. Wood(land) 1 furlong in length and 1 in breadth. It was and is worth 8 pounds. Ulward held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

Of the Bishop, Roger holds HEDHAM [? Hethe].³ There are 8 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs) with 1 serf; and (there are) 8 villeins and 5 bordars with 1 plough. There are 20 acres of pasture. It was and is worth 8 pounds. Uluward held (it) freely.

Of the Bishop, Herlwin holds SCILDESWELLE [Shelswell].³ There are 10 hides. There is land for 7 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 2 serfs; and (there are) 7 villeins and 7 bordars with 4 ploughs. It was worth 100 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 pounds. Edwin, son of Burred, held (it).

Of the Bishop, William holds GLINTONE [Glympton].³ There are 10 hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 6 ploughs and 6 serfs; and (there are) 15 villeins and 5 bordars with 5 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 5 shillings, and 18 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 6 furlongs in length and as much in breadth. It was worth 6 pounds; now (it is worth) 8 pounds. Ulward held (it) freely of king Edward.

Of the Bishop, William and Ilger hold OITONE [Etton].³ There are 5 hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 2 serfs; and (there are) 14 villeins and 2 bordars with 5 ploughs. There (are) 30 acres of meadow, and 13 acres of pasture. It was worth 4 pounds; now (it is worth) 100 shillings. Uluward held (it) freely.

Of the Bishop, Turstin holds half a hide in

HORTONE [Horton].³ There is land for half a plough. There (are) 6 acres of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Leviget held (it) freely.

Of the Bishop, Robert holds 5 hides in EGFORDE [Heyford?].³ There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 5 serfs; and (there are) 5 villeins and 7 bordars with 2 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 20 shillings, and 30 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 6 pounds. Edwin, son of Burred, held (it) freely.

V. THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN'S LAND

IN GISLEBURG HUNDRET AND A HALF

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN holds of the King HOLEWELLE [Hollowell]. There is 1 hide and two-thirds of half a hide. There is land for 3 ploughs. There are 4 villeins, with 1 bordar having 1 plough. It was and is worth 10 shillings. Bardi held (it) freely.

Of the same Bishop, Walter holds 2 hides in LIDENTONE [Lyddington].

There pertains (to it) Stocche [Dry Stoke], Smelstone [Snelston],⁴ Caldecote [Caldecote]. There is land for 16 ploughs in all. In demesne there are 6 ploughs, and 4 serfs; and 26 villeins and 24 bordars having 9 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering (*de*) 8 shillings, and 28 acres of meadow. Wood 3 furlongs in length and 2 furlongs in breadth. The whole is worth 8 pounds. Bardi held (it) with sac and soc.

Of the same Bishop, Walter holds 1 hide in ESINDONE [Essendine].⁵ There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs, with 1 serf; and (there are) 16 villeins and 5 bordars with 4 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 16 shillings, and 3 acres of meadow. Wood 6 furlongs in length, and 4 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 4 pounds; now (is is worth) 100 shillings. Bardi held (it) with sac and soc.

IN ELBOLDESTON HUNDRET

Of the same Bishop, Godfrey holds 4 hides in CEWECUMBE [Chalcombe]. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 4 serfs; and (there are) 20

¹ *i.e.* hold it of another lord.

² In Oxfordshire, the adjoining village to Shelswell.

³ In Oxfordshire.

⁴ Formerly a village about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west of Dry Stoke, no traces of which at present remain. (Mr. Moore's note.)

⁵ In Rutland.

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villeins and 9 bordars with 8 ploughs. There (are) 3 mills rendering (*de*) 16 shillings, and 9 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 pounds; now (it is worth) 7 pounds. Bardi held (it) freely.

VI. THE LAND OF ST. PETER OF BURG

IN STOCH HUNDRET

THE ABBEY OF ST. PETER OF BURG [Peterborough] holds the vill which is called BURG [Peterborough]. There are 8 hides. There is land for 16 ploughs. In demesne there are 5 (ploughs), and 7 serfs; and (there are) 37 villeins and 8 bordars with 2 ploughs. There (is) a mill (*de*) rendering 5 shillings; and 40 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 pounds.

IN STOCH HUNDRET

The same Church holds COTINGEHAM [Cottingham]. There are 7 hides. There is land for 14 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 4 serfs; and (there are) 29 villeins and 10 bordars with 10 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 40 pence, and 12 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 league in length and half a league in breadth. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings.

The same Church holds TORP [Long Thorp]. There are 2 hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 4 serfs; and (there are) 12 villeins and 2 bordars with 2 ploughs. There is meadow(land) 3 furlongs in length and 1 furlong in breadth. Wood(land) 6 furlongs in length and 4 furlongs in breadth. There are 3 sochmen with 2 ploughs. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 50 shillings.

The same Church holds CASTRE [Castor]. There are 3 hides. There is land for 12 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs) with 1 serf; and (there are) 13 villeins and 2 bordars with 3½ ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 8 shillings, and 15 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 6 furlongs in length and 4 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 50 shillings.

The same Church holds EGLESWORDE [Aylesworth]. There are 6 hides. There is land for 12 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs; and (there are) 17 villeins and 2

bordars and 8 sochmen with 12 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering (*de*) 12 shillings, and 15 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 3 furlongs in length and 2 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 70 shillings.

The same Church holds 6 hides in PILLESGETE [Pillesgate]. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) with 1 serf; and 9 villeins and 2 bordars and 26 sochmen have 11 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 10 shillings, and 40 acres of meadow, and 5 acres of wood. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 4 pounds.

The same Church holds 3 hides in GLINTONE [Glington]. In this (place) with its appendages there were, in king Edward's time, 30 ploughs. There is land for 12 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 2 bondwomen; and (there are) 10 villeins and 6 bordars and 8 sochmen with 5 ploughs. There are 100 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 10 furlongs in length and 9 furlongs in breadth. It was and is worth 60 shillings.

The same Church holds 8 hides and 1 virgate of land in WIDERINTONE [Werrington]. There, with the appendages, were 30 ploughs in king Edward's time.¹ There is land for 12 ploughs. In demesne there are 5 ploughs, and 4 serfs; and (there are) 30 villeins and 4 bordars and 19 sochmen having 19 ploughs. Wood(land) 2 leagues in length and 1 league in breadth. It was worth 4 pounds; now (it is worth) 7 pounds.

The same Church holds in ADELINTONE [Elton]² 1½ hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. There are 6 sochmen with 3 ploughs; and 8 acres of meadow. It was worth 2 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings.

The same Church holds 6 hides in UNDELE [Oundle]. There is land for 9 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 3 serfs; and (there are) 23 villeins and 10 bordars with 9 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 20 shillings, and 250 eels; and there (are) 50

¹ See Introduction.

² In Huntingdonshire. Mr. Stuart Moore (following Bridges) identifies this as 'Adington Magna' (Northants), but it seems to me to be clearly Elton, as on fo. 222 (p. 318 below).

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acres of meadow. Wood(land) 3 leagues in length and 2 leagues in breadth. When stocked (*oneratur*) it is worth 20 shillings. From the market (come) 25 shillings. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 11 pounds.

To this manor belongs half a hide in **TERNINGE** [Thurning].¹ There is land for half a plough. There is 1 villein. It was worth 2 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 pence.

IN WICESLE² HUNDRET

To the same manor pertain 2 hides and 1 virgate of land in **STOCHE** [Stoke Doily]. There is land for 8 ploughs.

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In demesne is 1 plough, and (there are) 10 villeins, and 2 bordars with 2½ ploughs. There are 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 league in length and 5 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 110 shillings.

The same Church holds 7½ hides in **WERMINTONE** [Warmington].³ There is land for 16 ploughs. In demesne there are 4 ploughs, and 3 serfs; and (there are) 32 villeins with 8 ploughs. There is a mill rendering 40 shillings, and 325 eels, and (there are) 40 acres of meadow, and 1 acre of wood. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 11 pounds.

The same Church holds 4½ hides in **ASCETONE** [Ashton].³ There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs with 1 serf; and (there are) 11 villeins and 2 bordars with 6 ploughs. There are 2 mills rendering (*de*) 40 shillings, and 325 eels, and 16 acres of meadow, and 4 acres of wood. It was worth 8 shillings; now (it is worth) 7 pounds.

IN WICESLE HUNDRED

The same Church holds **TEDINWELLE** [Tinwell].⁴ There are 5 hides and 1 virgate of land. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs); and (there are) 24 villeins and 11 bordars with 7 ploughs. There are 2 mills, rendering (*de*) 24 shillings, and 20 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 7 pounds.

The same Church holds 1 hide and 1 virgate of land in **SLIPTONE** [Slipton]. There is land for 2 ploughs, and these are there with 6 sochmen. There are 4 acres of wood. It is worth 5 shillings.

The same Church holds 5 hides and 1 virgate of land in **ERDIBURNE** [Irthlingborough]. There is land for 15 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 2 serfs; and (there are) 9 villeins and 8 bordars and 4 sochmen, with 5 ploughs among (them) all. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 18 shillings. It was worth 3 pounds; now (it is worth) 6 pounds.

The same Church holds 1 hide and 1 virgate of land in **STANWIGE** [Stanwick]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs with 1 serf; and (there are) 8 villeins and 4 bordars with 1 plough and 2 oxen.⁴ There is a mill rendering (*de*) 20 shillings, and 8 acres of meadow. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 100 shillings.

The same Church holds 10 hides in **CATERINGE** [Kettering]. There is land for 16 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 1 bondwoman; and (there are) 31 villeins with 10 ploughs. There are 2 mills, rendering (*de*) 20 shillings, and 107 acres of meadow, and 3 acres of wood. It was worth 10 pounds; now (it is worth) 11 pounds.

THE LAND OF THE MEN OF THE SAME CHURCH

In **CASTRE** [Castor] 5 knights hold 3 hides of the Abbot, and have there 5 ploughs in demesne; and (there are) 9 villeins and 5 bordars and 3 serfs with 2½ ploughs. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

Roger holds of the Abbot **MELETONE** [Milton].⁵ There are 2 hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), with 1 serf; and (there are) 5 villeins and 6 sochmen with 2 ploughs. Wood(land) 3 furlongs in length and 1 in breadth. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

In **EGLESWORDE** [Aylesworth] 3 of the Abbot's knights hold 3 hides, and have there 3 ploughs. It is worth 3 pounds.

¹ In Huntingdonshire. ² An error?

³ In Polebrook Hundred.

⁴ In Rutland.

⁴ i.e. a quarter of a plough (team).

⁵ In Nassaburgh Hundred.

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Anschtill¹ holds of the Abbot WITHERINGHAM [Wittering].² There are 9 hides. There is land for 16 ploughs. In king Edward's time 30 (ploughs) were there. In demesne there are 3 ploughs and 5 serfs; and (there are) 12 villeins and 7 bordars, and 20 sochmen with 12 ploughs among (them) all. There are 3 mills rendering (*de*) 19 shillings. Wood(land) 2 leagues in length and 1 in breadth. It was worth 3 pounds; now (it is worth) 11 pounds.

In BURGLEA [Burleigh] Geoffrey holds 3 virgates of land of the Abbot. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) and 3 serfs; and 7 villeins with 1 bordar have 1 plough. There (are) 6 acres of meadow, and 3 acres of wood. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

In SUDTorp [Southorpe] Geoffrey³ and 2 other knights hold 4½ hides of the Abbot. There is land for 6 ploughs. In king Edward's time there were 12. In demesne there are 3 ploughs; and (there are) 4 villeins and 2 bordars and 18 sochmen with 7 ploughs. There are 2½ mills, rendering (*de*) 3 shillings, and 20 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 2 furlongs in length and 1 in breadth. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 6 pounds.

In GLINTONE [Glinton] 3 of the Abbot's knights hold 10 hides and 1 virgate of land. They have there 6 ploughs in demesne, and (there are) 33 sochmen with 9½ ploughs. There are 2 mills rendering 11 shillings and 4 pence. It was worth 40 shillings; now it is worth 10 pounds.

In WIDERINTONE [Werrington] 4 of the Abbot's knights hold 3 hides; and they have there 4 ploughs, and 12 acres of meadow. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 4 pounds.

In WRITORP [Worthorpe] Alwin holds of the Abbot 3 virgates of land which belong to WITERINGHAM [Wittering]. There he has (*habent*) 3 sochmen with 1½ ploughs, and 4 acres of meadow. It is worth eight shillings.

In CODESTOCHE [Cotherstock] 2 knights hold of the Abbot 3 hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 (ploughs); and (there are) 10 villeins and 4 bordars with 6½ ploughs. There are 24 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 6 furlongs in length and 4 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings.

In LIDINTONE [Lutton] William holds of the Abbot 2½ hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) with 1 serf; and (there are) 8 villeins and 2 bordars with 2 ploughs, and 6 sochmen with 2 ploughs, and (there are) 12 acres of meadow. The soc of this land pertains to Undel [Oundle]. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

In WARMINTONE [Warmington] 2 knights hold of the Abbot 1 hide, which belongs to (*jacet ad*) Walebroc [Willibrook⁴]. There is land for 2 ploughs. Those are there with 2 villeins and 3 sochmen. It was worth 2 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings.

In POCHEBROC [Polebrook] Eustace⁵ holds of the Abbot 4 hides, less 1 virgate. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), with 1 serf; and 5 villeins, and 2 bordars and 3 sochmen with 8 villeins have 4½ ploughs among (them) all. There are 5 acres of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Of this land Geoffrey holds 1 virgate of land.

In MERMESTON [Armston] and CHINGESTORP [Kingsthorpe]⁶ 5 knights hold of the Abbot 5 hides of soc(land). There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 5 (ploughs), and (there are) 9 villeins and 3 bordars and 6 sochmen with 3 ploughs among (them) all. There are 3 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

In HININTONE [Hemington] 3 knights hold of the Abbot 2½ hides, and the soc belongs to (*est Socca de*) Undel [Oundle]. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs, and (there are) 5 villeins with 2 ploughs. There are 10 acres of meadow.

¹ de St. Medard.

² Including Thornhaugh (with Siberton and part of Walmesford and Elton), which are not mentioned in Domesday.

³ This was Geoffrey, 'nephew of the abbot.'

⁴ Warmington is in Polebrook Hundred; but the hamlet of Warmington is locally situate in Willibrook Hundred (see p. 387 below).

⁵ Eustace, sheriff of Huntingdonshire (see Introduction).

⁶ In Polebrook Hundred.

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It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

In LULLINTONE¹ [Luddington] Walter holds of the Abbot $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, which pertains to Undel [Oundle]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and (there are) 7 villeins with $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings.

In WINEWICHE [Winwick] Eustace holds of the Abbot half a hide. The soc belongs to (*est de*) is of Undel [Oundle]. There 2 sochmen with 2 villeins have 2 ploughs. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings.

Isenbard and Rozelin hold $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides of the Abbot, and it pertains to WERMINTONE [Warmington]. There, with 3 villeins, they have 2 ploughs. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

Two knights and 2 serjeants [*servientes*], with 1 sochman, hold 2 hides and 3 virgates of land, which pertain to STOCHE [Stoke Doily]. There they have $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and 8 villeins and 4 bordars with 3 ploughs. There are 10 acres of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 50 shillings.

In PILCHETONE [Pilton] Roger² holds of the Abbot $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and (there are) 6 villeins and 2 bordars and 2 sochmen with 4 ploughs. There (are) 8 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 14 furlongs in length and 4 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings.

In WADENHO [Wadenhoe] Roger holds of the Abbot $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land, and he has there half a plough with 1 bordar. There are 2 acres of meadow. It is worth 5 shillings.

In ASECHIRCE [Achurch] Azelin³ and 2 Englishmen hold of the Abbot $6\frac{1}{2}$ hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 3 serfs; and (there are) 10 villeins and 11 bordars with 5 ploughs. There are 20 acres of meadow, and 6 acres of wood. It was worth 60 shillings; now (it is worth) 100 shillings.

¹ 'Lidintone' (on preceding page) and 'Lullintone.' See Introduction for my reasons for identifying these places as above.

² This was Roger 'Infans.'

³ This was Azelin de 'Waltervilla.'

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In TIRCEMESSE [Tichmarsh] Azelin holds of the Abbot 3 hides and 1 virgate of land. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 3 serfs; and (there are) 7 villeins and 3 bordars with 2 ploughs; and 3 sochmen with 1 plough. There are 10 acres of meadow. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 55 shillings.

In CLOTONE [Clapton] Eustace⁴ holds of the Abbot 3 hides and 3 virgates of land, and the third part of half a hide. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and (there are) 1 knight and 9 villeins and 12 bordars and 3 sochmen with 4 ploughs. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

In the same vill Elmar holds of the Abbot half a hide, and has there 1 plough; and (there are) 2 villeins and 3 bordars with half a plough. In the whole vill there are 26 acres of meadow. This part of Elmar's is worth 10 shillings.

In PIHTESLEA [Pytchley] Azo holds of the Abbot 5 hides and 1 virgate of land. There is land for 13 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 2 serfs; and (there are) 5 villeins and as many bordars with 3 ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 8 shillings, and 11 acres of meadow. There also Azo has $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, and there are 4 sochmen with 1 plough. The whole, when he received it, was worth 8 pounds; now (it is worth) 100 shillings. This Manor belonged to the monks' farm (*firram*),⁵ and there was a demesne building (*dominicum ædificium*).

In CATEWORDE [Catworth]⁶ Eustace holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. There are 4 sochmen with 1 plough. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 5 shillings.

In ELDEWINCLE [Aldwinkle St. Peter's] are 3 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and (there are) 9 villeins and 2 bordars and 2 sochmen with $4\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There (are) 20 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 2 leagues in length and 1 in breadth; it is worth 15 shillings when it is charged (*oneratur*). It was worth 20 shil-

⁴ This was Eustace, sheriff of Hunts.

⁵ *i.e.* the estates which provided sustenance of the monks.

⁶ Catworth is locally situate in Huntingdonshire, but 8 small portions of it belong to Northamptonshire. (Mr. Moore's note.)

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lings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. If it were well worked (*exerceretur*) it would be worth 100 shillings. This land in king Edward's time belonged to the sustenance of the monks. Ferron holds (it) by the king's command against the will of the Abbot.

In WODEFORD [Woodford] Roger² holds of the Abbot 7 hides. There is land for 12 ploughs. In demesne there are 2½ ploughs, and 4 serfs; and (there are) 12 villeins and 3 bordars and 12 sochmen with 9½ ploughs. There is a mill rendering 2 shillings, and 20 acres of meadow. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings.

In the same vill, Roger, Hugh, and Siward hold 3 virgates of land of the Abbot, and have there 1 plough; and it is worth 10 shillings. The whole manor was waste when they received (it).

In EDINTONE [Addington Parva] Hugh holds of the Abbot 3 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs) with 1 serf; and (there are) 8 villeins and 4 bordars and 1 sochman with 4 ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 12 pence and 200 eels; and (there are) 8 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

In ERDINBURNE [Irthlingborough] 4 knights hold of the Abbot 5 hides, less 1 virgate. There they have 6 ploughs in demesne; and (there are) 8 villeins and 2 bordars with 2 ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 5 shillings. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 100 shillings. The soc belongs to (*jacet in*) Burg [Peterborough].

In CRANEFORD [Cranford] Robert holds of the Abbot 3 hides, and 1 knight (holds) of him. There is land for 6 ploughs. There are 15 sochmen having 6 ploughs. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

In CRANEFORD [Cranford] are 1½ hides. Godric holds (it) of the King.³ There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough),

and 4 bordars have another plough. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 2 shillings, and 4 acres of meadow, and as many of wood. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings.

In DAILINTONE [Dallington] Richard⁴ holds of the Abbot 4 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 3 serfs; and 18 villeins, with the priest and 4 bordars, have 6 ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 20 shillings, and 5 acres of meadow. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 100 shillings.

In ASCETONE [Ashton]⁵ Ivo holds of the Abbot half a hide. It is worth 4 shillings.

VII. THE LAND OF ST. PETER OF WESTMINSTER

IN CORBIE HUNDRET

THE ABBEY OF ST. PETER OF WESTMINSTER (*Westmon[asterium]*) holds DENE [Dene]. There are 2½ hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs); and 17 villeins, with the priest and 6 bordars, have 6 ploughs; and 2 smiths render 32 shillings. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 3 shillings. Wood(land) 1 league in length, and 8 furlongs in breadth. It was, and is, worth 6 pounds. The Church always held (it).

IN HOCHESLAU HUNDRET

The same Church holds 3 hides in SUTBURG [Sudborough]. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 12 villeins and 5 sochmen, with 2 bordars, have 6 ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 6 shillings. Wood(land) 7 furlongs in length, and 6 in breadth. It was and is worth 100 shillings.

VIII. THE LAND OF ST. EDMUND

IN RODEWELLE HUNDRET

THE ABBEY OF S. EDMUND⁶ holds of the King 1 hide of soc(land) in BOCTONE [Boughton].⁷ There is land for 2 ploughs. There are 6 villeins and 2 bordars with 2 ploughs.

¹ In Huxlow Hundred.

² This was Roger 'Maufe' or 'Malfed.'

³ A space is left here in the original. This is a difficult passage. Mr. Stuart Moore reads it as above, but in Domesday the word is 'ten,' which may stand for *tenet* or for *tenuit*.

⁴ He was succeeded here by his son Robert.

⁵ In Polebrook Hundred.

⁶ Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.

⁷ In Corby Hundred.

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There is a mill rendering (*de*) 12 pence. Wood(land) 1 furlong in length and 1 in breadth. It was worth 64 pence; now (it is worth) 12 shillings. Earl Algar held (it).

In GADINTONE [Geddington] the Abbey holds 1 hide and 1 virgate of land of soc(land). There is land for 2 ploughs. These are there with 5 sochmen and 4 bordars. It was and is worth 6 shillings.

In ERNIWADE [Arthingworth] the Abbey holds half a virgate of soc(land). There is 1 villein with 2 bordars, having half a plough. It was and is worth 3 shillings.

In SCADEWELLE [Scaldwell] the Abbey holds 1 hide and 3 virgates of land. There is land for 3 ploughs. These are there with 9 sochmen and 9 bordars. It was and is worth 16 shillings. Earl Algar held (it). King William gave it to St. Edmund for the soul of queen Matilda.

In HOHTONE [Hanging Houghton] the Abbey holds 1 hide and half a virgate of land. There is land for 2 ploughs. These (ploughs) 3 sochmen and 12 bordars have there. It was and is worth 12 shillings.

In LANGEPORT [Lamport] the Abbey holds 1 virgate of land and 1 bovat. There is land for 1 plough. This 3 sochmen have there. It was and is worth 40 pence.

In BADEBROC [Braybrook] the Abbey holds half a virgate of soc(land). There is land for half a plough. This 1 sochman has there. It was and is worth 3 shillings.

IN STODFALD HUNDRET

In FERENDONE [East Farndon] the Abbey holds of soc(land) half a hide and the third part of 1 virgate. There is land for 1 plough. There are 1½ ploughs with 3 sochmen. It was and is worth 10 shillings. Earl Algar held (it).

In UDETORP [Hothorp] the Abbey holds 3½ virgates of soc(land). There is land for 1 plough. There is 1 sochman with half a plough. It was and is worth 2 shillings.

In CLIPESTONE [Clipston] the Abbey holds 2½ virgates of land. There is land for 1 plough. There are 5 sochmen with 1½ ploughs. It was and is worth 10 shillings.

In CALME [Comb]¹ the Abbey holds half a hide of soc(land). There is land for half a plough. There 5 sochmen have 1 plough. It was, and is, worth 6 shillings.

In MEDEWELLE [Maidwell] the Abbey holds the third part of 1 virgate. There is 1 sochman. It was and is worth 6 pence.

IN NEVESLUND HUNDRET

The Abbot himself holds of the King WERCHINTONE [Warkton]. There are 3½ hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs, and (there are) 16 villeins and 8 bordars with 7 ploughs; and (there are) 3 serfs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 12 shillings, and 20 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 3 furlongs in length and 2 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 7 pounds; now (it is worth) 8 pounds. Ælveva, the mother of Morcar, held (it).

IX. THE LAND OF ST. BENEDICT OF RAMSEY

IN WILIBROC HUNDRET

THE ABBEY OF RAMSEY (*Ramesyg*) holds 1½ virgates of land in HALA [Hale]. There is land for 1 plough. This is there in demesne; and 1 villein and 2 bordars have half a plough. It was and is worth 5 shillings.

In LUDITONE [Lutton]² the Abbey holds half a hide. There is land for half a plough. This 1 villein has there. It was and is worth 2 shillings.

In ADELINTONE [Elton]³ the Abbey holds half a hide. There is land for half a plough. Nevertheless, 2 villeins have there 1 plough and 6 acres of meadow. It was worth 3 shillings. It is worth 5 shillings.

IN POCHEBROC HUNDRET

In HEMINTONE [Hemington] the Abbey holds 2½ hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 8 villeins with 1 bordar have 3 ploughs. There are 10 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings.

¹ Part of Clipston Lordship. (Bridges, II. 17.) ² See p. 316, note 1.

³ Part of Elton, about 70 acres, is in Northamptonshire; the rest is in Huntingdonshire. Compare p. 313, note 2.

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IN HOCHESLAU HUNDRET

In BERNEWELLE [Barnwell St. Andrew] the Abbey holds 6 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs and 3 serfs; and 15 villeins, with the priest and 6 bordars, have 6 ploughs. There are 2 mills rendering 24 shillings, and 40 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 6 furlongs in length and $3\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs in breadth. It was worth 30 shillings; now (it is worth) 4 pounds.

IN WIMERLEU HUNDRET

In WICETONE [Whiston] and DODINTONE [Denton]¹ the Abbey holds 3 hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs) and 3 serfs; and (there are) 20 villeins and 8 bordars and 3 sochmen with 5 ploughs.

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There is a mill rendering (*de*) 20 shillings, and 20 acres of meadow. Wood(land) without pannage (*non pastilis*), 1 furlong in length and 1 in breadth. It was worth 30 shillings; now (it is worth) 4 pounds.

In Brachefeld [Brayfield] is 1 house pertaining to WICETONE [Whiston], with 5 acres of land. Of half an acre the Countess Judith has the soc.

X. THE LAND OF THE CHURCH OF THORNEY

IN HOCHESLAU HUNDRET

THE ABBEY OF THORNYG (*Thorney*) holds in TUIWELLA [Twywell] 3 hides, less $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates. There is land for 7 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs); and (there are) 9 villeins and 5 bordars with 5 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering (*de*) 7 shillings and 4 pence, and 2 acres of wood. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

IN GRAVESEND HUNDRET

The same Abbey holds half a hide in CERWELTONE [Charwelton], and Baldwin (holds) of it. There is land for 1 plough. In demesne there is half (a plough); and 1 villein with 1 bordar has half a plough. It was worth 12 pence; now (it is worth) 5 shillings.

In SALWEBRIGE [Sawbridge]² Turchil holds of the Abbot 5 hides. There is land for 5

ploughs. There are 12 villeins and 5 bordars, with 4 ploughs, and (there are) 8 acres of meadow. It was worth 50 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings.

XI. THE LAND OF THE CHURCH OF CROWLAND

IN OPTONGREN HUNDRET

THE ABBEY OF CRUILAND (*Crowland*) holds in WRIDTORP [Worthington] $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and (there are) 11 villeins and 2 bordars with 2 ploughs. There are 6 acres of meadow, and a mill rendering (*de*) 5 shillings. It is worth 40 shillings.

In ELMINTONE [Elmington] the Abbey holds 1 hide. There is land for 1 plough. This is there in demesne; and (there are) 2 villeins and 2 bordars with 1 plough, and 6 acres of meadow. It was worth 8 shillings; now (it is worth) 16 shillings.

In ELMINTONE [Elmington] the Abbey holds 2 hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. There are 5 villeins and 4 bordars with 3 ploughs. There (are) 12 acres of meadow. It was worth 12 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings.

IN NEVESLUND HUNDRET

In EDINTONE [Addington Magna] the Abbey holds 2 hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) and 2 serfs; and 6 villeins and 3 bordars with 1 sochman have 3 ploughs. There are 6 acres of meadow, and a mill rendering (*de*) 13 shillings and 4 pence. It was worth 15 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

In WENDLEBERIE [Wellingborough] the Abbey holds $5\frac{1}{2}$ hides. There is land for 12 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 plough, with 1 serf; and 21 villeins with the priest and 7 bordars and 11 sochmen have 11 ploughs. There are 2 mills rendering (*de*) 16 shillings, and 30 acres of meadow. It was worth 50 shillings, and afterwards 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 6 pounds.

IN GRAVESEND HUNDRET

In BADEBI [Badby] the Abbey holds 4 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 4 ploughs and 8 serfs, and 5 bondwomen; and (there are) 12 villeins and 8 bordars with 6 ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 2 shillings, and 28 acres of

¹ See Introduction for this identification.

² In Warwickshire. See Introduction.

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meadow. Wood(land) 4 furlongs in length and 2 furlongs in breadth. It was and is worth 8 pounds.

XII. THE LAND OF THE CHURCH OF COVENTRY

IN GISLEBURG HUNDRET AND A HALF

THE ABBEY OF COVENTREU (*Coventry*) holds 3 hides and 1 virgate of land in WINEWICHE [Winwick]. There is land for $6\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There are in demesne 3 ploughs; and 16 villeins, with the priest and 5 bordars, have 3 ploughs. It is worth 50 shillings.

In ESSEBI [Cold Ashby] the Abbey holds $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides, and they belong to Wineuiche [Winwick]. There is land for 5 ploughs. There are 4 villeins and 5 bordars with 2 ploughs. It is worth 10 shillings.

IN ALVRATLEU HUNDRET¹

In CHIDESBI [Kilsby] the Abbey holds 2 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs) and 3 serfs; and (there are) 10 villeins and 8 bordars with 3 ploughs. There are 8 acres of meadow. It is worth 50 shillings.

In EDDONE [West Haddon] the Abbey holds 2 hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. There are 4 villeins with 2 bordars and 4 sochmen having 4 ploughs. It is worth 20 shillings. One of these hides renders soc in Wineuiche [Winwick].

XIII. THE LAND OF THE CHURCH OF EVESHAM

IN GRAVESEND HUNDRET

THE ABBEY OF EVESHAM holds 4 hides in LICEBERGE [Lichborow]. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs); and (there are) 8 villeins and 6 bordars with 5 ploughs. It was and is worth 40 shillings. Levenot held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

XIV. THE LAND OF THE CHURCH OF GRESTAIN

THE ABBEY OF ST. MARY OF GRESTAIN² holds of the King in almoil NEUBOTE [New-

¹ This is the same Hundred as 'Alwardeslea,' the 'Aylwoldesle' of the 'Northamptonshire Survey.'

² A little to the east of Honfleur, near the mouth of the Seine.

bottle].² There are two thirds (*partes*) of 1 hide. There is land for $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 3 villeins with 1 bordar have half a plough. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 2 shillings. It was and is worth 6 shillings.

In BAIEBROC [Braybrooke] the same Church holds 2 hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 plough with 1 serf; and (there are) 4 villeins and 4 bordars with 3 ploughs. It was worth 6 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Ulchet held these lands.

In CLENEDONE [Clendon] the same Church holds half a hide and the third part of 1 hide. There is land for 2 ploughs. There are 4 villeins and 4 bordars with 1 serf having 1 plough. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Ulf held (it) freely.

In RISTONE [Rushton] the same Church holds half a virgate of land. There is land for half a plough. There are 2 bordars. It is worth 16 pence.

IN RODEWELLE HUNDRET

The same Church holds ARINTONE [Harrington]. There are 5 hides and the third part of 1 hide. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs; and (there are) 12 villeins and 13 bordars with 5 ploughs, and 4 sochmen with 2 ploughs. There are 4 mills rendering 2 shillings. It was worth 30 shillings; now (it is worth) 6 pounds. Ulf held (it).

In WESTONE the same Church holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there are $1\frac{1}{2}$ (ploughs), and 2 serfs; and (there are) 4 villeins and 2 bordars with half a plough. There are 5 acres of meadow. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. Ulf held (it) in king Edward's time.

XV. THE LAND OF ANSGER THE CHAPLAIN

IN STOTFALD HUNDRET

ANSGER the clerk holds of the King 1 hide and 3 virgates of land in MEDEWELLE [Maidwell], and has there 2 ploughs, and 2 serfs; and (there are) 5 villeins and 2 bordars with 2 ploughs. It is worth 20 shillings. Godric held it in king Edward's time.

³ In Rothwell Hundred.

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XVI. THE LAND OF ST. REMY AT RHEIMS

IN CODWESTAN¹ HUNDRET

The Church of ST. REMY (*Remigius*) holds of the King LEPELIE [Lapley].² It held it similarly in king Edward's time. There are, with the appendages, 3 hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 5 serfs; and (there are) 18 villeins and 9 bordars with 8 ploughs. There are 16 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 3 furlongs in length and as many in breadth. It is worth 50 shillings.

In MERSETONE [Marston]³ 2 men of St. Remy hold 1 hide. There is land for 1 plough. It is worth 5 shillings. Godwin held (it) with soc and sac.

XVII. THE LAND OF THE KING'S ALMSMEN³

IN FOXLE HUNDRET

LEWIN, the priest, holds of the King 1 virgate of land in ETENESTONE [Adstone]. Half a plough can be (employed) there. It is worth 6 shillings.

IN GRAVESENDE HUNDRET

GODWIN, the priest, holds of the King 4 fifths of half a hide in FELVESLEA [Fawsley]. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there with 4 bordars. It is worth 10 shillings.

GODWIN, the priest, and Ulwin hold of the King 3 virgates of land and the fifth part of 1 virgate in SUTONE [King's Sutton]. There is land for 2 ploughs, and they are there with 9 bordars. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 32 pence. It is worth 15 shillings.

IN CLAILEA HUNDRET

RAINALD holds of the King half a hide in PASSEHAM [Passenham], and has there 1 plough with 4 bordars. It is worth 10 shillings.

IN SPELEHOU HUNDRET

GODWIN, the priest, holds of the King 1½ virgates of land in BUCHETONE [Boughton], and has there half a plough. It is worth 5 shillings.

¹ Cuttlestone (Staffordshire).

² These two places lie in Staffordshire. See Introduction.

³ *Elemosinar* in the text.

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XVIII. THE LAND OF THE COUNT OF MORTAIN

IN ANVESDESOV HUNDRET

The COUNT OF MORTAIN holds 4 hides in SNEWELLE [Sywell]. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs and 6 serfs; and (there are) 18 villeins and 2 bordars with 3 ploughs. There (are) 20 acres of meadow. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 6 pounds. Osmund, son of Leuric, held (it) with soc and sac. 2 hides of this land are in demesne. The Countess Judith claims the soc of 1½ virgates.

In BELINGE [Billing Parva] the Count holds half a hide and half a virgate of land. There is land for 1 plough. There are 3 villeins with 2 oxen, and (there are) 20 acres of meadow. It was worth 2 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Osmund held (it) freely.

IN NIUEBOT HUNDRET

In BUCHEBROC [Bugbrooke] the Count holds 4 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 4 serfs; and (there are) 30 villeins and 14 bordars with 10 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering (*de*) 40 shillings, and 30 acres of meadow, and 4 acres of wood.

IN SPELHO HUNDRET

In WESTONE [Weston Favel] the Count holds 2½ hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 4 serfs; and (there are) 12 villeins and 2 bordars, with 3½ ploughs. There (are) 10 acres of meadow. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings. Leuric held (it) freely.

In BELLICA [Billing Parva] is soc(land) of this manor, 2½ virgates of land. There is land for 1 plough. There are 2 villeins with 1 bordar, and 7 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 10 shillings.

IN NIWEBOTLE HUNDRET

In EDDONE [East Haddon] the Count holds 2½ hides. Of these 1 is in demesne. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs and 9 serfs; and 7 villeins, with the priest and 7 bordars, have 2 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering 10 shillings, and 8 acres of meadow, and 10 acres of under-wood (*minutæ silvæ*). It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 4 pounds.

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In RAVENESTORP [Ravensthorpe] the Count holds half a hide. There is land for 2 ploughs. There is 1 villein with 2 bordars. It was, and is, worth 5 shillings. Edmar held both these lands freely.

In BRANTONE [Brampton] the Count holds 4 hides less 5 acres. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 hide, and there are 2 ploughs and 2 serfs; and (there are) 3 villeins and 5 bordars and 12 sochmen with $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs among (them) all. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 28 shillings, and 10 acres of meadow, and 5 acres of underwood (*minutæ silvæ*). It was worth 60 shillings; now (it is worth) 100 shillings. Ulmar held half a hide of this land in king Edward's time. All the rest lies and lay in (*jacet et jacuit in*) CRETONE [Creaton] and EDDONE [East Haddon].

In the other HAIFORD [Upper Heyford] the Count holds the third part of 1 virgate, which is valued with the chief manor.

IN CAILÆ HUNDRET

In ALDRITONE [Alderton] the Count holds 2 hides and half a virgate of land. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne are 2 hides and half a virgate, and there are 3 ploughs with 1 serf; and (there are) 3 villeins and 3 bordars with 2 ploughs. There are 12 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 3 furlongs in length and as much in breadth. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 50 shillings. Edmar and Edwin held (it) freely.

IN ELBOLDESTOU HUNDRET

In ELMEDENE [Helmedon] the Count holds 4 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne are 2 hides; and there are 5 ploughs and 2 serfs; and (there are) 7 villeins and 2 bordars with 2 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 12 pence. It was and is worth 6 pounds. Alwin and Godwin held (it) freely.

IN GRAVESEND HUNDRET

In CELVERDESCOTE¹ the Count holds 4 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne are 2 hides of this land, and there is

1 serf; and 9 villeins and 3 bordars, with 1 priest, have $4\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There are 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 2 furlongs in length and $1\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs in breadth. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings. Turbern and Alli held (it) freely.

IN CLAILEA HUNDRET

In COVESGRAVE [Cosgrave] (the Count) holds four fifths of half a hide. There is land for 1 plough, which is there with 3 villeins. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 4 shillings. Godwin held (it) freely.

IN STOCHE HUNDRET

HUMFREY holds of the count of Mortain 3 virgates of land in CARLINTONE [Carlton]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs); and 7 sochmen, with 6 bordars, have 4 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering 16 pence, and 8 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 2 furlongs in length and half a furlong in breadth. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Leuric held (it) freely.

The same (Humfrey) holds 1 hide and the third part of 1 hide, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ bovate in DINGLEI [Dingley]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 5 villeins have another. There (are) 4 acres of meadow, and 5 acres of wood. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Edwin held (it) freely.

The same (Humfrey) holds 2 hides and 1 virgate of land, and two thirds of 1 virgate, in ARNIWORDE [Arthingworth]. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs, with 1 serf; and (there are) 9 villeins, with 1 bordar and 8 sochmen, with 3 ploughs. It was, and is, worth 20 shillings. Ulf and Fardein held (it).

In PIPEWELLE [Pipewell] the same Humfrey holds the third part of 1 hide. There is land

¹ No traces of this place at present remain. (See Baker i. 238.) I am as completely baffled as was Baker by this 'Cilverdescote.' Its position in the 'Northamptonshire Survey' suggests that it must have been somewhere near Everdon Magna. It should be noted that to the south-west, and still more to the

south-east of Everdon, there are still a number of places of which the names end in 'cote.' 'Aviescote,' 'Edwinscote,' and 'Derlescote' are now represented by Ascote, Escote, and Dalscote, lying close together. 'Cilverdescote,' therefore, may be represented by some 'cote' which has changed its prefix.

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for 1 plough, which (plough) 3 bordars have there. It was worth 3 shillings; now (it is worth) 5 shillings. Ulchetel held (it) freely.

IN STOTFALD HUNDRET

The same (Humfrey) holds in SIBERTOD [Sibertoft] 3 hides less 1 virgate. There is land for 9 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 4 serfs and 5 bondwomen; and 8 villeins with the priest, have 2 ploughs. There (are) 20 acres of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings.

The same (Humfrey) holds 3 virgates of land and the third part of 1 virgate in FARE-DONE [East Farndon]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 3 villeins have another. It was worth 2 shillings; now (it is worth) 5 shillings. Fregis and Brumage held (it).

The same (Humfrey) holds 2 hides and 1 virgate of land, and the third part of 1 virgate in BUGEDONE [Bowdon Parva]. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) with 1 serf; and 11 villeins with 1 bordar have 2 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 16 pence, and 8 acres of meadow, and (there are) 3 sochmen with 2 ploughs. It was worth 64 pence; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. Godwin and Wlsin held (it).

The same (Humfrey) holds 1 hide and the third part of 1 virgate in OXEDONE [Oxendon Parva]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 plough. (There is) nothing more. It was worth 12 pence; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Fregis held (it).

The same (Humfrey) holds 3 hides in ESBECE [Haselbeech].¹ There is land for 9 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs); and 9 villeins and 10 bordars have 7 ploughs. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Ælmar and Norman held (it) in king Edward's time.

¹ I am quite unable to see on what grounds Mr. Stuart Moore makes 'Esbece' to be 'Cold Ashby,' which is in Guilsborough Hundred, which is named 'Essebi' in Domesday, and the manorial descent of which is quite distinct. Bridges identified 'Esbece' as Haselbeech (ii. 35), which is duly found in the 'Northamptonshire Survey' as 'Haselbeche' in 'Stotfolde' Hundred, and which is there entered as of 3 hides, formerly held (as in Domesday above) by the count of Mortain.

The same (Humfrey) holds half a bovaté of land in HEROLVESTONE [Harleston]. There is land for 2 oxen.² Edric held (it) freely. It is waste.

The same (Humfrey) holds two thirds of 1 hide in OLLETORP [Althorpe]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne he has 1 (plough) with 3 serfs; and 1 knight has another with 3 bordars. There are 8 acres of meadow and 2 acres of spinney (*spinnetum*). It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Tosti and Snoterman held (it) freely.

IN CLAVESLEA HUNDRET

The same (Humfrey) holds 5 sixths of 1 hide in COVESGRAVE [Cosgrave]. The soc belongs to (*jacet in*) Paseham [Passenham]. There is land for 1½ ploughs; and so many are there with 4 bordars. There (are) 10 acres of meadow, and 2 'quarentenes' of underwood (*silva minutæ*). It was and is worth 20 shillings. Ailric held (it) freely.

IN SPELHO HUNDRET

The same (Humfrey) holds 1 virgate of land in PIDESFORD [Pitsford]. There is land for half a plough, and it is there with 1 bordar. A mill rendering (*de*) 2 shillings is there. It was worth 3 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Osmund held (it) freely.

ALAN holds of the Count 1 virgate of land in DESBURG [Desborough]. There is land for 1 plough. There is half a plough with 2 bordars. It was worth 3 shillings; now (it is worth) 5 shillings. Fregis held (it).

The same (Alan) holds 1 hide in WOLTONE [Whilton]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 2 serfs; and 2 villeins, with a priest and 6 bordars, have another plough. There (are) 5 acres of meadow, and a mill rendering (*de*) 40 pence. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings. Boui held (it) freely.

The same (Alan) holds 2 hides and 4 fifths of half a hide in HECHAM [Cold Higham]. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 4 villeins, with the priest and 3 bordars, have 1 plough. There (are) 10 acres of meadow. It was

² *i.e.* a quarter of a ploughland.

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worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Leuric held (it) freely.

The same (Alan) holds half a hide in WEDONE [Weedon Bec]. There is land for $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There is 1 plough, with 1 villein and 4 bordars; and (there are) 6 acres of meadow, and 2 acres of underwood (*silva minutæ*), and a mill rendering (*de*) 40 pence. It was worth 40 pence; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Estan held (it) freely.

The same (Alan) holds 3 hides in STAVERTONE [Staverton]. The soc of $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides belongs to (*jacet in*) Faleweslei [Fawsley]. There is land for $8\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and (there are) 6 villeins and 12 bordars with 4 ploughs. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings. Saulf, Edric, and Alwin held (it) freely.

RALF holds of the Count 2 hides less 1 virgate in HOHTONE [Hanging Houghton]. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there are $1\frac{1}{2}$ (ploughs), and 3 villeins with 2 bordars have the same. It was worth 3 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Fredgis held (it) freely in king Edward's time. The Abbot of S. Edmund's claims the soc of $2\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land.

IN WARDUNE HUNDRET

The same (Ralf) holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, and 1 bovaté of land in FERENDONE [West Farndon]. There is land for 2 ploughs. There is 1 (plough) with 2 bordars. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Ordric held (it) of archbishop Stigand.

The same (Ralf) holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, and the fifth part of 1 hide in TIFELDE [Tiffeld]. There is land for 4 ploughs. There is 1 plough with 1 villein. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Biscop and Leuing held (it) freely.

IN CLAILEA HUNDRET

The same (Ralf) holds 2 hides in FORHO [Furtho]. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne is 1 (plough) and 4 serfs; and (there are) 2 villeins and 3 bordars with 1 plough. There (are) 8 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 30

shillings. Godeman and Godeva held (it) freely.

The same (Ralf) holds of the Earl half a hide and 1 bovaté in WALETONE [Walton].¹ There is land for 1 plough, which (plough) is there, with 3 bordars, and 1 acre of meadow. It was worth 3 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Alwin held (it) freely.

The same (Ralf) holds 2 hides and 4 fifths of half a hide in CERVELTONE [Charwelton]. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs) with 1 serf; and (there are) 7 villeins with 3 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 2 shillings. It was worth 6 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings.

IN SUDTONE HUNDRET

The same (Ralf) holds 2 hides in MIDELTONE [Middleton Chenduit]. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs) with 1 serf; and (there are) 7 villeins and 6 bordars with 1 plough. There are 4 acres of meadow. It was worth 50 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings. Almar and Saulf held (it). The soc of the fifth part of this land belongs to (*jacet in*) Sutone [Sutton].

The same (Ralf) holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides in CERLINTONE [Charlton]. There is land for $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. It is waste. Nevertheless it is and was worth 5 shillings. Four thegns held (it) freely.

IN TOVECESTRE HUNDRET

The same (Ralf) holds 4 fifths of half a hide in FOXESLEA [Foxley]. There is land for 1 plough. It is waste. Nevertheless it is worth 5 shillings. Merefin held (it) freely.

The same (Ralf) holds half a hide in SIGRESHAM [Syresham]. There is land for 10 oxen.² There is 1 villein. Wood(land) 1 furlong in length and half (a furlong) in breadth. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 5 shillings. Levenot held (it).

The same (Ralf) holds 1 virgate of land and 2 parts of 1 virgate in HEIFORD [Nether Heyford]. The soc belongs to (*jacet in*) Buchebroc [Bugbrooke]. There is land for 1 plough, and that (plough) is there, and 1 acre of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Ulstan held (it).

¹ In Sutton Hundred.

² *i.e.* a ploughland and a quarter.

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IN ORDINBARO HUNDRET

WILLIAM¹ holds of the Count half a hide in HANITONE [Hannington]. There is land for 1 plough, and that (plough) is there, with 1 villein and 2 bordars, and 1 acre of meadow. It was worth 12 pence; now (it is worth) 5 shillings. Edwin held (it) freely.

IN NIWEBOLD HUNDRET

The same (William) holds 1½ hides in HEROLVESTUNE [Harleston]. There is land for 3 ploughs. These (ploughs) 2 villeins and 3 bordars have there. There (is) a mill rendering 2 shillings, and 3 acres of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. Leuric and Orgar held (it) freely.

The same (William) holds half a hide in BRINTONE [Brington]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 plough, and 2 serfs; and (there are) 3 villeins and 3 bordars with 2 ploughs. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Alvrice held freely 1 virgate of this land. The soc of the other virgate belongs to (*jacet in*) EDONE [East Haddon], the Count's manor.

The same (William) holds 3 virgates of land in BROCOLE [Brockhall], and MISECOTE [Muscote]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 6 bordars have another. There are 6 acres of meadow. It was, and is, worth 40 shillings. Leuric and Lewin held (it) freely.

The same (William) holds half a hide in CIFELINGEBERIE [Kislingbury]. There is land for 1½ ploughs. One (plough) is there, with 1 villein and 2 bordars and 2 serfs, and (there are) 2 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Leuric held (it) freely.

The same (William) holds 3 virgates of land in FLORA [Floore]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 4 serfs; and 2 villeins and 5 bordars have another. There (are) 4 acres of meadow, and a mill rendering 10 shillings. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Leuric held (it) freely, as well as that which follows.

The same (William) holds 3 virgates of land in CLACHESTORP [Clathorp], and half a

hide in the same vill. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 3 serfs, and (there are) 1 villein and 1 bordar. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Leuric and Turbern held (it) freely.

The same (William) holds 3 virgates of land in CELVRECOT [Yelvertoft]. There is land for 1½ ploughs, and they (*tantum*) are there, with 1 villein and 4 bordars. There (are) 2 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 10 shillings. Tored held (it) freely.

The same (William) holds half a hide in ESSEBI [Cold Ashby]. There is land for 1 plough. There is half a plough, with 3 villeins and 1 bordar. It was and is worth 5 shillings.

The same (William) holds 1½ hides in the same vill. There is land for 3 ploughs. There are 4 villeins with 2 ploughs, and 4 acres of meadow. It was worth 2 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Aileva, the widow, held these two lands.

IN FOXELE HUNDRET

The same (William) holds 1 hide in SILVESTONE [Silverstone]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), with 1 serf. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Leuric held (it) freely.

IN GISLEBURG HUNDRET

The same (William) holds half a hide in CREPTONE [Creaton Parva], and Humfrey (holds it) of him. There is land for 1 plough, which (plough) is there, with 2 serfs and 2 bordars, and (there are) 10 acres of wood. It was worth 16 pence; now (it is worth) 10 shillings.

The same (William) holds half a hide in TIFELDE [Tiffeld] and the fifth part of 1 hide. There is land for 1½ ploughs. 1 plough is there with 1 villein, and (there are) 7 acres of wood. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Lewin held (it) freely. The soc of this land pertains to Toucestre [Towcester].

The same (William) holds half a hide and 4 fifths of half a hide in FORHO [Furtho]. There is land for 3½ ploughs. In demesne there is 1 plough; and 2 bordars have half a plough. There are 6 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth)

¹ This was William de Cahagnes (see No. xxxiii. below).

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30 shillings. Alwin and Osulf held (it) freely.

The same (William) holds 9 tenths of 1 hide in the same vill. There is land for 2 ploughs. There is 1 (plough) with 1 villein and 3 bordars. There are 8 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings. Godwin held (it) freely.

The same (William) holds 3 hides and 1 virgate of land in FORDINESTONE [Farthingstone]. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) with 2 serfs. There 1 knight holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, and has 2 ploughs, with 2 serfs; and (there are) 6 villeins and 3 bordars with 2 ploughs. There are 16 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 4 furlongs in length and 3 in breadth. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 4 pounds. Ulvic held freely $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides of this land. Orgar, Tedgar and Godric held the rest. The soc pertains to Falewesleie [Fawsley].

The same (William) holds 3 hides in DODFORDE [Dodford]. There is land for 7 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 4 serfs; and 11 villeins, with the priest and 6 bordars, have 5 ploughs. There are 2 mills rendering (*de*) 10 shillings, and 12 acres of meadow. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 4 pounds. Turbern held freely $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides of this land. Orgar, Aluric and Leuric held the rest of the land. The soc belongs to (*jacet ad*) Faleweslei [Fawsley].

The same (William) holds 1 hide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land in ESTANESTONE [Easton Neston]. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are $1\frac{1}{2}$ (ploughs), and 2 serfs; and (there are) 6 villeins with $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 10 shillings, and 3 acres of meadow. Wood(land) $3\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs in length, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs in breadth. It was and is worth 30 shillings.

IN GRAVESEND HUNDRET

The same (William) holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land in SNOCHESCUMBE [Snoscomb]. There is land for 1 plough, which is there with 1 serf and 1 villein; and (there are) 2 acres of underwood (*silva minuta*). It was and is worth 10 shillings. Turbern held these 2 lands (*i.e.* this and the preceding) freely.

IN SUTON HUNDRET

The same (William) holds half a hide in PRESTETONE [Purston]. There is land for 1 plough, which is there with 1 bordar; and

(there are) 2 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 10 shillings. The soc belongs to (*jacet ad*) SUTONE [Sutton]. Alric held (it) freely.

The same (William) holds half a hide in WALTONE [Walton]. There is land for 1 plough, which is there, with 2 serfs and 2 bordars. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. The soc belongs to (*jacet in*) SUTONE [Sutton]. 5 thegns held it, and could betake themselves (*ire*) where they pleased.

The same (William) holds the fifth part of 1 hide in SUTONE [King's Sutton]. There is land for half a plough. There is 1 villein. It was and is worth 3 shillings. Alric held (it) freely.

The same (William) holds 4 parts of half a hide in CRIWELTONE [Croughton]. There is land for 1 plough. There is 1 bordar only. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 2 shillings. Levenot held (it) freely. It was a dependance of (*Berewicha in*) Evelaia [Evenley].

IN HOLEBOLDEST[OU] HUNDRET

The same (William) holds 1 hide in AVELAI [Evenley]. There is land for $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and (there are) 1 villein and 7 bordars with half a (*de*) plough. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 12 pence. It was worth 60 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. Lefstan held (it) freely.

IN GRAVESENDE HUNDRET

The same (William) holds half a hide in CELVERTONE [Charwelton]. There is land for 1 plough, which (plough) 4 villeins and 2 bordars have there. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) twenty shillings. Ulvic held (it) freely.

ALVRED¹ holds of the Count 2 parts of 1 hide in TORP [Thorp].² There is land for 2 ploughs, which are there, with 5 villeins and 3 bordars. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Azor, son of Lefsi, held (it) freely.

¹ The count's butler (*pincerna*).

² In Fawsley Hundred.

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The same (Alvred) holds 1 virgate of land in CILDECOTE (Chilcote).¹ There is land for half a plough, which is there with 2 bordars. It is worth 2 shillings. Turbern held (it).

The same (Alvred) holds 1 hide and 3 virgates of land in ELTETONE [Elkington].² There is land for 3½ ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs) and 3 serfs; and (there are) 10 villeins with 1½ ploughs. It was and is worth 40 shillings. Turbern held it freely.

The same (Alvred) holds 1 virgate of land in LINEBURNE [Lilbourne]. There is land for 2½ ploughs, and as many are there, with 7 villeins and 1 bordar, and (there are) 3 acres of meadow. It was worth 12 pence; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Turbern held (it).

The same (Alvred) holds 3 virgates of land in GELVRECOTE (Yelvertoft). There is land for 1 plough. There are 1½ ploughs, with 1 serf, and 4 villeins, and (there are) 2 acres of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings.

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The same Alvred holds 3 virgates of land in BUCHEBI [Buckby]. There is land for 1½ ploughs; and these (*tantundem*) are there with 6 villeins and 2 bordars. There (are) 4 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 30 shillings. Turbern and Alric held (it) freely.

The same (Alvred) holds 1 virgate of land and the fifth part of 1 virgate in ETENESTONE [Adstone].³ There is land for 1 plough, which is there, and (there are) 3 acres of meadow. It was worth 4 shillings; now (it is worth) 6 shillings.

¹ Formerly a place near to Cold Ashby. The name is preserved at the present day as Chilcote's Cover. (Mr. Stuart Moore's note.)

² Mr. Stuart Moore distinguishes, in his translation and his index, Eltington, the 'Eltetone' of Domesday, from Elkington, 'its Etendone' (see p. 347 below). But all three entries refer, as Bridges made them do, to Eltington (now corruptly Elkington).

³ Mr. Stuart Moore makes this to be 'Easton Neston' ('Estanestone' in Domesday), but on fo. 222 b. above, he renders 'Etenestone' (in 'Foxle' Hundred) as Adstone, which place also seems to be represented by the 'Etenestone' on this page, for Adstone lay just south of Wood Preston and Farthingstone.

The same (Alvred) holds 1½ virgates of land in PRESTETONE [Wood Preston].⁴ There is land for 1 plough. It is waste.

The same (Alvred) holds 3 virgates of land in FORDINESTONE [Farthingstone]. There is land for 1 plough, which is there in demesne, and (there are) 2 serfs. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 15 shillings. Ingelran holds (it) of him (Alvred). Leuric held (it) in king Edward's time. The soc of this land belongs to (*jacet ad*) Felewesleie [Fawsley].

FULCHER holds of the Count 1 hide and the third part of 1 hide in ALIDETORP [Thorpe Malsor].⁵ There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 2 serfs; and 10 villeins, and 8 bordars have 2 ploughs. It was and is worth 30 shillings. Edwin held (it) freely.

The same (Fulcher) holds 3 virgates of land in PICTESLEI [Pytchley]. There is land for 1½ ploughs. Two ploughs are there with 1 sochman and 2 bordars, and 1 acre of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Edwin held this also freely.

The same (Fulcher) holds 3 virgates of land in ORDINBARO [Orlingbury]. There is land for 1½ ploughs, and they (*tantundem*) are there, with 1 villein and 2 bordars. There (are) 2 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 furlong in length and half a furlong in breadth. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings.

ROBERT holds of the Count half a hide in

⁴ Or Preston Parva.

⁵ Mr. Stuart Moore makes this to be Althorpe (which was 'Olletorp'), but I am certain it is Thorpe Malsor. Bridges says of this latter place that 'there appeareth to be no mention' of it 'in Domesday Book,' but it will be found that 'Fulcherius Malesoueres' held in the 'Northamptonshire Survey' at Thorpe Malsor and at Orlingbury. His holding at the former (given wrongly by Bridges) was 1½ hides, the exact amount given under 'Alidethorp' above (see p. 385 below). Moreover, under Edward I., Thorpe Malsor was held of the fee of Mortain.

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WOLDEGRAVE [Walgrave]. There is land for 2 ploughs. There is 1 (plough), with 1 serf, and 1 bordar; and (there are) 3 acres of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Martin held (it) freely.

The same (Robert) holds 2 hides in **NORTOT** [Nortoft]. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), with 1 serf; and (there are) 4 villeins and 3 bordars with 1 plough. There (are) 8 acres of meadow, and a mill rendering 8 pence. It was worth 3 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. A church pertains to this land with 1 virgate of land in **GISLEBURG** [Guilsborough], and the site of a mill, with the third part of 1 virgate in **HOLEWELLE** [Hollowell]. These are waste. Lewin held (it) freely.

The same (Robert) holds $2\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land in **HIRECESTRE** [Irchester]. There is land for half a plough. There is 1 villein, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow. It was worth 12 pence; now (it is worth) 8 shillings. Siward held (it) freely.

WALTER holds of the Count 3 hides in **WESTONE** [Weston Favel]. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 14 villeins and 4 bordars have 5 ploughs. There (are) 15 acres of meadow. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 70 shillings. Lochi Scotel and Stanchil and 2 sochmen held (it) in king Edward's time.

IN NIUEBOTLEGRAVE HUNDRET

The same (Walter) holds 1 virgate of land and 3 parts of 1 virgate in **HAIFORD** [Upper Heyford]. There is land for 1 plough, which is there, with 2 serfs; and (there is) a mill rendering 16 shillings, and 4 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. Biscop held (it). The soc belongs to (*jacet in*) **Buchebroch** [Bugbrooke].

RALF holds of the Count 1 virgate of land and 2 thirds of 1 virgate in **HAIFORD** [Nether Heyford]. The soc belongs to (*jacet in*) **Buchebroc** [Bugbrooke]. There is land for 1 plough. There are $1\frac{1}{2}$ (ploughs) with 1 villein. There (are) 3 acres of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings.

The same (Ralf) holds 4 fifths of 1 hide in **PRESTETONE** [Preston Capes]. There is land for 3 ploughs, and they are there, with 3 serfs and 4 villeins and 2 bordars. In

demesne there is the moiety of a plough (*caruc'*). It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Sawata held (it).

RALF holds 2 hides and 1 virgate of land in **ALDENESBI** [Holdenby]. The soc belongs to (*jacet in*) **EDONE** [East Haddon]. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 4 serfs; and (there are) 1 villein and 9 sochmen with 2 ploughs. There are 3 acres of meadow, and 3 acres of wood. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Siward with 9 sochmen held (it) freely.

RALF holds half a hide in **HADONE** [East Haddon]. There is land for 1 plough. This (plough) 2 villeins and 4 bordars have there. It was worth 12 pence; now (it is worth) 5 shillings.

William and Durand hold 3 hides, less 1 virgate, in **SPRETONE** [Spratton]. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are $1\frac{1}{2}$ (ploughs) with 1 serf; and (there are) 6 villeins and 6 bordars with $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 6 shillings, and 6 acres of meadow. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings. Osmund held (it) freely.

IN CLAILEA HUNDRET

William holds 4 fifths of 1 hide in **GRASTONE** [Grafton Regis]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) with 1 bordar. There (are) 11 acres of meadow, and 20 acres of wood. It was worth 3 shillings; now (it is worth) 26 shillings. Godwin held (it) freely.

NIGEL holds of the Count 1 hide and half a virgate of land in **PRESTETONE** [Wood Preston]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 2 serfs; and the priest, with 3 villeins, has 1 plough. There is 1 acre of wood. It was worth 6 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Fregis held (it).

In **ALDRITONE** [Alderton] one thegn holds of the Count 1 hide. There is land for 2 ploughs. There is 1 plough. It is worth 10 shillings. He himself held it.

In **ALDENESTONE** [Holdenby ?]¹ Ormar

¹ 'This is probably part of Holdenby, which was called "Aldenesbi" at the time of the Survey, and was also held by Siward in the

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holds 1 hide and 3 virgates of land. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 3 serfs; and (there are) 6 villeins and 5 bordars, with 2 ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 8 shillings, and 3 acres of meadow, and 3 acres of underwood. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Siward held (it) freely.

In EDONE [East Haddon] Alric holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides of the Count. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 5 serfs; and (there are) 4 villeins and 7 bordars, with 2 ploughs. There are 6 acres of meadow, and 4 acres of underwood (*silvæ minutæ*). It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

The same (Alric) holds the third part of 1 virgate in HOLEWELLE [Hollowell]. It is waste.

In BLACULVESLEI [Blakesley] Sagrim holds of the Count $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides. The soc is the King's in Nortone [Green's Norton]. There is land for $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. One plough only is there, with 2 villeins, and 2 serfs, and (there are) 2 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. He himself held it in king Edward's time.

In BOTENDONE [Boddington] Lewin holds 2 hides of the Count. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 4 serfs; and (there are) 11 villeins and 5 bordars, with $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There (are) 10 acres of meadow. It was worth 100 shillings; now (it is worth) 4 pounds. Turi held it freely.

In SNOCHESCUMBE [Snoscombe] Alric holds half a virgate of land of the Count. There is land for 1 plough, which is there with 1 serf, and 1 villein, and 1 acre of underwood (*silvæ minutæ*). It is worth 5 shillings. He himself held (it).

In WALETONE [Welton] Ulmar holds of the Count half a virgate of land, less 5 acres. There is land for half a plough, and that much is there with 1 bordar, and 1 acre of meadow. It is worth 5 shillings. He himself held (it) freely.

Confessor's reign. Baker (i. 194), however, does not mention it.' (Mr. Stuart Moore's note.) I can throw no light on the identification of this 'Aldenestone.'

In BRANTONE [Church Brampton] Ulmar holds of the Count half a hide. There is land for 1 plough. This is there. It is worth 20 shillings. He himself held (it).

XIX. THE LAND OF THE COUNT OF MELLEND

IN GRAVESENDE HUNDRET

The COUNT OF MEULAN (*Mellend*) holds of the King in NORTONE [Norton]¹ $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides, and the fifth part of half a hide. There is land for 7 ploughs. There are now in demesne 2 (ploughs), and 1 hide of land. There 23 villeins, with the priest and 9 bordars and 1 serf, have 6 ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 10 shillings, and 25 acres of meadow. It was worth 6 pounds; now (it is worth) 8 pounds. Agemund held (it) freely.

The same count of Mellend holds BERCHEWELLE [Berkswell]² in demesne. There are 4 hides. Of these he has 3 hides in demesne. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 4 serfs; and 7 villeins, with 3 bordars, have 1 plough. There (are) 5 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 league in length and 1 league in breadth. It is worth 40 shillings.

The same Count holds in WITACRE [Whitacre]³ half a hide (which is) waste, and it is worth 12 pence. Levenot held these lands freely in king Edward's time.³

XX. THE LAND OF COUNT ALAN⁴

IN CLAILEA HUNDRET

COUNT ALAN holds of the King 4 fifths of half a hide in WACAFELD [Wakefield], and Ralph Dapifer (holds) of him. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 3 villeins, with 1 bordar, have another plough. There (is) 1 acre of meadow. Wood(land) $5\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs in length, and 3 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings.

¹ In Fawsley Hundred.

² These two places lie in Warwickshire (see Introduction.)

³ These two entries are added at the foot of the page.

⁴ Of Brittany.

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XXI. THE LAND OF EARL AUBREY¹

IN ODBOLDESTOU HUNDRET

EARL AUBREY held of the King 2 hides in HASOU [Hawes], and 2 hides in SIGRESHAM [Syresham], and 1 hide in BRACHELAI [Brackley], with a church and a mill rendering (*de*) 10 shillings. In these 5 hides there is land for 12½ ploughs. In (the) demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 6 serfs; and 20 villeins, with the priest and 10 bordars, have 6 ploughs. There are 20 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 2½ furlongs in length, and 1½ furlongs in breadth.

There Osmund holds the third part of 2 hides in SIGREHAM [Syresham].

The whole was worth 12 pounds when he (*i.e.* the Earl) received it; now (it is worth) 9 pounds. Azor held (it) freely.

In BRACHELAI [Brackley] there are 2 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 6 serfs; and (there are) 10 villeins and 8 bordars, with 3 ploughs. There are 10 acres of meadow. It was worth 100 shillings when he received it; now (it is worth) 4 pounds.

In LILLEBURNE [Lilbourne] there are 2 hides and half a virgate of land. There is land for 4 ploughs and 2 oxen.² In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 8 villeins and 6 bordars and 3 sochmen have 3 ploughs. There are 12 acres of meadow. It was worth 2 shillings; now it is (worth) 30 shillings.

In the same vill there are 1½ virgates of land. Ralf holds it of the King. There is land for 6 oxen.³ There is 1 villein and 2 bordars, and 4 acres of meadow. It is worth 4 shillings.

IN SUTONE HUNDRET

In EVELAI [Evenley] there are 3 virgates of land. Gilbert holds (them). There is land for 2 ploughs. There is 1 bordar with 1 serf. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 4 shillings.

¹ Late of Northumbria (see Introduction). As the land had reverted to the king, the the earls only 'held' it.

² *i.e.* a quarter of a plough (team).

³ It should be observed that this addition makes up the total to 2½ hides and to 5 ploughlands.

In FERNINGHO [Farningho] there are 4 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 10 serfs; and 15 villeins, with the priest and 8 bordars, have 5 ploughs. There are 20 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 pounds when (the Earl) received it; now (it is worth) 7 pounds.

THESE LANDS BELONGED TO EARL AUBREY; (but) ARE NOW IN THE KING'S HAND.

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XXIII. THE LAND OF HUGH DE GRENTEMAISNIL

HUGH de Grentemaisnil holds 1½ virgates of land in FERENDON [Farndon].⁵ There is land for 1 plough. This 2 villeins have there. It was and is worth 5 shillings.

IN STOTFALD HUNDRET

In MERSITONE [Marston Trussell] and in TORP [Thorp Lubbenham] Hugh holds of Hugh 2 hides and 1 virgate of land and the third part of 1 virgate. There is land for 4½ ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 2 serfs; and 23 villeins and 17 bordars have 7 ploughs. There are 10 acres of meadow. It was worth 15 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings. Oslac held (it) freely.

IN GRAVESENDE HUNDRET

The same (Hugh) holds 3½ hides in WEDONE [Weedon Bec] in exchange for (*pro excambio de*) WADFORD [Watford?]. There is land for 8½ ploughs. In demesne there are 1½ (ploughs); and 2 villeins, with a priest and 3 bordars, have half a plough. There 3 knights, with 6 villeins and 3 bordars, have 4½ ploughs. There (are) 17 acres of meadow, and 12 acres of wood, and a mill rendering (*de*) 40 pence. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 50 shillings.

The same (Hugh) holds 4 hides in ASCEBI [Ashby Ledgers]. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs and 6 serfs; and (there are) 15 villeins and 3 bordars with 5 ploughs. There (are) 8 acres of meadow. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings.

Osbern holds of Hugh 3 hides less 1 virgate in WELINTONE [Welton]. There is land for 7 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 3 serfs; and 5 villeins with 4

⁵ In Wardon Hundred.

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ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 12 pence, and 8 acres of meadow. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Baldwin held (it) freely.

The same (Osbern) holds 1 hide in STAVERTONE [Staverton]. There is land for 2½ ploughs. There are 2 ploughs, with 1 villein and 5 bordars. It was worth 15 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Leuric held (it) of Baldwin.

The same (Osbern) holds 4 fifths of half a hide in TORP (Thorpe).¹ There is land for 1 plough. This is there in demesne with 1 bordar, and (there are) 2 acres of meadow. It was worth 12 pence; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Alwin held (it) of Baldwin.

IN FOXELEA HUNDRET

Hugh holds of Hugh in MERDEFORD [Maidford] 2 hides and the fifth part of 1 hide. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 4 serfs; and 9 villeins, with the priest and 4 bordars, have 3 ploughs. There (is) wood(land) 4 furlongs in length and 1 furlong in breadth. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 50 shillings. Willa held it freely.

IN SUTONE HUNDRET

Ivo holds of Hugh in NIWEBOTLE [Newbottle] with its appendages (*cum appendiciis suis*) 6 hides. There is land for 15 ploughs. In demesne there are 3½ ploughs, and 8 serfs. There 1 knight and 12 villeins, and 4 bordars, have 4 ploughs. There (are) 7 bondwomen, and 7 acres of meadow. It was worth 4 pounds; now (it is worth) 6 pounds. Baldwin held it with soc and sac.

Hugh holds of Hugh in MIDELTONE [Middleton Chenduit] 2 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 9 villeins, with the priest, have 3 ploughs. There (are) 12 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 40 shillings. Godric held it freely.

Hugh holds of Hugh in SUTONE [King's Sutton] 1½ hides and the tenth part of 1 hide. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 2 serfs; and 2 bordars have half a plough. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 2 shillings. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. Willa and Turbern held (it).

IN WARADONE HUNDRET

Ivo holds of Hugh in BIVELDE [Byfield] 2 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), with 1 villein and 1 bordar. It was worth 2 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Three thegns held (it) freely.

Richard holds of Hugh in WODEFORD [Woodford] 2 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 4 serfs, and 1 bondwoman; and 11 villeins have 3 ploughs. There are 2 acres of meadow, and a mill rendering (*de*) 8 shillings. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings. Baldwin held (it) freely.

Hugh holds of Hugh in EGEDONE [Eydon] 2 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 2 serfs; and (there are) 12 villeins with 3 ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 2 shillings, and 2 acres of meadow. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 50 shillings.

Walter holds of Hugh 1 virgate of land in CERVELTONE [Charwelton]. There is land for half a plough. It was and is worth 5 shillings. Alwin held (it) freely.

Roger de Luri holds of Hugh COTESFORDE [Cottisford].² There are 6 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 (ploughs), and there might be a fourth. There are 10 villeins and 5 bordars, and 40 acres of pasture. It was worth 100 shillings; now (it is worth) 8 pounds.

The same Roger holds of Hugh CERLENTONE [Charlton-on-Otmoor]. There are 10 hides. There is land for 15 ploughs. In demesne there are 4 ploughs, and 6 serfs; and 15 villeins and 11 bordars have 11 ploughs. Meadow 4 furlongs in length and 2 furlongs in breadth. Pastures 3 furlongs in length and 2 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 8 pounds; now (it is worth) 10 pounds. Baldwin held (it) freely. 4 hides of this land are in demesne.

Hugh holds 2½ hides in SCIPTUNE [Shipton-on-Cherwell]. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 4 serfs; and 2 villeins and 3 bordars have 1 plough. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 11 shillings, and 4 acres of meadow, and 3 'quarentenes' of

¹ Near Green's Norton.

² This and the three manors following are in Oxfordshire (see Introduction.)

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pasture. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 4 pounds and 10 shillings. Alvric held (it) freely.

In SCIPFORD [Sibford Gower] Aba holds 11 hides of Hugh. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 4 acres of meadow, and a mill renders 32 pence, and (there are) 13 'quaretenes' of pasture. It was and is worth 4 pounds and 10 shillings. Baldwin held (it).

XXII. THE LAND OF EARL HUGH¹

IN WAREDON HUNDRET

EARL HUGH holds of the King in BIFELDE [Byfield] 8 hides, and Robert² (holds it) of him. There is land for 20 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 5 serfs; and 8 villeins and 3 bordars have 3 ploughs. There 1 knight, with 2 villeins, has 1 plough, and 2 free men dwell there. Meadow 1 league (*lewa*) in length and 7 furlongs in breadth. It was and is worth 8 pounds. Aschil held (it) freely.

The same Robert holds of the Earl 1 hide in BOTENDONE [Boddington]. There is land for 2½ ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 6 villeins, with the priest and 4 bordars, have 1 plough; and 1 knight has half a plough. There (are) 5 acres of meadow. It was worth 30 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Aschil held (it) freely.

IN (*sic*)

The same (Robert) holds of the Earl 1 hide and 1 virgate of land in TRAPEFORD [Traf-ford]. There is land for 2½ ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 3 serfs; and (there are) 3 villeins with 1 plough. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 6 shillings and 8 pence, and 3 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 30 shillings.

IN EDBOLDESTOU HUNDRET

The same (Robert) holds 4 hides in MERESTONE [Marston St. Lawrence]. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 4 (ploughs), and 9 serfs; and (there are) 26 villeins and 10 bordars with 6 ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 8 shillings, and 24 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 10 pounds.

The same (Robert) holds 2 hides in RODESTONE [Radstone]. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 6 serfs; and (there are) 10 villeins and 5 bordars with 3 ploughs. There (are) 12 acres of meadow, and 6 acres of wood. It was, and is, worth 100 shillings.

IN SUTONE HUNDRET

The same (Robert) holds in MIDELTONE [Middleton Chenduit] 4 fifths of 2 hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs); and 8 villeins have 1 plough. There are 8 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 3 pounds. The soc pertains to Sutone [Sutton].

IN FOXHELA HUNDRET

The same (Robert) holds half a hide in BLACULVESLEA [Blakesley]. There is land for 1½ ploughs. There 2 villeins have half a plough. It was and is worth 8 shillings. Ketel held (it). The soc pertains to Nortone [Green's Norton].

IN GISLEBURG HUNDRET AND A HALF

The same (Robert) holds 2 hides and 1 virgate of land in GIVERTOST [Yelvertoft]. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there is half a plough; and 8 villeins, with the priest and 9 bordars and 2 sochmen, have 1½ ploughs. There are 8 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 20 shillings. Godric held (it) freely.

IN FOXESLAU HUNDRET

Gozelin holds of the Earl 4 hides in SLAP-TONE [Slapton]. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 3 serfs; and 6 villeins with 1 bordar have 2 ploughs. There are 8 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 3 pounds.

Aschil held these lands with sac and soc. Earl Hugh's men hold (them) now.

IN CORBEI HUNDRET

XXIII. HUGH Luri holds of the King half a hide in little WELEDONE [Weldon Parva]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) with 1 serf; and 11 villeins have 2 ploughs. Wood(land) there 6 furlongs in length and 2 in breadth. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Ulvric held (it) freely.³

¹ Of Chester.

² Robert of Rhuddlan.

³ This entry is added at the foot of the page.

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XXV. THE LAND OF HENRY DE FERIERES

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IN CLAILEA HUNDRET

HENRY DE FERIEIRES holds 3 hides and the fifth part of 1 hide in PERIE [Potterspury]. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 3 serfs; and 20 villeins and 7 bordars, with the priest, have 7 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 18 shillings and 4 pence, and 16 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 6 furlongs and 14 perches in length, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs in breadth. It was and is worth 6 pounds. Earl Tosti(g) held it.

IN NARRESFORD HUNDRET

Saswalo holds of Henry in TICEMERSE¹ [Titchmarsh] 10 hides and 2 thirds of half a hide less 1 virgate. There is land for 15 ploughs. In demesne there are 4 ploughs, and 8 serfs; and 16 villeins and 5 bordars have $6\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, and (there are) 7 sochmen with $4\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering 21 shillings and 4 pence, and 30 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 4 furlongs in length and 1 in breadth. It was worth 3 pounds; now (it is worth) 7 pounds. Bundi held (it) freely.

IN ANDFERDESHO HUNDRET

Ralf holds of Henry in ECHENTONE [Ecton] 4 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides of this land, and there are 2 ploughs, and 4 serfs; and 8 villeins and 9 bordars and 12 sochmen, with 8 bordars, have 6 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering (*de*) 14 shillings, and 32 acres of meadow. It was worth 3 pounds; now (it is worth) 100 shillings. Bundi held (it).

XXVI. THE LAND OF ROBERT DE TODENI

ROBERT DE TODENI (holds) 3 hides in STOCHE [Stoke Albany]. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 3 serfs; and 9 villeins and 2 bordars, with 1 sochman, have 3 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 12 pence. Wood(land) 5 furlongs in length and 3 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 60 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Osulf held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

The same (Robert) holds 3 hides and 1 virgate of land in WILBERDESTONE [Wilbar-

ston]. There is land for 6 ploughs. Of this land 1 hide is in demesne, and there (are) 2 ploughs with 1 serf; and 12 villeins and 7 bordars have 3 ploughs. Wood(land) 9 furlongs in length and 5 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings.

IN WICESLEA WAPENT[AKE]

The same (Robert) holds 1 hide and 1 bo-vate of land in SEGENTONE [Seaton].² There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 2 serfs; and 8 villeins and 2 bordars, with the priest, have $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There (are) 3 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 furlong in length and another in breadth. Robert has only the third part of the wood-(land) and the arable land likewise.

To this land pertains 1 virgate of land in BERCHEDONE [Barrowden].² There are 4 villeins with half a plough. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings.

IN FOXESLEA HUNDRET

The same (Robert) holds 3 hides in SEWELLE [Sewelle], and 4 fifths of 1 virgate. There is land for 7 ploughs. In demesne there are $1\frac{1}{2}$ (ploughs) and 2 serfs; and 8 villeins and 3 bordars have $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 12 pence, and 7 acres of meadow. Wood(land) $2\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs in length, and 2 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings.

IN RODEWELLE HUNDRET

Hugh holds of Robert $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides in RISTONE [Rushton]. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 2 serfs; and (there are) 4 villeins and 3 bordars, and 3 sochmen, with $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs among (them) all. There (are) four acres of meadow, and 15 acres of wood. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. The soc pertains to Walesdone [Weldon?] Edwin held (it).

The same (Hugh?) holds in DEISBURG [Desborough] half a hide. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 2 serfs, and 3 bordars. There (is) half an acre of wood. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Osulf held (it) freely.

Roger holds half a hide of Robert in PIPEWELLE [Pipwell]. There is land for 2

¹ 'In Ticemerse' added in margin.

² In Rutland.

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ploughs. There are $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, with 4 bordars, and 5 acres of wood. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 6 shillings. Edwin held (it) freely.

Ildvin holds of Robert 2 hides in BRANTONE [Brampton].¹ There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 6 serfs; and (there are) 5 villeins and 4 bordars, with $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There (are) 22 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 5 furlongs in length and 3 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Osulf held it.

Ildvin holds of Robert 1 hide less $1\frac{1}{2}$ bovates in DINGLE [Dingley]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) and a half; and (there are) 2 villeins and 5 bordars with half a plough. There (are) 3 acres of meadow, and 3 acres of wood. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings.

Gunfrid' and Walchelín hold of Robert 3 hides in ASCELE [Ashley]. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs); and 7 villeins and 9 bordars have 3 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 32 pence, and 9 acres of meadow, and 2 acres of spinney (*spinetum*). Wood(land) 3 furlongs in length and 8 perches in breadth; and in another place (there are) 4 acres of wood pertaining to this land. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. Frano and Algar held (it) freely.

Wibert holds of Robert the third part of 1 hide in the same vill. There is land for 1 plough, which is there with 2 bordars and 1 serf. It was worth 16 pence; now (it is worth) 5 shillings. Algar held (it) freely.

XXVII. THE LAND OF ROBERT DE STADFORD

IN WAREDONE HUNDRET

ROBERT DE STADFORD holds in STANTONE [Stoneton] 3 virgates of land, and Hugh (holds them) of him. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 3 serfs; and (there are) 6 villeins and 5 bordars with 2 ploughs. There (are) 3 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. Æileva held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

¹ Then in 'Stoche,' now in Corby Hundred.

XXVIII. THE LAND OF ROBERT DE OILGI

IN CLAILEA HUNDRET

ROBERT DE OILGI (holds) 1 hide and 1 virgate of land in WICHA [Wicken], and Roger (holds it) of him. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 7 serfs; and (there are) 7 villeins and 3 bordars with 4 ploughs. There (are) 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 11 furlongs in length and 6 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 100 shillings. Azor held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

IN SUTONE HUNDRET

The same (Roger) holds of Robert 1 hide in TEWORDE [Thenford]. There is land for $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 2 serfs; and 7 villeins have $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering 30 pence. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings.

The same (Robert) holds half a hide and the fifth part of 1 hide in PRESTONE [Purston]. There is land for $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, and these (*tantum*) are there, with 4 villeins and 2 bordars. There (are) 8 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 12 shillings. Lewin held (it), and could betake himself (*ire*) where he pleased. But the king used to have the soc thereof.

XXIX. THE LAND OF ROBERT DE VECI

IN RODEWELLE HUNDRET

ROBERT DE VECI holds 1 hide in BADEBROC [Braybrook]. There is land for 2 ploughs. 1 (plough) is in demesne, and 4 bordars have another plough. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Ailric held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

XXX. THE LAND OF ROBERT DE BUCI

IN STOCH HUNDRET

ROBERT DE BUCI holds 2 thirds of 1 hide in ASCE [Ashley]. There is land for 1 plough. This (plough) 6 sochmen have there. It was and is worth 10 shillings and 8 pence.

The same (Robert) holds 2 hides and 2

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thirds of 1 hide in WESTONE [Weston-by-Welland]. There is land for 6 ploughs. There 10 sochmen have $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 42 shillings and 8 pence.

The same (Robert) holds 1 hide and 2 thirds of half a hide in SUTONE [Sutton Bassett]. There is land for $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. These (ploughs) 8 sochmen have there. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 21 shillings and 4 pence.

The same (Robert) holds in DINGLEI [Dingley] 2 thirds of 1 hide and 2 thirds of ¹ 1 hide. There is land for 4 ploughs. There 11 sochmen have $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 13 shillings and 4 pence.

The same (Robert) holds 2 hides in BRANTONE [Brampton].² There is land for 4 ploughs. There 8 sochmen have 3 ploughs. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 8 pence more.

IN CORBEI HUNDRET

The same (Robert) holds 1 hide and 3 virgates of land in WELEDENE [Weldon]. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are two ploughs; and 8 villeins and 4 bordars, with 1 sochman, have 4 ploughs. Wood(land) 1 league in length and 3 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. Norman held these lands, and could go where he pleased.

The same (Robert) holds 1 virgate of land in WELEDENE [Weldon]. The King claims it.

IN STOCH HUNDRET

Walter holds of Robert in ASCELEI [Ashley] the third part of 1 hide. The soc belongs to (*est de*) Weledene [Weldon]. There is land for half a plough. There 2 sochmen have 1 plough, and 2 acres of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 3 shillings. Norman held (it).

Hugh holds of Robert 1 hide in BRANTONE [Brampton].² There is land for 1 plough. Nevertheless there are in demesne 2 ploughs, and 2 serfs, with 1 bordar. It was worth 2 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings.

¹ *Sic*.

² Now in Corby Hundred.

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Norman holds of Robert 2 hides in BLAREWICHE [Blatherwick]. There is land for 6 ploughs. Hugh and William hold of him. In demesne there are 2 ploughs; and 12 villeins and 5 bordars have 4 ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 30 pence, and 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 league in length and 3 furlongs in breadth. It is worth 18 shillings.

IN RODEWEL HUNDRET

Hugh holds of Robert half a hide in BADEBROC [Braybrook]. There is land for 1 plough. It was and is worth 16 pence. Norman held (it).

The same Hugh holds of Robert the third part of 1 hide in the same vill. There is land for half a plough. Nevertheless 1 plough is there, with 1 bordar. It was worth 12 pence; now (it is worth) 3 shillings. Ulchet held (it).

William ⁴ holds of Robert half a hide in RISTONE [Rushton]. There is land for 1 plough. Nevertheless $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs are there, with 4 villeins and 2 bordars. There (is) half a mill rendering (*de*) 12 shillings, and 6 acres of wood. Ulchet held (it). It was worth 12 pence; now (it is worth) 6 shillings. The soc belongs to (*est in*) Waledone [Weldon?]. In the same vill he has half a virgate of land waste.

IN SPEREHOU ³ HUNDRET

The same William ⁴ holds of Robert 2 hides and $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land in MOLTONE [Moulton]. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, with 1 serf; and 7 villeins and 4 bordars have 2 ploughs. There is a mill (*de*) rendering 8 pence. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 50 shillings. Thori held (it).

Robert holds of Robert 3 virgates of land, less 1 bovat, in BOCHETONE [Boughton]. There is land for $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. 4 bordars, with 1 villein and 1 serf, have 1 (plough)⁶ there, and (there are) 4 acres of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings.

³ Spelho.

⁴ This was William Engayne ('Inganie').

⁶ The variant reading written above the line in the original is, '1 (plough) is there with 4 bordars,' etc.

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Ralf holds of Robert 1 virgate and 1 bovaté of land in SPRETONE [Spratton]. There is land for half a plough. Nevertheless 1 (plough) is there with 6 bordars. It was and is worth 5 shillings. Ulmar held (it) freely.

IN FOXLEU HUNDRET

William holds of Robert 1 hide and 4 parts of half a hide in BRADENE [Braden]. There is land for $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs); and 4 villeins have 1 plough. There (is) 1 acre of meadow. It was worth 60 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

IN GISLEBURG HUNDRET AND A HALF

Robert holds of Robert 1 virgate of land in CRETONE [Creaton]. There is land for 2 oxen.¹ There is 1 Frenchman (*Francigena*) with 2 oxen. It is worth 2 shillings. Ulmar held (it) freely. [Chenric held Bradene [Braden] of king Edward].²

XXX. THE LAND OF RALF PAGENEL

IN STOC HUNDRET

RALF Pagenel holds of the King 2 hides,³ and Roger (holds) of him. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 4 villeins and 3 bordars have $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There (are) 2 serfs. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Turchil held (it) freely.

XXXI. THE LAND OF RALF DE LIMESI

IN WILEBROC HUNDRET

RALF de Limesi holds of the King 2 hides in WESTONE [Colly Weston], and Herlwin (holds) of him. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 3 serfs; and 16 villeins and 3 bordars have 5 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering 20 shillings, and 12 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 3 furlongs in length and 2 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 100 shillings; now (it is worth) 6 pounds. Earl Morcar held (it).

¹ *i.e.* a quarter of a ploughland.

² This is entered here out of place.

³ The descent of Ralf Paynel's barony, which was large and scattered over several counties, is well known, but I have not been able to trace or identify these two hides.

XXXII. THE LAND OF ROBERT ALBUS

IN NEVESLUND HUNDRET

ROBERT le Blond (*Albus*) holds of the King 3 hides in GRASTONE [Grafton Underwood], and Roger (holds) of him. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), with 1 serf; and 12 villeins, with the priest and 6 bordars, have 5 ploughs. There (are) 2 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 league in length and 4 furlongs in breadth. It was, and is, worth 40 shillings. Achi held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

XXXIII. THE LAND OF WILLIAM DE CAHAINGES

WILLIAM de Cahainges holds of the King 1 hide in FLORA [Floore]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 plough, and 2 serfs; and 4 villeins and 3 bordars have 1 plough. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 5 shillings, and 4 acres of meadow. It is worth 20 shillings. Ernui held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

XXXIII. THE LAND OF WILLIAM PEVREL

WILLIAM PEVREL holds of the King HECHAM [Higham Ferrars]. There are 6 hides. There is land for $12\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. In demesne there are 2 hides of this land, and there (are) 4 ploughs, and 4 serfs; and 16 villeins, and 9 bordars, with the priest, have $8\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There is a market rendering 20 shillings yearly, and a mill rendering (*de*) 20 shillings, and 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 furlong in length and another in breadth.

To this Manor pertain these members:—

In RISDENE [Rushden] 6 hides. There is land for 12 ploughs. 19 sochmen have these there, and (there is) a mill rendering (*de*) 10 shillings, and 30 acres of meadow.

In CELUESTONE [Chelveston] and CALDECOTE [Caldecote] 1 hide and 3 virgates of land. There is land for 3 ploughs. 6 sochmen have these there, and 3 acres of meadow.

In CNUTESTONE [Knuston] 1 hide and $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land. There is land for 2 ploughs. 5 sochmen have these there; and (there is) a mill rendering (*de*) 20 shillings, and 6 acres of meadow.

In IRENCSTRE [Irchester] 1 hide and 3 virgates of soc(land). There is land for 2

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ploughs. Three sochmen have these there, and 10 acres of meadow. There is one Frenchman (*Francigena*) with 1 plough; and (there is) a mill there, rendering (*de*) 16 shillings, in dispute (*calumniosum*) between the King and William (Peverel).

In FARNEDIS [Farndish] 3 virgates of soc(land). There is land for 1 plough. 2 sochmen have this (plough) there.

In POTINTONE [Poddington]¹ half a hide of socland. There are 4 villeins, with 1 plough.

In ESTONE [Easton Mauduit] 1½ virgates of land. It is waste.

In RANDE [Raunds] 7½ hides and half a virgate of soc(land), with (its) appendages. There is land for 14 ploughs. There are 20 villeins with 15 ploughs, and (there are) 20 acres of meadow.

The whole manor, with (its) appendages, was worth 10 pounds when he received it; now (it is worth) 18 pounds. Gitda held it with sac and soc.

The sochmen of Risdene [Rushden], Irencestre [Irchester], and Rande [Raunds] were Burred's men, and therefore G[eoffrey] the bishop (of Coutances) claims their homage (*hominationem*).²

The same William holds 3½ hides, and the fourth part of 1 virgate in CLIPESTONE [Clipston] of the soc of Navesberie [Naseby]. There is land for 7 ploughs. There (is) 1 knight with 1 plough; and 19 sochmen, with 7 villeins and 3 bordars, have 6 ploughs. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings.

The same (William) holds NEUBOTE [Newbottle].³ There (is) 1 hide and half a virgate of land. There is land for 3 ploughs. These he has in demesne with 1 serf; and 4 villeins and 4 bordars have 1 plough. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 7 shillings, and 6 acres of wood.

In OLLETORP [Althorp] the same William has the third part of 1 hide, and half a virgate. The soc pertains to Neubote [Newbottle]. There is land for 1 plough. 3 sochmen have this there.

In BRININTONE [Brington] the same William has 1½ hides. There is land for 2 ploughs. Six sochmen, with the priest, who hold half a hide of the same land, have these there.

In HEROLVESTONE [Harleston] are 1½ hides.

There is land for 3 ploughs. Three sochmen, with the priest, have these there.

In CLACHESTORP [Glasthorp] is half a hide. There is land for 1 plough. One sochman has this there.

In FLORE [Floore] is half a hide. There is land for 1 plough. Three sochmen have this there.

When William received these lands they were worth 4 pounds; now (they are worth) 7 pounds. Gitda held (them) freely.

The same William holds 4 hides in DUSTONE [Duston]. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 2 serfs; and 13 villeins and 3 bordars, with 3 sochmen, have 6 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering 20 shillings, and (there are) 30 acres of meadow, and 11 acres of wood. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 100 shillings.

The same William holds 7 hides in NAVESBERIE [Naseby]. There is land for 14 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs); and 8 villeins, with the priest, and 2 sochmen and 11 bordars, have 3 ploughs. There (are) 8 acres of meadow. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings.

IN COLESTREU⁴ HUNDRET

The same William holds 3½ hides in CORTENHALE [Courteenhall]. Of this land 2 hides, less 1 virgate, are in demesne. There is land for 9 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs, with 1 serf; and 12 villeins, with 1 bordar and the priest, have 7 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 12 pence, and 4 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 2 furlongs in length, and 2 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 4 pounds; now (it is worth) 5 pounds.

The same William holds 3½ hides in BLIDESWORDE [Blisworth]. There is land for 9 ploughs. Of this land 2 hides, less 1 virgate, are in demesne, and there are 2 ploughs; and 12 villeins, and 6 bordars, have 7 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering 2 shillings, and 4 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 12 furlongs in length, and 8 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 3 pounds; now (it is worth) 4 pounds.

¹ In Bedfordshire.

² See above, p. 309.

³ In Newbottle Hundred.

⁴ This seems to represent Collingtree, the 'Colentreu' of Domesday, which adjoins Blisworth and Courtenhall (see p. 345 below).

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Gitda held all these lands in king Edward's time, with sac and soc.

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IN ALWARDSLEA HUNDRET

Pagen holds of William 2 hides in BERCHEBI [Barby]. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), with 1 serf; and (there are) 10 villeins and 8 bordars with 3 ploughs. There are 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 6 perches in length and 4 in breadth. It was worth 30 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings.

IN WICESLEA HUNDRET¹

Sasfrid holds of William 2½ hides in EPINGEHAM [Empingham].² There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) with 1 serf; and 8 villeins and 4 bordars, with 2 ploughs. There (is) a mill and a half rendering (*de*) 12 shillings, and 4 acres of meadow, and 6 acres of wood. It was and is worth 20 shillings. Edward and Fredgis held it with sac and soc.

IN GRAVESEND HUNDRET

The same (Sasfrid) holds 4 hides in CATESBI [Catesby]. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 2 serfs, and 1 bondwoman; and 17 villeins, with the priest and 4 bordars, have 6 ploughs. There are 2 mills rendering 16 pence, and 4 acres of meadow. 1 knight holds 1 hide of this land, and has 2 ploughs. The whole was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 4 pounds. Gitda held (it) freely.

IN CLAISLEA HUNDRET

The same (Sasfrid) holds half a hide less the fifth part in ACESHILLE.³ It is waste.

IN RODEWELLE HUNDRET

Ambrose⁴ holds of William 1 hide and 1 virgate of land in DEISBURG [Desborough]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 3 serfs, and 1 bondwoman; and (there are) 11 villeins and 8 bordars,

with 1½ ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 2 shillings. Wood(land) 2 furlongs in length, and 2 furlongs in breadth. It was, and is, worth 40 shillings.

The same (Ambrose) holds 1½ hides, and the third part of 1 virgate in CAILMARC [Kelmarsh]. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs); and 7 villeins and 2 bordars have 2 ploughs. In the same vill he holds 1 virgate of land, which is waste. This renders geld in NARNINWORDE [Arthingworth]. It was (altogether) worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Osmund held (it) freely.

Turstin holds of William 1½ virgates of land in BOSIETE [Bozeat]. The soc pertains to HECHAM [Higham Ferrars]. There is land for half a plough, and so much (*tantum*) is there. It is worth 5 shillings.

Eustace holds of William half a hide in HAREGRAVE [Hargrave]. The soc pertains to HECHAM [Higham Ferrars]. There is land for 1 plough. This (plough) is there with 2 bordars. It is worth 68 pence. Ailric held (it) freely.

Biscop holds of William in HORPOL [Harpole] 2½ hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 7 serfs; and 14 villeins, with the priest and 5 bordars, have 4½ ploughs. There (are) 10 acres of meadow, and 10 acres of wood. It was worth 30 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. The same (Biscop) held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

Drogo holds 1 hide and 1 virgate of land in RAVENSTORP [Ravensthorp]. There is land for 3 ploughs. 3 sochmen and 3 villeins, and 5 bordars, have these there. There (are) 3 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings.

The same (Drogo) holds 2 hides in TECHÉ [Teton]. There is land for 4 ploughs. 4 sochmen, 2 villeins, and 4 bordars, have these there. There (is) 1 acre of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings.

The same (Drogo) holds 3½ virgates of land in COTA [Cotton under Guilsborough]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 3 serfs, and 1 bondwoman; and 1 villein and 4 bordars

¹ 'Wap' in the margin.

² In Rutland.

³ Mr. Stuart Moore makes this to be Ashton ('Asce') in Cleley Hundred. In this he follows Baker, in spite of whose high authority I can find no evidence, even in his own detailed account of Ashton, for this identification. 'Aceshille' ought to represent some such name as Oakshill.

⁴ Ambrose held of him also in Bucks, Beds, and Notts.

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have half a plough. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 4 shillings, and 4 acres of meadow.

To this manor pertains 1 hide of soc(land) in TORNEBERIE [Thornby]. There is land for 2 ploughs. There is 1 plough and 4 acres of meadow. In WINEWIC [Winwick]¹ are 3 virgates of land. There is land for 1 plough. This 1 sochman has there.

In ECDONE [West Haddon] are 1½ virgates of land. There is land for 1 plough. There is 1 sochman having half a plough. In ESSEBI [Cold Ashby] are 1½ virgates of land. There is land for 1 plough. There is 1 sochman with half a plough. In NORTOT [Nortoft] is half a hide. There is land for 1 plough. 1 sochman has this there, and 2 acres of meadow. In HOLEWELLE [Hollowell] is 1 virgate of land. There is land for half a plough. 1 sochman has this there.

The whole manor of COTE [Cotton under Guilsborough], with appendages, was worth, when he received it, 15 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings.

Robert holds of William half a hide in TORNEBERIE [Thornby]. The soc pertains to NAVESBERIE [Naseby]. There is land for half a plough. It is waste.

IN WIMERESLEA HUNDRET

Robert holds of William in HOHTONE [Houghton Magna] 1 hide and half a virgate, and 2 carucates of land. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 4 serfs; and 15 villeins and 6 bordars have 2 ploughs. There (are) 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 3 furlongs in length, and 2 furlongs in breadth. It was and is worth 40 shillings. Osmund held (it) freely.

IN CLAIESLEA HUNDRET

Robert holds of William 3½ hides, and the fifth part of half a hide, in PIRIE [Paulerspury]. There is land for 9 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 7 serfs; and 18 villeins and 7 bordars, with the priest, have 7 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 26 shillings and 8 pence, and 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 6 furlongs in length, and 4 furlongs and 2 perches in breadth. It was and is worth 4 pounds. Gitda held (it) freely.

Alvred holds of William 3½ virgates of land in GISLEBURG [Guilsborough]. There is land for 1½ ploughs. That (plough and a

half) is there in demesne, and 2 serfs; and 2 villeins and 3 bordars with half a plough. There (are) 4 acres of meadow. It was worth 6 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. Gitda held (it) freely.

IN FOXLEA HUNDRET

Walter holds of William 2 hides in BACULVESLEA [Blakesley]. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 2 serfs; and (there are) 5 villeins with 2 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 5 shillings, and 1 acre of meadow. Wood 3 furlongs in length and 1 furlong in breadth. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

Turstin² holds of William half a hide and half a virgate of land in CORTENHALO [Courteenhall], and the soc belongs to (*est Soca de*) another CORTENHALO [Courteenhall], William (Peverel's) manor. There is land for 1 plough. Half a plough is there, and it is worth 6 shillings.

Ambrose holds of William 4 hides in MOLITONE [? Mollington].³ There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 3 serfs; and (there are) 4 villeins and 5 bordars with 2 ploughs. There (are) 16 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 4 pounds.

Gitda held these lands freely in king Edward's time.⁴

XXXV. THE LAND OF WILLIAM, SON OF ANSCULF⁵

IN WICESLEA WAPENT[AKE]

William, son of Ansculf, holds half a hide in TOLTORP [Tolthorpe],⁶ and Robert (holds) of him. There is land for 4 ploughs. The King has the soc thereof. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 12 villeins and 15 bordars have 3 ploughs. There (are) 4 mills rendering (*de*) 40 shillings, and 20 acres of meadow. 8 sochmen held (it). It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 100 shillings.

² This was Turstin Mantel. See my *Calendar of documents, preserved in France*, No. 1383, p. 506.

³ In Oxfordshire (see Introduction).

⁴ This clause appears to refer to all three of the above estates.

⁵ *de Pinkeni (i.e. Picquigny).*

⁶ In Rutland.

¹ In Guilsborough Hundred.

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IN OPTONEGRAVE WAPENT[AKE]¹

Otbert holds of William 3 hides in BERNAC [Bernack]. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 2 serfs; and 15 villeins and 2 bordars, with 1 sochman, have 4 ploughs. There (are) 12 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 2 furlongs in length and 1 in breadth. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 4 pounds. Bundi held (it) freely.

Ralf holds of William 3 hides in BROMWIC [West Bromwich].² There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 10 villeins and 3 bordars have 3 ploughs. Wood(land) there 1 league in length, and half a league in breadth. It was and is worth 40 shillings. Brictuin held (it).

William, son of Malger, holds of William 1 hide in WAVRE [Over].³ There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), with 1 villein. There (are) 4 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 furlong in length and half a furlong in breadth. It was and is worth 10 shillings. Ulwin held it freely in king Edward's time as did (the) others.

XXXVI. THE LAND OF WILLIAM LOVET

IN STOTFALD HUNDRET

WILLIAM Luveth holds of the King the third part of 1 virgate of land. It was and is waste.

XXXVII. THE LAND OF WALTER DE AINCURT

IN GRAVESEND HUNDRET

WALTER de Aincurt holds of the King 3½ hides in BRANDESTONE [Braunston]. There is land for 9 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs; and 13 villeins and 4 bordars have 4 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 2 shillings, and 8 acres of meadow, and 1 acre of wood. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 4 pounds and 10 shillings. Tori held (it) freely.

¹ *Sic.*

² In Staffordshire.

³ In Warwickshire.

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XXXIX. THE LAND OF WALTER THE FLEMING

IN RODEWELLE HUNDRET

WALTER the Fleming (Flandrensis)⁴ holds of the King half a hide in PIPEWELLE [Pipewell]. There is land for 1 plough. Dodin holds (it) of Walter. There is 1 plough, with 2 bordars, and (there are) 5 acres of wood. It was and is worth 4 shillings. Levenot held (it).

IN GISLEBURG HUNDRET

The same (Dodin) holds of Walter 1 hide and 1 virgate of land in COTESBROC [Cottesbrook]. There is land for 2½ ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 4 serfs and 1 bondwoman; and (there are) a priest and 10 villeins and 5 bordars with 1½ ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 12 pence. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings.

The same (Dodin) holds of Walter 2 virgates and 1 bovat of land in HOHTONE [Hanging Houghton]. It is worth 4 shillings.

Fulcher holds of Walter 4 hides and 1 virgate of land in LANGEPORT [Lamport]. There is land for 2 ploughs. 12 villeins and 7 bordars have these there. There (are) 4 acres of meadow, and an ash spinney (*fraxinetum*) 1 furlong in length, and 1 furlong in breadth. It is worth 4 pounds.

The same (Fulcher) holds of Walter 2½ hides in WIDMALE [Withmale]. There is land for 2 ploughs. He has these there; and 10 villeins and 5 bordars, with the priest, have 3 ploughs. There (are) 1 serf and 1 bondwoman, and 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 2 furlongs in length, and 1½ in breadth. It was and is worth 40 shillings.

IN SPELEHOT HUNDRET

The same (Fulcher) holds of Walter 3 hides and 1 virgate of land in PITESFORD [Pitsford]. There is land for 7 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 2 serfs; and 16 villeins, and 9 bordars, have 6 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 12 pence. It was and is worth 70 shillings.

Otbert holds of Walter 2 hides in HORTONE [Horton]. There is land for 4 ploughs.

⁴ Otherwise called Walter de Wahulle.

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In demesne there are 2 (ploughs); and 6 villeins and 4 bordars have 2 ploughs. There (are) 2 serfs, and a mill rendering (*de*) 12 pence, and 12 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 3 furlongs in length, and 2 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings.

IN TOVECESTRE HUNDRET

The same (Otbert) holds of Walter 4 hides in EVELAI [Evenley]. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 4 (ploughs), with 1 serf; and 11 villeins and 5 bordars have 4 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering (*de*) 20 shillings, and 5 acres of meadow. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 4 pounds.

Hugh holds of Walter 2½ hides in ASCEBI [Canons' Ashby]. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 plough, and 4 serfs; and 9 villeins and 3 bordars have 3 ploughs, and (there are) 12 acres of meadow. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 4 pounds.

IN OTBOLDESTOU HUNDRET

Otbert holds of Walter 2 hides in EVELAI [Evenley]. There is land for 5 ploughs. There are 4 ploughs, with 10 villeins and 5 bordars. It was worth 30 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

IN SUTONE HUNDRET

The same (Otbert) holds of Walter 1½ hides and the fifth part of half a hide.¹ There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there are 1½ (ploughs), with 1 serf; and (there are) 5 villeins and 3 bordars having 1½ ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 2 shillings. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. This land pertains to EVELAI [Evenley].

IN TOVECESTRE HUNDRET

Godwin holds of Walter 2 hides belonging to the church (*ad ecclesiam*) of Pascelle [Pateshull] in HECHAM [Cold Higham].² There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 plough; and 9 villeins, with the

priest and 3 bordars, have 2 ploughs. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings.

Levenot holds of Walter in PLUNTUNE [Plumpton]³ 1 hide. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 2 serfs; and 6 villeins with 3 ploughs. There (are) 4 acres of meadow. It was, and is, worth 40 shillings.

IN GRAVESEND HUNDRET

Hugh holds of Walter 1½ hides, and the fifth part of half a hide. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs and 2 serfs; and 8 villeins, and 3 bordars, have 2 ploughs. There (are) 2 acres of spinney (*spinetum*). It was, and is, worth 40 shillings.

Gildre holds of Walter 2 hides in AVIESCOTE [Astcote]. He himself has sac and soc of half a hide, and the King of 1½ hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs; and 8 villeins, with 1 bordar, have 2 ploughs. It was worth 15 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings.

IN WIMERESLEA HUNDRET

Winemar holds of Walter 2½ hides in WITONE [Wotton]. There is land for 7 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs, and 2 serfs; and (there are) 15 villeins, and 7 bordars with 5 ploughs. There (are) 4 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 4 pounds.

IN CLAILE HUNDRET

Hugh holds of Walter 3 hides and the fifth part of 1 hide. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), with 1 serf, and a bondwoman; and 17 villeins, and 5 bordars, have 6 ploughs. There (are) 36 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 3 furlongs in length, and 3½ furlongs and 10 perches in breadth. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings.

Levenot held all these lands freely in king Edward's time, and could betake himself (*ire*)⁴ where he pleased.

The same Walter holds of the King 8 hides in PASCELLE [Pateshull]. Of these he has in demesne 2 hides. There is land for 20 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs);

¹ In the hamlet of Astwick belonging to Evenley.

² The 'Northamptonshire Survey' proves that these two hides were in Grimscote, so that their relation to Pateshull church must have been one of ownership, not of juxtaposition.

³ In Norton Hundred.

⁴ *i.e.* could commend himself to any lord.

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and 2 serfs and a bondwoman; and 22 villeins and 6 bordars, have 12 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering (*de*) 32 pence. It was worth 10 pounds when he received it; now (it is worth) 100 shillings. Leveno(t) held (it).

XL. THE LAND OF WINEMAR¹

WINEMAR holds of the King half a hide and the fifth part of 1 virgate of land in COVESGRAVE [Cosgrave]. There is land for 1½ ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), with 3 bordars. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 13 shillings, and 5 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 3 furlongs in length and 2 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Alden held (it) freely.

IN HECHAM HUNDRET

The same (Winemar) holds 2 hides and 3 virgates² of land. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 4 serfs; and 10 villeins, with the priest and 1 bordar and 1 Frenchman (*francigena*), have 2 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering 8 pence, and 20 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 4 furlongs in length and 2 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 30 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings. 6 freemen held it in king Edward's time. One of them was called Osgot, whose part of the land is claimed by the Countess Judith.

The same (Winemar) holds 3 virgates of land in HANTONE [].³ There is land for 1½ ploughs. In demesne there is half a plough; and 4 villeins with 5 bordars have 1 plough. There (are) 3 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 10 shillings.

IN CLAISLUND HUNDRET

Dodin holds of Winemar 1 hide and 4 fifths of 1 virgate in ASCE [Ashton].⁴ There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), with 1 serf; and 5 villeins and 5 bordars have 2 ploughs. There (are) 5 acres

of meadow. Wood(land) 6 furlongs in length and 4 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 8 shillings; now (it is worth) 12 shillings. Alden held (it) freely in king Edward's time. Dodin has only the tenth part of this land.

Bondi holds of Winemar 4 fifths of half a hide in the same vill. There is land for 1 plough. There is 1 bordar. It is worth 4 shillings. The same Alden held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

Maiulf holds of Winemar 2½ virgates of land.⁵ There is land for 1 plough. This is there in demesne; and (there are) 6 villeins with half a plough. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Alric and Siuerd held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

XLI. THE LAND OF GUY DE REINB[UED]CURT

IN NEVESLUND HUNDRET

GUY de Reinbuedcurt holds of the King 8½ hides in BURTONE [Burton Latimer]. There, in king Edward's time, were 14 ploughs. Of this land 3 hides are in demesne, and there are 3 ploughs with 1 serf; and 21 villeins and 18 bordars have 9 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering (*de*) 16 shillings, and 20 acres of meadow, and half an acre of wood. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 6 pounds.

IN WAREDONE HUNDRET

The same (Guy) holds 2 hides and 3 virgates of land.⁶ There is land for 6½ ploughs. Of this land 1 hide is in demesne, and there are 3 ploughs; and 15 villeins, with the priest and 2 bordars, have 5 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering (*de*) 26 shillings, and 20 acres of meadow. It was worth 100 shillings; now (it is worth) 8 pounds. Tosti held (it) freely. [Earl Ralf⁷ held Burton (Burton Latimer)].⁸

IN GISLEBURG HUNDRET AND A HALF

The same (Guy) holds 2 hides, less half a virgate, in STANFORD [Stanford], and Abbot Benedict⁹ bought (it) of him. There is land

¹ Winemar the Fleming, otherwise Winemar de Anslepe (Hamslepe).

² Probably in Easton Mauduit and Strixton; as we learn from the 12th cent. 'Northamptonshire Survey' that an estate was then held there by Michael de Hanslepe, the successor of this Winemar.

³ The name is now lost.

⁴ This identification can be proved by its descent to Mauduit.

⁵ In Easton Neston. See Baker, II. 139.

⁶ In Wardon. See Baker, I. 521.

⁷ Probably Ralf, earl of Hereford under Edward.

⁸ This is an addition which apparently refers to the preceding entry.

⁹ Benedict, abbot of Selby. See Introduction.

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for 5 ploughs. There (are) 17 villeins, with the priest and 4 bordars, having 4 ploughs. There (are) 8 acres of meadow. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Leuric held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

IN ORDINBARO HUNDRET

Norgiot holds of Guy 1 hide in HARGE-DONE [Harrowden Magna]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), with 1 serf and a bondwoman; and 4 villeins with 1 bordar have 1 plough. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 8 shillings, and 2 acres of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Algar held (it) freely.

Ralf holds of Guy 1 hide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land in ISHAM [Isham]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), with 1 serf; and 7 villeins with 1 bordar have 2 ploughs. There is a mill rendering 10 shillings, and 5 acres of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Elwin, son of Ulf, held (it) freely in King Edward's time. Of this land the bishop of Coutances claims $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates and 3 small gardens (*bortulos*).

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IN HOCHESLAU HUNDRET

Picot, Landric, and Oger hold of Guy in ALDEVINCLE [Aldwinkle All Saints] 5 hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 3 serfs; and 16 villeins and 5 bordars have 5 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering 6 shillings, and 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 16 furlongs in length, and 8 furlongs in breadth. It is worth 50 shillings among (them) all. Lefsi held (it) freely in King Edward's time.

IN STOTFALD HUNDRET

Walter holds of Guy $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides, and the third part of 1 virgate in Solebi [Sulby]. The soc pertains to STANFORD [Stanford]. There he has 1 plough in demesne; and 7 sochmen, with 6 bordars, have 2 ploughs. It was and is worth 40 shillings. Leuric held (it) freely.

Odelin holds of Guy 3 virgates of land in CRANEFORD [Cranford]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 1 villein and 5 bordars have 2 ploughs. It is worth 20 shillings.

Norgiot holds of Guy $3\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land in CUGENHO [Cooknoe]. There is land for

3 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs); and 8 villeins have 1 plough. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 13 shillings, and 12 acres of meadow. Wood(land) half a league in length, and 1 furlong in breadth. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. Edwin held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

IN GISLEBURG HUNDRET AND A HALF

Turchil holds of Guy three parts of 1 virgate in ELTETONE [Elkington].¹ There is land for 3 oxen.² 2 bordars who plough (*bordarii arantes*) have these there. It was and is worth 2 shillings.

XLII. THE LAND OF EUDO SON OF HUBERT³

IN CORBEI HUNDRET

EUDO son of Hubert holds of the King $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides in WACHERLEI [Wakerley]. There is land for 6 ploughs. Of this land there is 1 hide in demesne, and there are 2 ploughs, and 4 serfs; and 16 villeins, with the priest and 4 bordars, have 4 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 5 shillings, and 12 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 league in length, and 4 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 100 shillings.

IN OPTONEGREN HUNDRET

Rolland holds of Eudo $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides in ESTONE [Easton].⁴ There is land for 2 ploughs. 5 sochmen have 3 ploughs there, and 8 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 3 furlongs in length, and 1 in breadth. It was worth 2 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. This land belongs to (*est*) St. Peter of Burg [Peterborough].

IN WILEBROC HUNDRET

Rolland holds of Eudo $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides in ESTONE [Easton]. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 4 serfs; and 15 villeins, with 3 bordars, have 3 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 20 shillings, and 8 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 3 furlongs in length, and 2 furlongs in breadth.

¹ See p. 327, note 2.

² *i.e.* three-eighths of a ploughland.

³ Eudo son of Hubert do Rye(s), otherwise Eudo 'dapifer.'

⁴ See Introduction.

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It was worth 20 shillings ; now (it is worth) 6 pounds. Drond held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

XLIII. THE LAND OF GHILO,¹ THE BROTHER OF ANCULF

IN FOXLEU HUNDRET

GILO holds of the King 3 hides in WEDONE [Weedon Pinkeney]. There is land for 7½ ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 9 serfs, and 6 bondwomen. There 1 knight, and 13 villeins and 6 bordars, have 4½ ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering 2 shillings, and 6 acres of meadow. It was worth 40 shillings, and now (it is worth) 60 shillings. Fregist and Siward held (it).

Geoffrey holds of Gilo 1½ hides in MORTONE [Morton]. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 5 serfs ; and (there are) 14 villeins and 3 bordars with 3 ploughs. There are 30 acres of meadow. It was worth 8 pounds ; now (it is worth) 4 pounds. Leuric held (it) freely.

Godwin holds of Gilo half a hide in SELVESTONE [Silverstone]. There is land for 1 plough. There are 2 villeins, and 3 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1½ leagues in length, and 1 league in breadth. The fourth part of this wood(land) pertains to this land. It was worth 2 shillings ; now (it is worth) 5 shillings. Siward held (it) freely.

IN TOVECESTRE HUNDRET

The same Gilo holds 2 hides in WAPEHAM [Wappenham]. Of this land 3 virgates are in demesne. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 9 serfs, and 3 bondwomen ; and 17 villeins, and 8 bordars with the priest, have 3 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 4 shillings, and 5 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 11 furlongs in length, and 6 in breadth. It was worth 100 shillings ; now (it is worth) 4 pounds. Leuric and Siward held (it) freely.

IN ALBOLDESTOU HUNDRET

The same Gilo holds 2 hides in STANE [Steane]. There is land for 5 ploughs. Of this land 3 virgates are in demesne ; and in demesne there (are) 2 ploughs, and 4 serfs, and 2 bondwomen ; and 11 villeins, with a bordar, have 3 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 2 shillings.

To this manor belong 4 fifths of 1 hide in SUTONE [Sutton] Hundret. There is land for 2 ploughs. There is 1 man having 1 plough. The whole was worth 50 shillings ; now (it is worth) 60 shillings.

Landric holds of Gilo 2 hides and 4 fifths of half a hide in BRIME [in Culworth].² There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs, and 2 serfs, and 3 bondwomen ; and 6 villeins, with the priest, have 2 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 32 pence, and 4 acres of meadow. It was worth 40 shillings ; now (it is worth) 60 shillings. Leuric held (it) freely.

Ingelran holds of Gilo 2 hides in TORP [Thorpe Mandeville]. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) ; and 6 villeins and 3 bordars have 2 ploughs. It was worth 40 shillings ; now (it is worth) 50 shillings. Osmund the Dane (*danus*) held (it) freely.

Hugh and Landric hold of Gilo 2 hides in STOTEBERIE [Stotesbery]. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 2 serfs ; and (there are) 5 villeins and 3 bordars, and 3 other men, with 1 plough. Wood(land) 3 furlongs in length, and 2 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 30 shillings ; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Osmund (the Dane) held (it) freely.

Geoffrey and Robert hold 2 hides of Gilo in ESTWELLE [Astwell]. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), with 1 serf ; and 8 villeins and 8 bordars have 3 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering 12 pence, and 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 6 furlongs in length, and 1 furlong and 5 perches in breadth. It was and is worth 40 shillings. Leuric and Alvrice held (it).

Geoffrey holds of Gilo half a hide in

² 'Now lost,' says Mr. Stuart Moore. But I am certain it is represented by the '2 hides and 4 small virgates' in Culworth, which are returned as held by William in the 'Northamptonshire Survey.' Bridges thought that this holding was 'not mentioned in Domesday Book,' as he did not recognize it under 'Brime.' William's heirs, the Culworths, held it of the Pinkeneys by the service of one knight, and also held of them in Sulgrave, which adjoined Culworth on the south-east, as did 'Landric,' their Domesday predecessor.

¹ De Pinkeni (*i.e.* Picquigny)

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SIGRESHAM [Syresham]. There is land for 1 plough and 2 oxen.¹ In demesne there is 1 plough, and (there are) 3 villeins. It was and is worth 10 shillings. Leuric held (it) freely.

IN WAREDON HUNDRET

The same Gilo holds 4 hides in SULGRAVE [Sulgrave], and Hugh, Landric, and Otbert (hold them) of him. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, with 1 serf; and 20 villeins and 6 bordars have 5 ploughs. There are 8 acres of meadow. It was worth 9 pounds; now (it is worth) 7 pounds. Four men held (it), but could not depart (*discedere*) because the soc of this land pertains to Waredone [Wardon].

XLIII. THE LAND OF GEOFFREY ELSELIN

IN COLESTREU HUNDRET

Geoffrey Alselin holds of the King 3½ hides in MIDELTONE [Milton or Middleton Malsor], and William (holds) of him. There is land for 9 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 16 villeins, with the priest and 5 bordars, have 7 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 30 pence, and 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 3 furlongs in length, and 2½ furlongs in breadth.

To this manor pertain 2 hides, less 1 virgate, in COLENTREU [Collingtree]. There is land for 4 ploughs. 2 sochmen and 5 villeins have these there. There (are) 3 acres of meadow.

In TORP [Rothersthorpe] there is half a hide belonging to Mildetone [Middleton Malsor]. There is land for 1 plough, which is there, with 1 villein. The whole was worth 4 pounds; now (it is worth) 6 pounds.

Winemar holds half a hide of Geoffrey in the same vill. There is land for 1 plough. That is there. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 8 shillings. Of this half hide Winemar has only the soc. Tochi held all this land with sac and soc.

XLV. THE LAND OF GEOFFREY DE MANNEVILLE

IN SUTONE HUNDRET

GEOFFREY DE MANNEVILLE holds of the King AIENHO [Aynho]. There are 3 hides

and the fifth part of a hide. There is land for 8 ploughs. Of this land 1 hide and the fifth part of 1 hide is in demesne, and there (are) 3 ploughs, and 8 serfs; and (there are) 23 villeins and 9 bordars, with 5 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering 10 shillings, and 20 acres of meadow. It was worth 6 pounds; now (it is worth) 8 pounds. Asgar held (it) in king Edward's time.

Osbern holds of Geoffrey 1 hide and 2 thirds of 1 virgate in CLIWETONE [Croughton]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 3 serfs; and (there are) 10 villeins with 1½ ploughs, and a mill rendering (*de*) 2 shillings. It was and is worth 30 shillings. Suartlin held (it), and could not leave (*discedere*).²

Suetman holds of Geoffrey the fifth part of half a hide in CREVELTONE [Croughton]. There is land for 2 oxen.³ There is 1 villein with half a plough. It is worth 3 shillings. Asgar held (it) freely.

IN WAREDONE HUNDRET

Ultbert holds of Geoffrey HINTONE [Hinton]. There are 2 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs, and 2 serfs; and (there are) 10 villeins and 3 bordars with 3 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering 2 shillings, and 3 acres of meadow. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings.

Malger holds of Geoffrey 6 hides in ESTONE [Aston]. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs and 5 serfs; and fo. 227b 15 villeins and 5 bordars have 6 ploughs. There (are) 12 acres of meadow. It was worth 100 shillings; now (it is worth) 6 pounds.

IN NIWEBOTLAGRAVE HUNDRET

Baldwin holds of Geoffrey half a hide in FLORA [Floore]. There is land for 1 plough. This is there with 1 villein and 2 serfs, and (there are) 4 acres of meadow; and of part of a mill (*de parte molini*) he has 5 shillings. The whole was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 15 shillings.

IN FOXESLE HUNDRET

Ernald holds of Geoffrey half a hide in SILVESTONE [Silverstone]. There is land for

¹ *i.e.* 1½ ploughlands.

² *i.e.* betake himself to another lord.

³ *i.e.* a quarter of a ploughland.

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1 plough. This is there with 2 serfs and 1 villein and 1 bordar. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings.

The same (Ernald) holds of Geoffrey 2 hides in HINTONE [Hinton].¹ There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne are 2 ploughs, and 2 serfs; and 11 villeins and 5 bordars have 3 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 2 shillings, and 16 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 2 furlongs in length, and half a furlong in breadth. It was worth 30 shillings; now (it is worth) 70 shillings.

IN EDBOLDESTON HUNDRET

Osbern holds of Geoffrey 1½ hides, and 2 thirds of 1 virgate in CULEORDE [Culworth]. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 4 serfs; and 10 villeins, with 1 bordar, have 2 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 40 pence. It was and is worth 3 pounds.

Asgar² held all these lands of Geoffrey's in king Edward's time.

XLVI. THE LAND OF GILBERT DE GAND

IN NEUBOTLAGRAVE HUNDRET

Gilbert de Gand holds of the King 3½ hides in CESELINGEBERIE [Kislingbury], and Geoffrey (holds them) of him. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 1½ hides of that land, and 10 serfs; and (there are) 22 villeins and 7 bordars with 4 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering (*de*) 40 shillings, and 14 acres of meadow, and 10 acres of wood. It was worth 4 pounds; now (it is worth) 6 pounds.

Sasgar holds of Gilbert 1 hide and 1½ virgates of land in HAIFORDE [Nether Heyford]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is half a plough; and 3 villeins, with 1 bordar, have 1 plough. There (are) 4 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings.

IN GRAVESEND HUNDRET

The same Gilbert holds 4 hides in STOWE [Stowe]. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 7 serfs; and 14 villeins and 6 bordars have 7 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 64 pence.

¹ In Sutton Hundred.

² Ansgar, Esgar, or Asgar, the Staller, Geoffrey's 'predecessor' in Essex also.

Wood(land) 7 furlongs in length, and 3 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 60 shillings; now (it is worth) 100 shillings.

The same Gilbert holds EPINGEHAM [Emtingham].³ There are 4 hides. Of these, 3 (are) in demesne. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 4 ploughs, and 8 serfs; and (there are) 15 villeins with 4 ploughs. There (are) 5 mills rendering (*de*) 42 shillings and 8 pence, and 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 furlong in length, and 10 perches in breadth. It was worth 100 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 pounds.

The same (Gilbert) holds in the same vill 7½ hides, and 1 bovat of land of the King's soc(land) of Roteland [Rutland], and says the King is his patron (*advocatum*).⁴ There is land for 15 ploughs. 14 sochmen, with 51 villeins, have these there. There (are) 5 mills rendering (*de*) 24 shillings, and 10 acres of meadow, and 10 acres of wood. It was and is worth 8 pounds.

IN WILEBROC HUNDRET

The same Gilbert gave to (the Abbey or) S. Pierre-sur-Dive half a hide in ESTONE [Easton]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 4 villeins have another. There (are) 4 acres of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Tonna held all these lands with sac and soc.

Rotbert holds of Gilbert WICFORD [Whichford].⁵ There (are) 15 hides. There is land for 19 ploughs. In demesne there are 4 (ploughs), and 10 serfs; and 33 villeins and 21 bordars have 15 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering (*de*) 15 shillings, and 3 furlongs of meadow in length, and as much in breadth. Wood(land) 1 furlong in length, and as much in breadth. It was worth 10 pounds; now (it is worth) 20 pounds. Wlf held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

³ In Rutland.

⁴ *i.e.* (in later language) he vouches the King to warranty.

⁵ Whichford in Warwickshire. Dugdale, in his *History of Warwickshire*, observes that this place is not entered in Domesday, and did not connect it with the above entry, but the fact that Whichford church was given to Bridlington priory, which was founded by Gilbert's son, Walter de Gant, and was specially connected with their house, is sufficient to establish the identity.

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XLVII. THE LAND OF GEOFFREY DE WIRCE

IN GISLEBURG HUNDRET AND A HALF

GEOFFREY DE WIRCE holds of the King 4 hides in WELLESFORD [Welford], and Alfrid holds (them) of him. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 2 serfs and 1 bondwoman; and 12 villeins, with the priest and 2 bordars, have 4 ploughs. There (are) 20 acres of meadow.

To this manor pertain $2\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land in ESSEBI [Cold Ashby]. There is land for 1 plough; and (there is) the fourth part of 1 virgate of land in ETENDONE [Elkington].¹ There are 2 bordars rendering 22 pence.

IN STOFALD HUNDRET

To the same Manor pertain $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides in SOLEBI [Sulby]. There is land for 5 ploughs. It is waste. The whole in king Edward's time was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 60 shillings. Leuric held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

The same Geoffrey holds in CREC [Crick] 4 hides less 1 virgate of land. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 4 serfs; and 17 villeins, with the priest and 6 bordars, have 5 ploughs. There (are) 12 acres of meadow. It was worth 30 shillings; now (it is worth) 4 pounds and 10 shillings. To this land belong 4 sochmen, who render 10 pence.²

XLVIII. THE LAND OF GUNFRID DE CIOCHES

IN CORBEI HUNDRET

GUNFRID de Cioches holds of the King half a hide in BOCTONE [Boughton]. There is land for 1 plough. 2 villeins with 1 bordar have this there. It was and is worth 6 shillings.

The same Gunfrid holds in NEUTONE [Newton] 3 virgates of land and 1 bovaté, and the third part of 1 bovaté. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 4 villeins with 4 bordars have another. Wood(land) there half a furlong in length and 5 perches in breadth. It was and is worth 10 shillings. Azur held these 2 lands³ freely.

¹ See p. 327, note ².

² The whole of this entry is added at the foot of the column.

³ *i.e.* Boughton and Newton.

IN SPEREHOLT HUNDRET

The same (Gunfrid) holds 3 hides and $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land in BELINGE [Billing Parva]. There is land for 7 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 4 serfs; and 16 villeins with the priest have 5 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 2 shillings, and 50 acres of meadow. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 70 shillings. Suain held (it) freely.

The same (Gunfrid) holds 5 hides in WILAVESTONE [Wollaston]. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 4 (ploughs), and 8 serfs; and 22 villeins, with the priest and 4 bordars, have 6 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 5 shillings, and 48 acres of meadow. It was worth 3 pounds; now (it is worth) 10 pounds. 4 thegns held (it) with sac and soc.

IN ORDINBARO HUNDRET

The same (Gunfrid) holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides in CRANESLEA [Cransley]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 2 serfs; and 4 villeins, with the priest and 10 bordars, have 2 ploughs. There are 5 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 30 shillings.

IN GISLEBURG HUNDRET

The same (Gunfrid) holds 2 hides and 1 virgate of land, and half a hide of soc(land).⁴ There is land for $5\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 7 serfs; and 13 villeins and 5 bordars and 5 sochmen have $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There are 8 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 4 pounds.

The same (Gunfrid) holds 1 virgate of land in EDONE [West Haddon]. There is land for half a plough, and this is there with 1 serf. It is worth 4 shillings.

The same (Gunfrid) holds 1 hide in CRAP-TONE [Creaton Magna]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 4 serfs; and 3 villeins with 2 bordars have 1 plough. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings.

IN COLENTREU HUNDRET

The same (Gunfrid) holds $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides in TORP [Rothersthorpe]. There is land for

⁴ Doubtless in Buckby, as the same amount of land was entered in the 'Northamptonshire Survey' as held there by Saer de Quincey of the fee of Aunsel de Chokes (*i.e.* Cioches) (Bridges, I. 544).

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7 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 7 serfs; and 14 villeins and 5 bordars have 5 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 32 pence. Wood(land) 5½ furlongs in length and 1½ furlongs in breadth. It was worth 4 pounds; now (it is worth) 100 shillings.

IN GRAVESEND HUNDRET

The same (Gunfrid) holds half a hide and the fifth part of half a hide in WESTORP [Thorpe].¹ There is land for 1 plough. This is there with 2 bordars. It was worth 2 shillings; now (it is worth) 6 shillings.

Suain held all these lands aforesaid with sac and soc.

IN SUTONE HUNDRET

The same (Gunfrid) holds 2 hides and the fifth part of 2 hides in GRIMBERIE [Grimsbury]. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 4 serfs; and 15 villeins with 3 bordars have 4 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 10 shillings, and 30 acres of meadow. It was worth 4 pounds; now (it is worth) 6 pounds. This land belongs to 3 lords.² Levenot held (it) with sac and soc.

Winemar holds of Gunfrid 1 hide and 3 virgates of land in CNUTESTONE [Knuston]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there are 1½ (ploughs), with 1 serf; and 6 villeins have 1 plough. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 8 pence, and 7 acres of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Vluiet held (it) freely in king Edward's time. Eustace³ claims (it).

IN SPELEHOU HUNDRET

John holds of Gunfrid half a virgate of land in WESTONE [Weston Favel]. There is 1 villein having 3 beasts (*animalia*).

IN NIWEBOTLAGRAVE HUNDRED

Olbaldus holds of Gunfrid 1 hide and 1 virgate of land in FLORA [Floore]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 4 serfs; and 5 villeins with 4 bordars have 1 plough. There (are) 6 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 25 shillings. Two thegns held (it).

¹ Near Norton, in Fawsley Hundred.

² (?) '*dominiorum*' (the reading is somewhat doubtful in the text of Domesday).

³ Probably Eustace the sheriff of Huntingdonshire.

IN CLAIESLEA HUNDRET

Tetbald holds of Gunfrid 3 virgates of land, and the fourth part of 1 virgate, in HULECOTE [Hulcote]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 7 villeins have another. There (are) 5 acres of meadow. It was worth 12 shillings; now (it is worth) 15 shillings.

Bondi holds of Gunfrid 3 virgates of land, and the fourth part of 1 virgate in ADESTANESTONE [Easton Neston]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 6 villeins have another. There (are) 3 acres of meadow, and from part of a mill (come) 4 shillings. Wood(land) 5 furlongs in length and in breadth. Two lords hold it. It is worth 12 shillings. The same Bondi held (it) freely.

Dodin holds of Gunfrid 4 fifths of half a hide in RODE [Roade]. There is land for 1 plough. This is there with 2 bordars. Wood(land) half a furlong in length and 4 perches in breadth. It was worth 12 pence; now (it is worth) 4 shillings. Suain held it freely in king Edward's time.

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XLIX. THE LAND OF SIGAR DE CIOCHES

IN TOVECESTRE HUNDRET

SIGAR de Cioches holds of the King 4 hides⁴ and 4 fifths of half a hide. There is land for 10 ploughs. Of this land 1 hide is in demesne, and there (are) 3 ploughs, and 5 serfs, and 3 bondwomen; and 21 villeins, with the priest and 11 bordars, have 8 ploughs. There (are) 8 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 4 furlongs in length, and 3 furlongs in breadth. It was and is worth 6 pounds. Earl Tosti(g) held (it).

L. THE LAND OF SUAIN⁵

IN CLAIESLEA HUNDRET

SUAIN holds of the King 4 hides in STOCHE [Stoke Bruern]. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 14 villeins, with the priest and 7 bordars, have 5 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 13 shillings and 4 pence, and 30 acres of meadow.

⁴ This entry refers to Gayton. See Baker, II. 261, 272.

⁵ This was Swegen son of Azur. See Introduction.

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Wood(land) 3 furlongs in length, and 2½ furlongs in breadth. It was and is worth 3 pounds.

LI. THE LAND OF SIBOLD

IN HOCHESLAU HUNDRET

SIBOLD holds of the King 1½ virgates of land in LUDEWIC [Luffwick]. There is land for 1½ ploughs. Of this land 1 virgate is in demesne, and there (is) 1 plough; and (there are) 2 villeins and 2 bordars with half a plough. It was worth 4 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Lefsi held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

LII. THE LAND OF OGER¹

IN NARRESFORD HUNDRET

OGER holds of the King 2½ hides in TRAPESTONE [Thrapston]. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs, with 1 serf; and 7 villeins and 5 bordars have 1 plough; and (there are) 4 sochmen with 1 plough. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 20 shillings, and 12 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 6 furlongs in length, and as many in breadth. It was and is worth 3 pounds.

LIII. THE LAND OF DROGO DE BEVREIRE

IN WINEMERESLEA HUNDRET

DROGO de Bevreire holds of the King 1 hide and 3 virgates of land in CEDESTONE [Chadstone]. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 plough, with 1 serf; and (there are) 9 villeins and 4 bordars with 3 ploughs. Wood(land) 1 furlong in length, and as much in breadth. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Ulf, a man of earl Wallef's,² held (it). The Countess Judith claims (it).

LIIII. THE LAND OF MANNO

IN SUTONE HUNDRET

MAINO holds of the King 1 hide in TANE-FORD [Thenford]. There is land for 2½ ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 3 serfs; and 6 villeins have 1½ ploughs; and from part of a mill (he has) 30 pence. It was and is worth 40 shillings. Algar held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

IN CLAIESLE HUNDRET

The same (Maino) holds 3 virgates of land in WICHE [Wyke Hamon]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs with 1 serf; and 5 villeins, with 1 bordar, have 2 ploughs. There (are) 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 10 furlongs in length, and 3 furlongs in breadth. It was and is worth 40 shillings. Siward held (it) freely.

IN STOTFALD HUNDRET

Berner holds of (Maino) 4 hides and 2 thirds of 1 virgate in MEDEWELLE [Maidwell]. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), with 1 serf; and 8 villeins, and 4 bordars, and 6 sochmen, have 6 ploughs. There (are) 8 acres of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Leuric held (it) freely.

IN RODEWELLE HUNDRET

To this manor pertains 1 virgate of land in DRACTONE [Draughton]. This is valued with the manor.

LV. THE LAND OF EUSTACE³

EUSTACE holds of the King 1 hide and 2½ virgates of land in ISHAM [Isham]. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and (there are) 7 villeins, and 3 bordars, with 2 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 10 shillings, and 5 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 40 shillings. Eustace occupied this land by force, wronging (*super*) the church of Ramesy [Ramsey].

Rainald holds of Eustace 3 hides in NIWETONE [Newton].⁴ There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and (there are) 8 villeins and 5 bordars with 3½ ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering 64 pence, and 8 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 4 furlongs in length, and 2 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. Norman held these 2 lands.⁵

Alvred holds of Eustace in POCHEBROC [Polebrook] 1 hide and 1 virgate of land. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 4 villeins, with the priest and 4 bordars, have 1½ ploughs. It was worth 2 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Ormar held (it) freely.

³ 'De Huntendune,' sheriff of Huntingdonshire.

⁴ Wood Newton (see p. 388 note ⁴ below).

⁵ *i.e.* Isham and Newton.

¹ The Breton.

² *i.e.* Waltheof.

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Widelard holds of Eustace half a hide in WINEWINCLE [Winwick].¹ There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), with 1 serf; and (there are) 3 villeins with 2 ploughs. There (are) 3 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Achi held (it).

IN NEVESLUND HUNDRET

Agemund holds of Eustace half a hide in GRASTONE [Grafton Underwood]. There is land for 1 plough. This is there with certain men. It was and is worth 5 shillings.

IN NARES福德 HUNDRET

Alvred holds of Eustace 1 hide and 1 virgate of land in DOTONE [Clapton].² There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 1 villein with 3 bordars has half a plough. It was worth 3 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings.

LVI. THE LAND OF THE COUNTRESS JUDITH

IN WICELEA WAPENT[AKE]

The Countess Judith holds of the King $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides in RIEHALE [Ryhall].³ There is, with (its) appendages, land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 4 serfs; and 10 villeins and 4 sochmen have 4 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering (*de*) 36 shillings. Wood(land) 4 furlongs in length, and 2 furlongs in breadth.

To this manor pertains BELMESTORP [Belmesthorpe].³ There (are) $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, and in demesne (there are) 2 ploughs; and 14 villeins and 6 bordars have 4 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 10 shillings and 8 pence, and 16 acres of meadow. The whole was and is worth 6 pounds.

The same (Judith) holds the third part of 1 hide in ASCE [Ashley]. There are 3 sochmen (who) render yearly 5 shillings and 4 pence.

In SUTONE [Sutton Basset] there is half a hide, and the third part of half a hide; and 4 sochmen have there $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, and render yearly 10 shillings and 8 pence.

In WESTONE [Weston-by-Welland] there is 1 hide, and the third part of 1 hide; and 5 sochmen have there $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, and render yearly 21 shillings and 4 pence.

In TINGLEA [Dingley] there is the third part of 1 hide, and 3 quarters of 2 thirds of 1 hide;⁴ and there (are) 5 sochmen with $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. They render 6 shillings and 8 pence.

In BRANTONE [Brampton]⁵ there is 1 hide; and 4 sochmen have there 2 ploughs, and render yearly 5 shillings and 4 pence.

Earl Wallef (Waltheof) held all this land, and it was worth as much as it now is.

IN WILEBROC HUNDRET

The same Countess holds 6 hides in FODRINGEIA [Fotheringay]. There is land for 12 ploughs. Of this land 2 hides are in demesne, and there (are) 3 ploughs, and 3 serfs; and 19 villeins, with the priest and 6 bordars, have 9 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 8 shillings, and 40 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 league in length, and 9 furlongs in breadth. When it is stocked (*oneratur*), and the King does not hunt in it, it is worth 10 shillings. It was worth 8 pounds; now (it is worth) 12 pounds. Turchil held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

The same Countess holds 5 hides in HARINGEWORDE [Harringworth]. There is land for 16 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 6 serfs and 1 bondwoman; and 26 villeins and 8 bordars and 6 sochmen have 10 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 5 shillings, and 5 furlongs of meadow in length, and 2 furlongs in breadth. Wood(land) 8 furlongs in length, and 1 league and 3 furlongs in breadth. It was and is worth 10 pounds. Turchil held (it) freely.

In LANGEPORT [Lamport] there is 1 bovaté of land, with 1 bordar rendering 16 pence.

In BRADEBROC [Braybrook] there is half a virgate of socland. There 1 villein has half a plough. It was and is worth 4 shillings.

In BRACSTONE [Draughton]⁶ there are $2\frac{1}{2}$

¹ In Polebrook Hundred.

² Bridges (II. 421) rightly conjectured this name to be a clerical error for Clotone [Clapton]. See *Feudal England*, p. 223.

³ In Rutland.

⁴ These complicated fractions amount in all to $\frac{5}{6}$ of a hide.

⁵ In Corby Hundred.

⁶ 'Bracstone' is an error of the scribe for Dracstone [Draughton]. See Bridges, II. 28.

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virgates of land. 3 sochmen have there 2 ploughs. It was and is worth 10 shillings.

In BURTONE [Broughton] there are $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides of soc(land). There is land for 3 ploughs. 3 sochmen, with 4 villeins and 5 bordars, have these there and 8 acres of meadow.

In CRANESLEA [Cransley] is 1 hide, and 6 sochmen with 5 bordars have there 2 ploughs and 8 acres of meadow.

In HANINTONE [Hannington] are 3 virgates of land, and 4 sochmen have there $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and 2 acres of meadow. These 3 lands¹ were worth 40 shillings; now (they are worth) 16 pence more.

The same Countess holds 4 hides in BARTONE² [Earl's Barton]. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 3 serfs; and 8 villeins and 6 bordars and 11 sochmen have 6 ploughs. There (are) 3 mills rendering (*de*) 28 shillings and 8 pence, and 34 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 4 pounds. Bondi held (it) with sac and soc.

The same Countess holds 4 hides in DODINTONE [Duddington]. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 2 serfs; and 12 villeins and 5 bordars, with 4 sochmen, have 6 ploughs. There (are) 12 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 4 pounds. Bondi held (it).

The same Countess holds 4 hides in WILEBI [Wilby]. There is land for 7 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 7 sochmen have 6 ploughs. It was and is worth 4 pounds. Bondi held (it).

The same Countess holds 4 hides in ASBI [Mears Ashby]. There is land for 7 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 2 serfs; and 6 villeins and 6 bordars, with 8 sochmen, have 6 ploughs. It was and is worth 4 pounds. Bondi held (it). These 3 lands³ pertain to BURTONE [Earl's Barton].

In BUCHETONE [Boughton]⁴ are 3 virgates of soc(land). There is land for $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. 4 sochmen, with 3 bordars, have these there.

¹ *i.e.* Draughton, Cransley, and Hannington.

² U is written over the A, as if for alteration.

³ Duddington, Wilby, Mears Ashby.

⁴ In Spelho Hundred.

IN WIMARESLEA HUNDRET AND A HALF

The same Countess holds $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides in GERDELAI [Yardley Hastings]. There is land for 9 ploughs. Of this land there is 1 hide in demesne, and there (are) 3 ploughs; and 16 villeins, with 12 bordars, have 6 ploughs.

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(There is) wood(land) there 13 furlongs in length, and 8 furlongs in breadth. This land in king Edward's time, as now, was assessed for $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides. To this (manor) pertain these members following:—

In GRENDONE [Grendon] are 3 hides and 1 virgate of land. There is land for 9 ploughs. 12 sochmen have these there, and (there are) 3 mills rendering (*de*) 3 shillings, and 30 acres of meadow.

In WICENTONE [Whiston] is 1 virgate of soc(land). There is land for half a plough. 2 bordars have this there.

In DODINTONE [Denton]⁵ is 1 hide. There is land for 2 ploughs. 6 sochmen have these there.

In BACHELINTONE [Hackleton] are 2 hides of soc(land). There is land for 6 ploughs. 8 sochmen and 4 bordars have these there and 10 acres of meadow.

In HORTONE [Horton] is 1 virgate of land, and of soc(land) 1 hide. There is land for half a plough. It is waste.

In WILAVESTONE [Wollaston] the Countess has the soc of 1 hide.

In BRAGEFELDE [Brayfield] are 3 virgates of land. There is land for 2 ploughs. 3 sochmen, with 3 bordars, have these there and 2 acres of wood.

In QUINTONE [Quinton] is half a hide. There is land for 1 plough. 2 sochmen, with 2 villeins and 5 borders, have this there and 4 acres of meadow.

In HARDINGESTONE [Hardingstone] there are 2 hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. 6 sochmen and 6 bordars have there 3 ploughs and 3 acres of meadow. The whole manor, with (its) appendages, was worth 12 pounds; now (it is worth) 15 pounds. Earl Wallef (Waltheof) held (it).

The same Countess holds 8 hides in DAVENTREI [Daventry]. There is land for 16 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 3 serfs; and 20 villeins, with the priest and 10 bordars, have 7 ploughs. There (are) 12 acres of meadow. It was worth 3 pounds; now (it is worth) 8 pounds.

In TEOWELLE [Twywell] the Countess

⁵ See Introduction.

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holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 plough, with 2 bordars. It was and is worth 10 shillings. Earl Wallef [Waltheof] held (it).

Hugh holds of the Countess half a hide in WEDLINGEBERIE [Wellingborough], and it was assessed for as much in king Edward's time. There is land for $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), with 1 serf; and 2 villeins and 2 bordars have half a plough. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 5 shillings. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings. Godwin held it freely in king Edward's time.

The same (Hugh) holds of the Countess half a hide in WALETONE.¹ There is land for 1 plough. 3 sochmen have this there. It was worth 2 shillings; now (it is worth) 5 shillings.

Robert holds of the Countess 2 hides and 1 virgate of land in BITLESBROCH [Bisbrook].² There is land for $3\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) and 2 serfs; and 12 villeins, with 4 bordars, have $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There (are) 20 acres of meadow. Underwood (*silva minuta*) $1\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs in length, and as much in breadth. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. Edward held (it) with sac and soc.

Grimbald holds of the Countess 3 hides less 1 bovate in TICHECOTE [Tickencote].² There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 8 sochmen, with 12 villeins and 1 bordar, have 5 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 24 shillings, and 12 acres of meadow. It was worth 30 shillings; now (it is worth) 50 shillings. Edward held this also.

The same (Grimbald) holds of the Countess 1 hide in HORNE [Horne].³ There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 2 serfs and 2 bondwomen; and 9 villeins, with 4 bordars, have 2 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 4 shillings and 8 pence. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings.

The same (Grimbald) holds 1 virgate of land of the Countess in FERENDONE [East Farndon]. There is land for 2 oxen.³ It

was and is worth 32 pence. Turchil held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

The same (Grimbald) holds of the Countess 3 hides and 1 virgate of land in MULETONE [Moulton].⁴ There is land for $6\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 12 villeins, with 4 bordars, have $5\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. It was and is worth 40 shillings. Ailric held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

IN CORBI HUNDRET

Turgar holds of the Countess in NEWE-TONE [Newton] 3 virgates of land, and 1 bovate and the third part of 1 bovate. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is one (plough); and 4 villeins, with 4 bordars, have another. There is a moiety of a mill rendering (*de*) 16 pence. Wood(land) $1\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs in length, and as much in breadth. It is worth 6 shillings. The same (Turgar) held (it) freely.

IN RODEWELLE HUNDRET

Chetelbert holds of the Countess 1 hide and 1 virgate of land in BRADEBROC [Braybrook]. There is land for 2 ploughs. These are there with 2 villeins and 4 bordars. It was and is worth 15 shillings. The same (Chetelbert) held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

IN STOTFALD HUNDRET

Ulf holds of the Countess 1 hide of soc (land) in OCEDONE [Oxendon Magna]. There is land for 2 ploughs. These are there with 5 sochmen and 6 bordars. It was worth 20 shillings. The same (Ulf) held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

Biscop holds of the Countess half a hide in MULETONE [Moulton Park]. There is land for 1 plough. This is there with 2 villeins and 2 bordars. It is worth 10 shillings.

Turbern holds of the Countess half a hide in HORTONE [Horton]. There is land for 1 plough. There is half a plough, with 2 bordars. It was worth 8 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings.

Leuric holds of the Countess in WELETONE [Welton], and in TORP [Thorpe],⁵ half a hide and 1 virgate of land, less the fifth part of half a hide. There is land for 1 plough.

¹ Not identified.

² These three places are in Rutland.

³ *i.e.* a quarter of a ploughland.

⁴ He gave the church here to St. Andrew's, Northampton, at its foundation.

⁵ Near Norton, in Fawsley Hundred.

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In demesne there is half a plough with 2 bordars. It is worth 8 shillings. The same Leuric held (it) in king Edward's time. The King has the soc thereof.

William holds of the Countess 4 hides in GLADESTONE [Glaston].¹ There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne are $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, and 2 serfs; and 5 villeins and 3 sochmen, with 2 bordars, have 5 ploughs. There (are) 10 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 40 shillings. Edward held (it) with sac and soc.

To this manor pertain 6 sochmen in LUFFENHAM [Luffenham],¹ the King's manor, and 1 in SEGESTONE [Seaton],¹ and 1 in TORP [Thorpe-by-Water],¹ whose stock (*pecunia*) is noted above.

IN CORBEI HUNDRET

Lanzelin holds of the Countess in NEWETONE [Newton], 3 virgates of land and 1 bovate, and the third part of 1 bovate. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 8 villeins, with 4 bordars, have another. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 7 shillings and 8 pence. (There is) wood(land) 1 furlong in length and half a furlong in breadth. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 16 shillings.

The same Lanzelin holds of the Countess $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and half a virgate of land in ACHELAU [Oakley]. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 2 serfs; and 19 villeins have 3 ploughs. Meadow 4 furlongs in length and 3 perches in breadth. Wood(land) 1 league in length and half a league in breadth. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. Bondi held these lands freely in king Edward's time.

The same (Lanzelin) holds of the Countess 2 hides less 1 virgate in BOSIETA [Bozeat]. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 2 serfs; and 6 villeins, with 2 bordars, have 3 ploughs. There (are) 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 2 furlongs in length and 1 furlong in breadth. It was and is worth 40 shillings. Stric held (it) of Earl Wallef (Waltheof).

IN MALESLEA HUNDRET

Fulcher holds of the Countess 3 hides and 3 virgates of land in WOLDGRAVE [Walgrave]. There is land for 7 ploughs. In demesne

there are 2 (ploughs); and 14 villeins with 9 bordars have 4 ploughs, and 4 sochmen with 8 bordars have $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There (are) 12 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 3 pounds. The Countess has the soc. Alsi held (it) with soc and sac.

Hugh holds of the Countess 2 hides and 1 virgate of land in SCALDESWELLE [Scaldewell]. There is land for 4 ploughs. 7 sochmen and 4 bordars have these there. It was and is worth 21 shillings and 4 pence.

The same Hugh holds of the Countess 1 hide and 1 virgate of land in HOHTONE [Hanging Houghton]. There is land for 2 ploughs. 6 sochmen with 4 bordars have these there. It was and is worth 13 shillings and 4 pence.

The same (Hugh) holds of the Countess 1 hide and $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land in HOLECOTE [Holcot]. There is land for 2 ploughs. 5 sochmen with 3 bordars have these there. It is worth 20 shillings.

The same (Hugh) holds 1 virgate of land in MULTONE [Moulton Park]. There 1 sochman has half a plough, and renders 33 pence.

The same (Hugh) holds of the Countess in ASEBI [Castle Ashby] 2 hides less 1 virgate; and it was assessed for as much in king Edward's time. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs); and 12 villeins with 6 bordars have 3 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 6 shillings and 8 pence, and 12 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 furlong and 11 perches in length, and 1 furlong less 7 perches in breadth. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 4 pounds.

To this manor pertains in GREDONE [Grendon] 1 virgate of socland. 4 sochmen have there 1 plough.

IN RODEWELLE HUNDRET

Eustace holds of the Countess $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides and the third part of 1 hide in Risetone [Rushton]. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 plough, and 1 bond-
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woman; and 19 villeins, with 8 bordars, have 4 ploughs. There is 1 sochman, and a mill rendering (*de*) 32 pence, and 4 acres of wood. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

¹ These four places are in Rutland.

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IN ANDFERDESHO HUNDRET

Alan¹ holds of the Countess 1 hide in HERDEWICHE [Hardwick].² There is land for 2 ploughs. These are there with 2 serfs and 3 villeins and 1 bordar. It was and is worth 20 shillings. Ulf held (it) with sac and soc.

IN ORDINBARO HUNDRET

The same (Alan¹) holds of the Countess 1 hide in HARDEWICHE [Hardwick].³ There is land for 2 ploughs. 7 villeins, with 1 bordar, have there 3 ploughs, and 7 acres of meadow. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

IN HOCHESLAU HUNDRET

Walter holds of the Countess 5 hides in LILLEFORDE [Lilford]. There is land for 14 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 (ploughs), and 4 serfs; and 20 villeins and 16 bordars have 12 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 24 shillings, and 50 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 8 pounds. Turchil held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

Rohais holds of the Countess 1 hide in SPROTONE [Spratton]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 1 villein, with 8 bordars, has 1½ ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 64 pence. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings.

Corbelin holds of the Countess 2 hides in WILAVESTONE [Wollaston]. There is land for 3½ ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), with 1 serf; and 6 villeins, with 1 bordar, have 2½ ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 6 shillings and 8 pence, and 12 acres of meadow. It was worth 16 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Stric held (it) freely. Winemar de Hanslepe claims (it).

Dodin holds of the Countess 1 virgate of land in ESTONE [Easton Mauduit]. There is land for half a plough. There are 2 bordars, and 1 acre of meadow. It was worth 12 pence; now (it is worth) 3 shillings.

Gilbert holds of the Countess half a virgate of land in WEDLINGEBERIE [Wellingborough]. There is land for 1 ox.³ This

land pertains to Dodintone [Doddington], and is valued there.

Winemar holds of the Countess 1 virgate of land in BOSIETE [Bozeat]. There are 4 bordars.

The same (Winemar) holds of the Countess half a hide in DODINTONE [Denton].⁴ There is land for half a plough, and that much is there.

The same (Winemar) holds 1 virgate of soc(land) in BRAGEFELDE [Brayfield]. There is land for half a plough. There are 2 bordars ploughing with 2 oxen.

The same (Winemar) holds of the soc of GERDELAI [Yardley Hastings]:⁵ In HOHTONE [Houghton Magna] 1 virgate of land; in PRESTONE [Preston Deanery] 3 virgates of land, and 3 acres of meadow; in QUINTONE [Quinton] 3 virgates of land, and 5 acres of meadow; and in the same vill half a hide; in WITONE [Wotton] 1 hide; in HOHTONE [Houghton Parva] 1 virgate of land, and 5 acres of meadow. In all, there is land for 6 ploughs. There are 5 sochmen, and 9 villeins and 2 bordars, having 4 ploughs. The whole was worth 30 shillings; now (it is worth) 53 shillings.

Norgiold holds of the Countess 3 virgates of land in CUGENHO [Cooknoe]. There is land for 1½ ploughs, and that much (*tantum*) is there with 6 sochmen, and (there are) 10 acres of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings.

Robert holds of the Countess 3 virgates of land in WIDETORP [Thorpe in Earl's Barton (?)]. There is land for 1 plough. This is there in demesne with 4 villeins, and 4 acres of meadow. It was worth 4 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings.

The same (Robert) holds of the Countess 1 virgate of land in BUCHEDONE [Boughton]. There is land for half a plough, which is there, and it is worth 3 shillings. Ulchet held (it) freely.

IN SPELEHOU HUNDRET

The same Countess gave to S. Wandrille

¹ An Alan, 'dapifer' of the Countess, held lands of her in Hunts.

² On the border of the two Hundreds.

³ *i.e.* 1 bovine.

⁴ See Introduction.

⁵ See p. 351 above.

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(*Wandregisilus*) in BUCHEDONE¹ [Boughton], by the King's leave, 3 hides less half a virgate. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 2½ ploughs; and 14 villeins, with 12 bordars, have 3½ ploughs. There (are) 10 acres of meadow. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Two thegns held (it) freely.

Girard holds of the Countess half a virgate of land in BUCHENHO [Boughton],² and it is worth 4 shillings.

Nigel holds of the Countess half a virgate of soc(land) in HOHTONE [Houghton Parva]. There are 2 bordars.

The same (Nigel) holds of the Countess in the same vill³ 2 hides, and it is assessed for that amount. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 8 villeins, with 2 bordars, have 2 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 13 shillings, and 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 furlong in length, and half a furlong in breadth. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 50 shillings. Ulf⁴ held (it).

Gilbert holds of the Countess 1 hide and 3 virgates of land in PIDENTONE [Piddington]. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), with 1 serf; and 4 villeins, with 5 bordars and the priest, have 2½ ploughs. There (are) 20 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 4 furlongs in length, and 2 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 20 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Two men of Burred's held (it), and could betake themselves (*ire*) where they wished. Bishop Geoffrey (of Coutances) claims (it),⁴ and Winemar de Anslepe⁵ (also).

William Pevrel holds of the Countess 1 hide and the fifth part of 1 hide in PIRIE [Potterspury].⁶ There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 2 serfs; and 6 villeins, with 3 bordars, have 2 ploughs. There (are) 5 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 4 furlongs in length, and 2 furlongs in breadth. It was and is worth 30 shillings. Biscop held (it) freely.

¹ This name is written above the line in the original MS., and apparently in a different hand.

² See Baker, I. 34.

³ Cf. p. 268 above for this vill.

⁴ Cf. p. 337, col. 1. ⁵ Hanslape, Bucks.

⁶ Probably that portion of 'Pirie' now called Heymundcote, or Heathencote. See Baker, II. 214. (Mr. Moore's note.)

LVII. THE LAND OF GILBERT

IN SPELEHOU HUNDRET

GILBERT (the) Cook holds of the King 4 hides in BELLINGE [Billing Magna]. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs, and 5 serfs and 1 bondwoman; and 10 villeins, with 7 bordars, have 6 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 20 shillings, and 28 acres of meadow. It was worth 40 shillings; now it is worth 100 shillings. Thor held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

IN GISLEBURG HUNDRET AND A HALF

The same (Gilbert) holds 2 hides in WATFORD [Watford]. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), with 1 serf and 1 bondwoman; and 20 villeins, with 5 bordars, have 2 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 12 pence, and 6 acres of meadow. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings. Thor held it freely. The same Gilbert holds 2 thirds of 1 virgate of land in HOLEWELLE [Hollowell]. There is land for 3 oxen. It is worth 12 pence.⁵

The same (Gilbert) holds 1 virgate of land in RAVENESTORP [Ravensthorpe]. There is land for half a plough. 1 villein and 1 bordar have that. It was worth 3 shillings; now (it is worth) 5 shillings. Norman held (it).

LVIII. THE LAND OF DAVID

DAVID holds of the King 3 virgates of land in CASTRETONE [Casterton Parva].⁶ There is land for 1½ ploughs. In demesne, nevertheless, there is 1 plough; and 6 villeins, with the priest, have 3 bordars, have 2 ploughs. There (are) 2 serfs, and a mill rendering (*de*) 12 shillings, and 5 acres of meadow. It is worth 40 shillings. Osgot held it with sac and soc.

IN FOXLEU HUNDRET

The same (David) holds 1 hide and 4 fifths of half a hide in BRADENE [Bradden]. There is land for 3½ ploughs. In demesne there is 1 plough, with 1 villein and 1 bordar, and 1 acre of meadow. It was worth 5 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings. Biscop held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

⁵ This Hollowell entry has been added, partly in the margin.

⁶ In Rutland.

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LIX. THE LAND OF RICHARD

IN OPTONE HUNDRET

RICHARD¹ holds of the King 2 hides in STABINTONE [Stibbington].² There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 3 villeins, with 5 bordars, have another, and they render 5 shillings. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 8 shillings, and 12 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 50 perches in length, and 15 perches in breadth. It was worth 2 shillings; now (it is worth) 20 shillings.

IN HOCHESLAU HUNDRET

The same (Richard) holds 3 virgates of land in BENEFIELD [Benefield]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 5 villeins have another. There (are) 5 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 league in length, and half a league in breadth. It was worth 2 shillings; now (it is worth) 10 shillings.

IN SPELEHOU HUNDRET

The same (Richard) holds 4 hides in ABINTONE [Abington]. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), with 1 serf; and 12 villeins, with 5 bordars, have 2 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering 20 shillings, and 20 acres of meadow. It was worth 40 shillings; now (it is worth) 4 pounds.

IN CORBEI HUNDRET

The same (Richard) holds 1 virgate of land in CHERCHEBERIE [Kirkby]. There is land for 2 ploughs. It (*Ipsa*) is in demesne; and 5 villeins, with 1 bordar, have another. There (are) 3 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 4 furlongs in length, and 1½ furlongs in breadth. It was worth 12 pence; now (it is worth) 6 shillings.

¹ Richard Engaine.

² In Huntingdonshire.

LX. THE LAND OF WILLIAM

IN ORDIBARO HUNDRET

WILLIAM³ holds of the King 2 hides in PITESLEA [Pytchley]. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and 5 serfs; and 7 villeins, with 1 bordar, have 1 plough. There (are) 6 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 3 furlongs in length and in breadth. It was worth 11 shillings; it is now worth 40 shillings. Alwin the Huntsman held these lands of Richard's and William's⁴ in king Edward's time.

The same William holds LASTONE [Laxton]. There are 1½ hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 plough; and 12 villeins, with 1 sochman, have 2 ploughs. It was worth 10 shillings; now (it is worth) 30 shillings. Turulf held (it) freely in king Edward's time.

OLAF⁵ holds of the King 1 virgate of land in WELEDONE [Weldon]. The soc is in King's CORBEI. There is land for half a plough. This is there, with 1 bordar. It was worth 2 shillings; now (it is worth) 3 shillings.

DODIN holds of the King half a hide in CODESBROC [Cottesbrook]. There is land for 1 plough. There is 1 villein, with 1 serf. It was worth 12 pence; now (it is worth) 2 shillings.

IN STOTFALD HUNDRET

OSLAC holds of the King 3 virgates of land and the third part of 1 virgate in FERENDONE [East Farndon]. There is land for 1 plough. Nevertheless 2 ploughs are there, with 4 villeins and 5 bordars. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 12 pence. It was and is worth 16 shillings.

³ William Engaine.

⁴ *i.e.* this and the preceding four estates.

⁵ This and the two following owners have no connection with the one preceding them.

THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE SURVEY

(12TH CENTURY)

THE darkest and the most difficult period for topographical and for family history is that which succeeds the Domesday Survey and extends throughout the greater part of the 12th century.

The absence of records for this period is more especially to be regretted because of the great changes that it witnessed in the holding of land. Within less than a hundred years of the Conquest, fiefs great and small, some of them indeed colossal, had, from sundry causes, escheated to the Crown, placing at its disposal ample means of rewarding not only the supporters of the king who had secured possession, but also the new ministerial body, which, under the Norman administration, was rising rapidly to power.

For Northamptonshire, happily, we possess a manuscript which enables us, to a certain extent, to bridge the gulf I have described.¹ It was till recently supposed that the adjoining county of Lincolnshire possessed, in a survey of Lindsey made under Henry I., 'the sole record of its kind, and that no similar return of the landowners of any other county is known to exist.'² But, in *Feudal England*, I was able to produce a Leicestershire Survey of the same kind, and to deal with part of that Northamptonshire Survey of which a full and annotated translation will be found below. We have thus, for three adjoining counties, surveys which, although distinct, resemble one another in character; for they are all drawn up, not by fiefs, as is the record in Domesday Book, but by Hundreds or by Wapentakes, as were the surveys from which, by rearrangement, Domesday Book was compiled. Moreover, the object of all three was the ascertainment and recording of those changes in the tenure of land which threw the liability for its Danegeld on another set of holders than those entered in Domesday.

While, by their system of arrangement, they enable us to reconstruct the Hundreds and the 'vills' which were torn asunder for Domesday Book, these surveys enable us further to detect frequently readjustment of assessed values, that is of the liability to the 'geld,' as

¹ *Cott. MS. Vesp. E. XXII.*, fos. 94 *et seq.*

² See Mr. Chester Waters' edition of that Survey, p. 2.

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between the different holdings in a 'vill.' It is somewhat remarkable that this should be so, when we remember the solemn, if not immutable character assigned to the Domesday record.¹ That the variation, however, existed is proved by this Survey's interesting reference, in two distinct places, to 'the rolls of Winchester' (its name for Domesday) as containing a different assessment. But the Survey's evidence illustrates also the assessment found in Domesday. For in Northamptonshire the 'small virgate' of this 12th century survey is directly connected with that reduction, that sweeping reduction of assessment, of which the traces, as explained in the Domesday introduction, are found in that record.² In those Hundreds where the old assessment had been reduced 60 per cent. Domesday shows us a unit of 4 'hides' in the place of one of 10 'hides.' Thus each Domesday 'hide' was equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ of the old 'hides,' and each Domesday virgate (*i.e.* quarter of a 'hide') to $2\frac{1}{2}$ of the old virgates. What the Survey below did was to retain the new assessment so far as the 'hides' were concerned—indeed, the 4-hide unit is even more conspicuous than in Domesday—but to revive the old virgates under the name of 'small virgates,' the Domesday virgates being termed 'large' ones. The result, it will be found, was that the 'hide' had ten of these 'small virgates'; and this must be carefully borne in mind, for the 'virgates,' in Northamptonshire, of the *Testa de Nevill* are these 'small virgates,' and not the virgates of Domesday. It is the more necessary that this should be explained, as the historians of the county, it is quite clear, did not understand this system or its close connexion with Domesday.

Although they were acquainted with this Survey and used its evidence, in some cases, for identifying holdings of which the locality was not mentioned in Domesday, neither Bridges nor Baker made any attempt to deal with the document as a whole, nor, indeed, has it ever been published. Its value for tracing the devolution of fiefs and manors in the county has, consequently, never been explained. Moreover, its evidence was misunderstood, owing to the belief that it all belonged to the reign of Henry II. Bridges, for instance, assuming this, was puzzled (ii. 491) by its giving as lord of Barnack, not Gervase Paynell, who held it under Henry II., but Fulc Paynell, his grandfather. Baker, similarly, sought to identify, in the reign of Henry II., the 'Odo Dapifer' whom it mentions, although this was no other than the Eudo Fitz Hubert of Domesday, who enjoyed the favour of the Conqueror and his sons and held the post of 'dapifer.'³ It is not easy to give the reader an idea of the

¹ 'Hic liber ab indigenis Domesdei nuncupatur, id est, dies iudicii per metaphoram; sicut enim districti et terribilis examinis illius novissimi sententia nulla tergiversationis arte valet eludi, sic cum orta fuerit in regno contentio de his rebus quæ illuc annotantur, cum ventum fuerit ad librum, sententia ejus infatuari non potest vel impune declinari' (*Dialogus de scaccario*, II. 16).

² See pp. 260–9 above.

³ The reader should also be cautioned that Bridges and Baker wrote before Mr. Hunter's discovery that the earliest Pipe Roll belongs to the year 1130, and not, as had been supposed, to 1140 (5 Stephen). The latter date is that which is invariably given by Baker, and it made all the calculations based on it ten years wrong.

THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE SURVEY

unique difficulties presented by this Survey. Sometimes the tenant's name is that of the Domesday holder ; sometimes that of his son or grandson. Indeed, the names given may belong to any date from the Conqueror's reign to the later days of Henry II. Again, we have sometimes the name of the tenant-in-chief himself, sometimes that of the under-tenant, and sometimes no name at all. And, as if this were not enough, the text is corrupted by scribal errors of almost grotesque character. 'Comes Abbemar,' for instance, was not the earl of Albermarle, but Earl Aubrey ('Albericus') of Oxford ; 'Comes Mauricius,' who was taken by Baker for an 'Earl Maurice,' otherwise unknown, was clearly developed out of 'Comes Mauriti,' under which form there lurks that greatest of Domesday tenants, Robert count of Mortain. There is nothing, therefore, improbable in suggesting that the Survey's earl of Leicester should, in places, be the earl of Chester.

In spite, however, of these drawbacks the document below, when critically treated, can be made to yield that very information which is, in county history, the most difficult to obtain. For it gives us not only names of sons of Domesday tenants and under-tenants, but also those of the new grantees who obtained possessions in the shire later than the Domesday Survey. We are shown Guy de 'Reinbuedcurt' succeeded by his son Richard, Winemar of Hamslope by his son Walter, Oger the Breton by his son Ralf. Gilbert (Fauvel), an under-tenant of Peterborough Abbey, is succeeded by his son Richard Fitz Gilbert, Otbert by his son Alouf de Merke, Odelin by his son Robert, Alvred, 'butler' of the count of Mortain and a very important under-tenant, by his son William, and so forth. Other names emphatically belong to the days of Henry I. The Domesday fief of Countess Judith is almost invariably entered in our Survey as in the hands of 'king David,' who ascended the throne of Scotland in 1124, and who was dead before the accession of Henry II. Contemporary with him were Brian Fitz Count, a trusted officer of Henry I., who had succeeded to the Domesday fief of Robert d'Ouilly ('de Oilgi'), Aubrey de Vere, another of his officers, Robert, afterwards earl of Gloucester, who occurs in the Survey as 'the King's son,' Richard Basset, and others.

We see, moreover, how the vast fiefs of the count of Mortain and the bishop of Coutances, as well as those of less extent which had come, by escheat, to the Crown, were distributed piecemeal or bestowed entire, and yet how the Crown, not content with the lands thus at its disposal, was steadily granting away the demesne it held in Domesday. So far indeed had this process of alienation been carried that Towcester, Brixworth, Faxton, Barnwell All Saints, Hardingstone, Tansor, Rothwell and Orton had all passed from the hands of the Crown. And each had a different grantee. On the other hand, even the profuse grants that were made to supporters or officers of the King could hardly dispose fast enough of the fiefs that returned into his hand. Even before the Domesday Survey Earl Aubrey had lost his lands, which were entered in Domesday Book as then 'in the King's hand.' These together with the

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forfeited lands of Count Robert of Mortain provided the means of extending widely that 'Leicester' fief in the county of which the nucleus was that which Hugh de Grantmesnil had held in 1086, and which eventually, inherited by two co-heirs, became the Honours of 'Winchester' and of 'Leicester.' The lavish grants to which it owed its extension were doubtless bestowed on the count of Meulan, the father of the first earl of Leicester, and himself the great and trusted minister of William Rufus and Henry I.

Among the members of that official class whom Henry I. is, with some exaggeration, said by Ordericus Vitalis to have 'raised, as it were, from the dust,' the most typical layman, perhaps, was the great justiciar, Ralph Basset. The Leicestershire Survey, spoken of above, proves that he obtained in that county the escheated fief of Robert de Buci, and this was the case also in Northamptonshire, where he gave name to Sutton Basset and founded what became the baronial house of 'Basset of Weldon.' Strangely enough the fellow officer with whom he and his son were chiefly associated was the bearer of that most lordly of names, Aubrey de Vere. Although among the greater tenants-in-chief, Aubrey was ready to improve his fortunes by acting as an officer of the Crown; and in this county he had his reward from the forfeited fief of the bishop of Coutances. Addington Magna was bestowed on him, as was also Drayton, which well-known estate thus makes its first appearance in this Survey.

As in Leicestershire, so in Northamptonshire, the escheated fief of Geoffrey de la Guerche ('de Wirce') formed the provision for Nigel d'Aubigny ('de Albini'), a steadfast supporter, with his brother William, of Henry I.¹ William's heir, the earl of Arundel, had only Towcester in this county,² but Nigel's son, Roger de Mowbray, occurs frequently in our Survey, and Nigel himself once. It is by an even worse confusion that the manors composing the Courci fief are sometimes spoken of in our Survey as held by William de Courci, and sometimes as held by (his maternal grandfather) William Meschin, on whom doubtless they were all bestowed, in the first instance, by Henry I. For it can be shown that in Leicestershire and Lincolnshire escheated manors were bestowed on this William Meschin, a younger son of the *Vicomte* of the Bessin and a brother of Randolph earl of Chester. It is tolerably clear that, in some cases, additions were made to the Domesday fiefs. When that of Countess Judith is found in the hands, as below, of 'king David,' it has been increased by lands at Wadenhoe, Harrowden, Edgcott, and Clipston, all which had formed part of the fief of the bishop of Coutances, as well as by some that had been held by Odo bishop of Bayeux, and by the Crown manor of Hardingstone. This may have been due to the fact that David enjoyed the favour of Henry I. Barnwell

¹ He must not be confused, as he is by Dugdale, with the Nigel d'Aubigny ('de Albingi') of the previous generation, whose fief lay in the adjacent counties of Beds, Bucks, Warwick, and Leicester, and who founded the Bedfordshire house of 'Albini of Cainho.'

² See also p. 365 below.

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All Saints was added to the fief held by the house of Ferrers, while the Dudley fief was increased by land being granted at Boddington to Paynel. Of fresh families brought into the county, one may mention that of Balliol (from Picardy), which obtained Crown demesne at Faxton and at Moulton, probably from William Rufus, and that of Hasculf de St. James(-sur-Beuvron), on the borders of Normandy and Brittany, who held, probably under Henry I., the Crown manor of Tansor.

How this Survey assumed the form in which it has reached us cannot be stated with certainty. But although we find, here and there, the name of an actual Domesday tenant, the document, as a whole, gives the impression that a Survey made under Henry I. was corrected, more or less, by alterations and additions, to bring the entries up to date, down to the days of Henry II. The late transcriber, to whom is due the existing text, failed altogether to understand the Survey, and incorporated in a single text all the additions and corrections, with the most bewildering result. This hypothesis is supported by the cases of other manuscripts. We trace, for instance, the same process in *The Red Book of the Exchequer*. In *The Black Book* the later additions that were made to the barons' returns of their fees in 1166 are distinguished by the difference in handwriting; but in *The Red Book* these interpolations are found transcribed in the same hand as the genuine original returns. To the uninitiated this has been the cause of no small confusion. In Northamptonshire alone there are such entries for the tenure of Nassington and Yarwell by Earl David of Huntingdon (1184-1219), for that of Gretton by Walter de Preston, and for that of Higham Ferrers, Newbottle, and Blisworth by Ferrers earl of Derby. It is remarkable that, quite recently, in a learned dissertation on the heirship of Ferrers to the fief of Peverel, this last entry is cited from *The Red Book* as proof that Ferrers held these manors in 1166,¹ though they were not obtained by the Ferrers family till the reign of John. Again, in the Peterborough list of the abbey's knights, the very first entry, made *temp.* Henry I., has been carried on by a later hand to the time of Henry III. But there Stapleton, who transcribed the list, carefully discriminated between the two hands.² It is probable that the lists of Abingdon knights, published in the Abingdon Cartulary, are rendered untrustworthy in places by the cause of error described above. So also the Lindsey Survey (*temp.* Henry I.) illustrates how some errors made their way into our Survey. In that Survey, above the entry 'Comes Odo [tenet] in Aldobi,' a later hand has interlined 'De feodo Comitibus Albemerle.' It is by incorporating such additions that our Survey has produced the phrases 'Willelmus Meschin de feodo Willelmi de Curcy,' 'Robertus filius Regis de feodo Glovernie,' 'Brien filius Comitibus de feodo de Wallinford,' and 'Odo dapifer de feodo de Colcestra.' These phrases do not mean, as they would be naturally supposed to mean, that the tenants named held their

¹ See *Complete Peerage*, VIII. 369-70.

² *Chronicon Petroburgense* (Camden Society), pp. 168-9.

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lands as part of the fees in question, but that the lands which they had held had subsequently formed part of the fees named.

In spite, however, of all its drawbacks and of entries which, until explained, would actually mislead the reader, this Survey has a real value. If we take, for instance, Polebrook ('Pochebroc'), a township of five hides, we find that in Domesday (221*b*, 228) Eustace (the sheriff) held a hide and a quarter *in capite* of the Crown and three hides and three quarters as a tenant of Peterborough Abbey. Now our Survey shows us the former holding in the hands of Robert de Cauz, while the other has been broken up, two-thirds of it passing to Walter 'de Clopton' and one-third to Roger Marmion. One more instance may be given. Our Survey reckons Clapton ('Cloptone') as five and a quarter hides, of which 'Walter' held one and a quarter *in capite*, having here again succeeded Eustace, whose Domesday estate at 'Dotone' should have been entered as at 'Clotone.' On the other hand, the Polebrook evidence goes to show that the fief of Eustace the sheriff did not, as has been alleged, pass to his heirs. But perhaps the most remarkable correction afforded by the Survey below is that of an entry found in Domesday Book itself. At Wadenhoe there were, according to Domesday (see p. 309 above), two distinct estates belonging to the bishop of Coutances, and held of him by a certain 'Albericus,' who is proved by our Survey to be no other than Aubrey de Vere himself. One of these, consisting of $2\frac{1}{8}$ hides, is duly accounted for below (p. 368); but the other, of $2\frac{5}{8}$ hides, to which were appurtenant 3 virgates in Scaldwell, is not to be found there. On the other hand we find, in this Survey, Aubrey de Vere's heir holding land at Wold which cannot be accounted for in Domesday. Now, remembering that Scaldwell is adjacent to Wold and is surveyed immediately before it below, while Wadenhoe is in another part of the county, it seems impossible to resist the conclusion that the Domesday scribe confused entries belonging, one to 'Walde' and the other to 'Wadenho,' owing to their both being held by the same tenant-in-chief and under-tenant. On this hypothesis all would be explained, and the estate of $2\frac{5}{8}$ hides assigned by Domesday to Wadenhoe would be really at Wold, with 3 virgates adjacent in Scaldwell. The addition of the Crown's portion of Wold would give the De Veres a substantial estate there, as recorded in this Survey, an estate which was subsequently held of them as two knight's fees.

Another instance in which this Survey affords us fresh information is found in its entry on Tansor. It assigns the considerable holding of $5\frac{1}{3}$ hides on this manor of Crown demesne to 'Hacuil de St. James,' who is at first sight unrecognisable. But I believe him to have been no other than Hasculf de St. James (sur Beuvron) *temp.* Henry I. Now Stapleton has shown that this family of St. James was identical with that of St. Hilaire (du Harcouet), being found under both names.¹ The above Hasculf was succeeded by his son James, who is found in the

¹ *Rotuli scaccarii Normannie*, I. lxvi.

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pipe-roll of 1130, under Oxfordshire, owing the Crown the large sum of 160 marcs for succeeding to his father's lands.¹ And this James, better known as James de St. Hilary, was father of Maud, wife of earl Roger de Clare. Thus it was, in my opinion, that Tansor came to form part of the honour of Clare. With this clue we may turn to Rothwell, another manor of Crown demesne, which is found, under Henry II., in the hands of earl Roger de Clare. Our Survey assigns to 'Eudo de Haschull' its $9\frac{1}{4}$ hides, and Bridges, believing the Survey to be *temp.* Henry II., suggested that he was an under-tenant (ii. 57). I believe that, on the contrary, 'Haschull' was the same Hasculf de St. James, and that the manor was brought by his grand-daughter Maud to her husband, earl Roger.² It is even possible that Towcester was originally granted to St. Hilary, and that Maud de St. Hilary had brought it to her second husband, the earl of Arundel, who is returned as its holder in this Survey.³ Here, then, we obtain a glimpse of the lands that were bestowed by Henry I. on this family of St. James, of which nothing had been known. It is significant that they came from the extreme south-west of Normandy, for Henry I., as I have shown, had made friends in this district before his accession to the Crown.⁴

An entry at first sight unintelligible is found under Charlton:— 'There also Odo "dapifer" 8 small virgates of the fee of Colchester.' But Domesday tells us that $3\frac{1}{5}$ virgates were held there by 'Adam' of the fee of the bishop of Bayeux, and '8 small virgates' were exactly equal to $3\frac{1}{5}$ Domesday ('large') virgates. And 'Adam' was a son of Hubert de Ryes, who was succeeded in his holdings on the fief of the bishop of Bayeux by his brother, Eudo the 'dapifer,'⁵ who was specially connected with Colchester. On the death of Eudo without issue, all his holdings escheated to the Crown⁶ and became what is styled by our Survey 'the fief of Colchester.'

The many discrepancies between the Domesday figures and those found in this Survey, together with the frequent variations in the arrangement of villis and manors and the emergence of fresh names, render the task of their comparison one of extreme difficulty. They suggest also that the Survey must have been compiled *de novo*, and was not based on the Domesday returns. It should be observed that, in Northamptonshire, we find some villis divided between different Hundreds, which seems to point to the artificial and arbitrary arrangement of the latter. This is seen even in Domesday, but in the Survey below there is a striking

¹ 'Jacobus filius Hasculfi de Sancto Jacobo reddit compotum de clx. m. arg. pro concessione terre quam pater suus tenuit de rege.' Rot. Pip. 31 Hen. I., p. 4.

² As this is only my own view, I have not asserted the identity of the two names above (p. 359 line 42). Moreover 'Eudo' is difficult to explain, for though under Rothwell in this Survey, he is 'Eudo de Haschull,' he is 'Eudo filius Haschul' under its dependent estate.

³ Compare Baker's *Northamptonshire*, II. 312-3.

⁴ See *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, p. 124, and p. 361 above.
of Kelmarsh.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 166.

⁶ Compare Rot. Pip. 31 Hen. I., p. 138.

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instance in the (lost) manor of 'Celverdescote,' which in Domesday is a single whole, but in this Survey is divided between three Hundreds.

A careful student of this Survey has suggested to me that the proportion of its 'small virgate' to the 'large' or Domesday virgate can be traced in certain other Hundreds as well as in these in which the proportion was 5 to 2 as explained above (p. 358), in consequence of their assessment having been reduced 60 per cent. In 'Stotfolde' Hundred for instance, the 'small virgate' seems to be $\frac{1}{12}$ hide at Maidwell (though it is, strangely enough, $\frac{1}{16}$ hide at Clipston), and in Wimersley Hundred it is $\frac{1}{12}$ hide at Horton. But we nowhere find such clear evidence as in those Hundreds where the 'small virgate' was $\frac{1}{10}$ hide, that is, in the proportion of 5 to 2 to the 'large virgate' ($\frac{1}{4}$ hide).

It may be convenient to append the order in which the Survey enters the Hundreds: Hokeslawe, Navesford (p. 365), Pokebroc (p. 366), Nass, Sutton (p. 367), Albodestowe (p. 368), Wardon (p. 369), Graveshende Falewesle (p. 370), Aylwoldesle (p. 371), Norton (p. 372), Toucestre (p. 373), Cleyle (p. 374), Wymeresle (p. 375), Hecham (p. 376), Neubotlegrave (p. 377), Gildesboru (p. 378), Mallelesle (p. 380), Speleho (p. 381), Anfordesho, Orlingberge (p. 382), Stotfolde (p. 383), Rowell (p. 384), Stokes, Coreby (p. 386), Wylebrok (p. 387), Suthnaveslunt (p. 388), Northnaveslunt (p. 389). The modern equivalents will be found above (p. 297).

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[NOTE.—The place-names are only identified below where the forms in the Survey require it.]

HOKESLAWE

TWYWELLE. Aubrey ('Albr[icus]') the chamberlain 2 hides of the fee of the abbot of Thorney.¹ There also of the fee of earl David.² There also of the fee of the abbot of (Peter)borough 1 great virgate.³

In SLIPTON 1 hide and 1 virgate of the fee of William de Corcy. There also Richard Fitz Hugh two-thirds of 1 hide of the fee of (Peter)borough.³ There also Roger nephew of the Abbot a third part of 1 hide of the same fee.³

In SUBURG [Sudborough], 2½ hides of the fee of Westminster (Abbey).⁴

In LOFWYC [Luffwick] Th— 1 hide and 1 virgate of the fee of Deneford [Denford].⁷ There also Ralf Fleming 1½ virgates of the fee of Earl David.⁵ There also Guy ('Wydo') his brother 1 large virgate of the fee of Thorney.⁶

In DRAYTON Aubrey ('Albr[icus]') the chamberlain half a hide of the king's fee.⁷

In YSLEP [Islip] the same Aubrey ('Al-

¹ Aubrey de Vere, chamberlain to Henry I., had obtained this land for his life, at an annual rent of £6, from Abbot Gunter (1085-1112). His younger son Robert afterwards obtained it from Abbot Robert (1113-1151), on the same terms, for his life (*Mon. Ang.*, II. 603).

² This portion is the 1½ hides held by the Countess Judith in 1086. It was held of her heirs, as half a fee, by the De Veres.

³ Domesday assigns to the Abbot 1 hide and 1 virgate there, which is exactly equal to the above hide plus the virgate in Twywell.

⁴ Three hides according to Domesday.

⁵ This would seem to be the 1½ virgates assigned to Sibold in Domesday.

⁶ Perhaps part of Thorney Abbey's fee at Twywell.

⁷ Drayton in Luffwick. The bishop of Coutances had held 1¾ hides in 'Luhwic' (Domesday), of which 1½ hides appear above as 'of the fee of Denford,' while the remaining half hide (Drayton) had, we here see, been granted to Aubrey de Vere, from whom it passed to his younger son Robert, who held it *in capite*, with Adington Magna (similarly part of the bishop's fief), in 1166 as half a knight's fee.

br[icus]') 2 hides of the King's fee. There also 4 sokemen of the King (hold) 1 hide of the fee of Westminster (Abbey).⁸

In AUDEWYNCLE [Aldwinkle] the abbot of (Peter)borough (holds) 3 hides (and) a half, of which Ascelin de Waterville is tenant. There also Geoffrey de Glynton 1 large virgate of the fee of Gloucester belonging to (the) Barton. There also Richard son of Guy 3 hides less half a virgate⁹ of the Queen's (*sic*) fee.¹⁰

Also in BENIFELD [Benefield] William de Lisurs 3 large virgates of the King's fee.¹¹

In BERNEWELLE [Barnwell] Robert de Ferrers ('Ferariis') (holds) 6 hides and 1 large virgate of the King's fee.¹² There also Reginald le Moyne (holds) 6 hides of the fee of Ramsey (Abbey).¹³

In LILLEFORD [Lilford] William Olyfart (holds) 5 hides of the fee of the king of Scotland ('Scocie').¹⁴

NAUESFORD

In TYCHEM[ER]s [Tichmarsh] Robert de Ferr[ers] 10 hides.¹⁵ There also Ascelin de Waterville 3 hides and 1 virgate and three-quarters of half a hide from (Peter)borough (Abbey).¹⁶

In THRAPSTON Ralf Fitz Oger¹⁷ 2 hides

⁸ Domesday only assigns to Islip 1 hide and 1 virgate held by the bishop of Coutances.

⁹ 'iij hid' dim. virg' minus.'

¹⁰ Domesday assigns to Peterborough Abbey 3 hides there, and to Guy de 'Reinbuedcirt' (father of Richard) 5 hides. Thus our survey accounts for a total of only 6½ hides, as against the 8 hides in Domesday.

¹¹ Held by Richard (de Engaine) in 1086.

¹² Barnwell All Saints, which the King had held, in demesne, as 6½ hides in 1086.

¹³ Barnwell St. Andrew (at one time 'Barnwell le Moine'). It was afterwards in Polebrook Hundred.

¹⁴ Held by Walter of the Countess Judith in 1086.

¹⁵ The Domesday holding of Henry de Ferrers.

¹⁶ Held of the Abbey by 'Azelin' in 1086.

¹⁷ Son and successor of Oger the Breton, lord of Bourne ('Brunne'), Lincolnshire, who held 2½ hides here in 1086.

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and 1 virgate of the fee of Brunne [Bourne]. There also Robert son of Edelin ('Edeline') 1 hide and 1 virgate of the fee of Clare.¹

In TORPE [Thorpe Waterville] and ACHIRCHE [(Thorp-)Achurch] Ascelin de Waterville 6 hides and a half of the fee of (Peter)borough.²

In CLOPTON [Clapton] Walter³ 1 hide and 1 virgate of the King's fee. There also 3 hides and a half of the fee of (Peter)borough.⁴ There also Ascelin half a hide of the fee of (Peter)borough.⁵

WADENHOWE [Wadenhoe]. Aubrey ('Albricus') de Ver 2 hides and 1 virgate of the fee of king David. There also Wymunt de Stok(e) 1 virgate of the fee of (Peter)borough. There also Roger Infans 2 small virgates of the same fee. There also Vivien ('Wivienus') de Chirchefelde half a hide of the same fee.⁶ There also Geoffrey de Gunthorp 2 hides of the same fee.⁷

In CATTEWORTHE 1 hide and a half of the fee of (Peter)borough.⁸

POKEBROC

In POKEBROC [Polebrook] Robert de Cauz 1 hide and 1 virgate of the King's fee.⁹ There also Walter de Clopton 2 hides and a half of the fee of (Peter)borough.¹⁰ There also Roger Marmium 1 hide and 1 virgate of the same fee.¹⁰

In ARMESTON [Armston] . . . ¹¹ de Burgelay 2 hides and a half of the same fee.¹² There also Turkil 1 hide of the same fee.¹² There also Guy ('Wydo') Maufee 1 hide of the same fee.¹² There also Geoffrey de Gunthorp two-thirds of half a hide of the same fee.¹² There also Tedrick, three-quarters of half a hide of the same fee.¹²

In PAPPELE [Papley] 1 hide.

¹ His father Odelin had held 3 virgates here of the bishop of Coutances in 1086. The son was a tenant of the Clares, which proves that the land had been given them by the Crown after the fief had escheated.

It is interesting to note that he witnesses a charter (relating to Luffwick) of Adeliza wife of Gilbert Fitz Richard de Clare (son of the Domesday tenant-in-chief) as a tenant of the 'Honour' of the said Gilbert (*Mon. Ang.*, II. 601).

² The two together had been held of the Abbey by 'Azelin' in 1086.

³ Said to have been Walter de 'Grauntkort' (Bridges), but styled Walter 'de Clopton' under Polebrook below.

⁴ As observed above (p. 362), the first of these holdings had been held in 1086 by Eustace the sheriff, *in capite*, while the second was held by him (as $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides) under the abbot of Peterborough.

⁵ Held of the Abbey by 'Ælmar' in 1086.

⁶ This must be the half hide 'in Circafeld' (Churchfield in Oundle) which Abbot Turolde is recorded to have given to Vivian (*Chronicon Petrobургense*, p. 175).

⁷ These Wadenhoe entries are very difficult to explain. With the exception of a virgate and a half held by 'Roger' of the abbot of Peterborough, Domesday assigns all Wadenhoe to the bishop of Coutances, whose holdings there, of $2\frac{5}{8}$ hides and $2\frac{1}{8}$

hides respectively were both held of him by 'Albericus.' This last holding must have been added, after coming into the hands of the Crown, to the fief of king David, of whom it was held by Aubrey de Vere, namesake and heir of the Domesday under-tenant. I have suggested above (p. 362) that the other holding was really at Wold, and was obtained by Aubrey's heir to hold in chief. It is of interest to observe that the Aubrey de Vere of 1086 held Kensington also as an under-tenant of the bishop, though he is there entered as if a tenant-in-chief.

It seems clear also that the Abbey's 'virgate and a half' are represented above by the holdings of Wymunt de Stoke and Roger Infans. Consequently the remaining Domesday holding ($2\frac{5}{8}$ hides), if not Wold, must have passed from the bishop of Coutances to the Abbey, under whom it was held, as above, by Geoffrey de Gunthorp and Vivian de Churchfield.

⁸ Held of the Abbey by Eustace (the sheriff) in 1086.

⁹ This had been held by Eustace (the sheriff) in 1086.

¹⁰ These two holdings represent the $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides held there of the Abbey by the same Eustace in 1086 (see p. 362 above).

¹¹ 'Armeston de Burgelay' in MS.

¹² Domesday only states that the 5 hides at Armston and Kingsthorpe were held of the Abbey by 5 knights. Here we have details of the five holdings, which amount, however, to $5\frac{5}{8}$ hides for Armston alone.

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In LILLINGTON [Lutton] 1 hide.¹

In HEMINGTON [Hemington] Berenger le Moyne 2 hides (and) a half of the fee of Ramsey.² There also Richard Fitz Gilbert 1 hide and $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of the fee of (Peter)borough. There also Guy ('Wydo') Maufe half a hide and half a virgate of the same fee. There also Reginald le Moyne half a hide and half a virgate of the same fee.³

In KYNESTHORP [Kingsthorpe] Walter de Lodington 1 hide and 1 virgate of the fee of (Peter)borough. There also William de Chirchetot half a hide of the King's fee.⁴

In THERNINGE [Thurning] Roger Mar-mioun 3 small virgates of the fee of (Peter)-borough.⁵

In AYSTON [Ashton] the abbot of (Peter)-borough 4 hides in demesne. There also Papilun half a hide of the same fee. There also Leofnoth ('Leuenoth') half a hide of the same fee.⁶

In UNDELE [Oundle] the abbot (of Peter-borough) 6 hides in demesne.⁷ There also Vivien 1 small virgate.⁸

¹ Domesday gives only the half hide of Ramsey Abbey there.

² This estate was held as 3 hides by Reginald son of Berenger le Moyne, in 1166, of the Abbot, as one knight's fee.

³ Domesday states that '3 knights' held $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides of Peterborough Abbey. The above three holdings represent, in all, an excess of half a virgate over $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides.

⁴ Domesday only allows 5 hides to Armston and Kingsthorpe together, a total exceeded in this Survey by Armston alone. The above holdings, therefore, are difficult to identify.

⁵ Entered in Domesday as half a hide held by the Abbey in demesne.

⁶ $4\frac{1}{2}$ hides in Ashton (in Oundle) were held, in 1086, by the abbot of Peterborough in demesne, but Ivo also held of him half a hide there. Thus there had been a further subinfeudation of half a hide since 1086. The *Liber Niger* (circ. 1125) shows us Ralf 'Papilio' and Leofnoth (*Leuenothus*) holding half a hide apiece in Ashton.

⁷ So also in Domesday.

⁸ Abbot Turolde is recorded to have given Vivian (of Churchfield) $\frac{1}{8}$ hide in Oundle (*Chronicon Petrobургense*, p. 175).

THE TWO HUNDREDS OF NASS (DE NASSO)

In STINTON [Stibbington] William de Lisurs 2 hides.⁹

In BERNAK [Barnack] Fulc Paynel 3 hides.¹⁰

In WIRTHORPE [Worthorpe] the abbot of Crowland ('Croylaund') 2 hides.¹¹ There also of the fee of Eudo Dapifer 1 virgate.¹²

In ESTON [Easton] Simon¹³ 1 hide and a half.

In PEYCHIRCHE [Peakirk]. In ETTON. In NORTHBURG' [Norborough] half a virgate.

In the demesne of the abbot of St. Peter's borough 70 hides and $3\frac{1}{2}$ virgates.

HUNDRED OF SUTTON

In the said ('eadem') vill [King's Sutton] the King has in demesne 4 hides.¹⁴

In the same ('eadem') vill William de Quency 1 hide (and) a half and a small virgate of land of the earldom ('comitat[u]') of Leicester.¹⁵ There also Alfred 8 small virgates of Gilbert de Pinkeny.¹⁶ There also Payn ('Paganus') 1 hide and a half and 1 small virgate of the fee of the earl of Leicester.¹⁵ Robert Fitz Osbert held (it).¹⁷

⁹ Stibbington in the north-west corner of Hunts. These two hides were held by his predecessor, Richard (Engaine), as at 'Stabintone.'

¹⁰ Held by his predecessor William Fitz Ansulf in 1086.

¹¹ Held by the Abbot as $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides in 1086.

¹² Doubtless appendant to his Easton estate adjoining.

¹³ Simon de Lindon. This holding had escheated to the Crown on the death of 'Eudo Dapifer,' who had held it, as $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, in 1086.

¹⁴ Entered as 3 hides in Domesday.

¹⁵ Domesday assigns there to Hugh de Grentmaison, the earl of Leicester's predecessor, one holding corresponding in size with each of the two above, namely, 'a hide and a half and the tenth of a hide.'

¹⁶ This would seem to represent the $3\frac{1}{2}$ virgates held there, in 1086, by two of the King's almsmen, for 8 'small' virgates would amount to the same.

¹⁷ It should be observed that, as at Charlton below, exactly 4 hides are accounted for in this second half of Sutton.

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In **EVENLE** [Evenley] 1 hide and 1 small virgate of the fee of the earl of Leicester.¹

In **PRESTON** [Purston] half a hide of the fee of the earl of Leicester.²

In **CROVELTON** [Croughton] 4 small virgates of the fee of the earl of Leicester.³ There also **Seuar** 1 hide and 2 small virgates of the fee of Leicester.⁴ There also **Brien Fitz Count** 1½ hides and 2 small virgates of the fee of Wallingford ('Walinford').⁵

In **NEUBOTTLE** [Newbottle] 'Regis' de **Reynes** 6 hides and 1 small virgate of the fee of the earl of Leicester.⁶ **William de Lepyn**⁷ held (it).

In **FURNINGHO** [Farningho] 4 hides of the fee of the earl of Leicester.⁸

In **CHERLINGTON** [Charlton] **Maynard** 1 hide (and) a half and 1 small virgate. There also **Simon Chendut** 1 hide (and) a half of the fee of **Berkamstede**⁹ and one small virgate. There also **Odo** (*sic*) 'dapifer' 8 small virgates of the fee of **Colchester**.¹⁰

In **GREMESBIR** [Grimsbury] **Aunsel** de

Chokes 2 hides and 4 small virgates, that is the fifth part of 2 hides.¹¹

In **MIDDELTON** [Middleton Chenduit] **William Me[s]chin** 1 hide and a half and 1 small virgate of the fee of **William de Curcy**.¹²

In another **MIDDELTON** [Middleton Chenduit] **Simon Chendut** 2 hides of the fee of **Berkamstede**.¹³

In **THAYNIFORD** [Thenford] **Mainfenn de Walrentone** 1 hide.¹⁴ There also **Robert Basset** 1 hide of the fee of **Walingford**.¹⁵

In **AYNO** [Aynho] **William de Mandeville** 3 hides.¹⁶

In **MIDDELTON** [Middleton Chenduit] the monks of **St. Eu'ald** [Evrul] 2 hides.¹⁷

In **WALTON** 1 hide with 2 virgates in **Sutton** which **Suouild** held.¹⁸

In **GILDEBY** [] 1 hide and 7 small virgates of the fee of **Mortal** [Mortain].

HUNDRED OF ALBODESTOWE

In **CHACOMBE** [Chalcombe] 4 hides of the fee of the bishop of **Lincoln**.¹⁹

In **EVENLE**[Y] 2 hides and (*sic*) less 1 small virgate which **Alouf de Merke** held.²⁰

¹ Held, as 1 hide, by the count of **Mortain**, in 1086.

² Held by **William** (de **Cahagnes**) of the count of **Mortain** in 1086.

³ Held by the count of **Mortain**, as 'four-fifths of half a hide,' in 1086.

⁴ This would seem to be an error for 'the fee of **Essex**,' as **Domesday** assigns to **Geoffrey de Mandeville** there 1 hide and $\frac{2}{3}$ virgate, which were held of him by 'Osbern.' **Sewar** was probably **Sewal de Oseville**, who held 4 fees of the earl of **Essex** in 1166.

⁵ This may include the $\frac{1}{2}$ hide and $\frac{1}{3}$ hide that **Domesday** assigns to **Robert d'Ouilly** in **Purston**.

⁶ Held by **Ivo of Hugh de Grentmaisnil** in 1086. 'Regis' should be 'Rogerus.'

⁷ **William of Le Pin** (de **Pinu**), who gave the advowson of the church there to **Dunstable Priory**.

⁸ Escheated lands of **Earl Aubrey** in 1086.

⁹ Held of the count of **Mortain** by 'Ralf,' as 1½ hides, in 1086.

¹⁰ This entry is explained in the Introduction, p. 363. It should be observed that this Survey accounts for exactly 4 hides (1 hide = 10 'small virgates') at **Charlton**, the regular amount in **Sutton Hundred**.

¹¹ This exactly corresponds with the 'two hides and the fifth part of two hides' assigned by **Domesday** to **Gunfrei de Cioches** here.

¹² Held by the earl of **Chester**, in 1086, as 'four-fifths of two hides,' which is exactly equal to the above amount ($1\frac{6}{10}$ hides).

¹³ Held of the count of **Mortain** by 'Ralf' in 1086, as at **Charlton** above.

¹⁴ Held by **Maino of Wolverton** ('**Walrentone**') in 1086.

¹⁵ Held by **Robert d'Ouilly** in 1086.

¹⁶ Held by **Geoffrey de Mandeville** in 1086.

¹⁷ Held of **Hugh de Grentmaisnil** by 'Hugh' in 1086.

¹⁸ **Domesday** assigns to the count of **Mortain** 1½ hides in **Walton** (in **King's Sutton**) and to the bishop of **Bayeux** 1½ virgates there.

¹⁹ As in **Domesday**.

²⁰ This entry is corrupt. **Alouf's** father **Otbert** had held of **Walter the Fleming** (of 'Wahill'), in 1086, 2 hides and also 1½ hides and $\frac{1}{3}$ hide there.

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In THORPE [Thorpe Mandeville] 2 hides.¹

In STANES [Stene] Gilbert de Pinkeny 2 hides.²

In COLEWYTH [Culworth] William 2 hides and 4 small virgates.³ There also Otuer 1 hide.⁴

In STOTEBYR[E] [Stotesbery] 2 hides⁵ which the monks of Northampton hold.

In RODESTONE [Radston] 2 hides of the fee of the earl of Chester.⁶

In WYTEFELD [Whitfield] Gilbert de Monte 2 hides and 2 virgates in demesne.⁷

In MERSTON [Merston St. Lawrence] Ralf Murdac 4 hides of the fee of the earl of Leicester.⁸

In SIRESHAM Thomas Sorel 1 hide (and) a half.⁹ There also the earl of Leicester 1 small virgate.⁹ There also Gilo half a hide.¹⁰ There also William Fitz Aliu (?) 4 small virgates.⁹

In HELMENDENE [Helmedon] William de Torewelle 4 hides of the fee of the earl of Leicester.¹¹

In CHELVERDESCOTE¹² half a hide. The same earl of Leicester.

In BRACKELE(Y) and HAUSHO [Hawes]¹³ the same earl 7 hides and a half.

HUNDRED OF WARDON

In WARDON [Chipping Warden] Richard Foliot 2 hides (and) a half and 1 great virgate, that is (*scilicet*) the fourth part of 1 knight's fee) of the King's fee in *capite*.¹⁴

In ESTON [Aston le Wall] and APELTREYA [Apeltre] William de Boulogne ('Bolonia') 7 hides of the fee of earl de Mandeville.¹⁵

In BOTTELENDON [Boddington] Fulc Paynel 2 hides; one of them (is) of the fee of Chester. There also William Meschin 1 hide. There also 1 hide of the fee of the bishop of Lincoln.¹⁶

In BYFELD 8 hides of the fee of the earl of Leicester. In TRAPESFORD [Trafford], which belongs to Byfeld, 1 hide and 2 small virgates.¹⁷

In HINTON (by Byfield) of the fee of Earl William (de Mandeville) 2 hides which Robert holds.¹⁸

In FARENDON [Farndon] Simon Chendut 1 hide (and) a half and 1 small virgate of the

¹ Held of Ghilo (de Pinkeny) by Ingelram in 1086.

² Held by Ghilo (de Pinkeny) in 1086.

³ Held by 'Landric' of Ghilo (de Pinkeny) in 1086 as 2 hides and $\frac{4}{10}$ hide in 'Brime.'

⁴ Domesday assigns there to Geoffrey de Mandeville $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and $\frac{2}{3}$ virgate, held of him by Osbern. The above Otuer was doubtless Otwel de Bovil, a tenant of the earl of Essex in 1166.

⁵ Held of Ghilo de Pinkeny by Hugh and Landric in 1086.

⁶ Held by the earl of Chester in 1086.

⁷ This was an appendage of the King's manor of Sutton in 1086. The virgates in demesne may represent its '2 car. inland' at that date. Cf. p. 374, n. 13.

⁸ These were the earl of Chester's in 1086. There is probably a scribal error.

⁹ These three holdings amount to only 2 hides, though Domesday assigns $2\frac{2}{3}$ hides there to the fief of Earl Aubrey and half a hide to the count of Mortain.

¹⁰ Held by Ghilo (de Pinkeny) in 1086.

¹¹ Held by the count of Mortain in 1086. The above tenant was one of the Turvilles.

¹² This is the manor which cannot be identified.

¹³ This was part of the escheated fief of Earl Aubrey, to which Domesday assigns 2 hides in Hawes and 3 in Brackley. Doubtless this Survey includes in the above reckoning part of what Domesday enters under Syresham.

¹⁴ Held for the same amount by Guy de Reinbuedcurt, whose heir he was, in 1086.

¹⁵ Held, as 6 hides in 'Estone,' of Geoffrey de Mandeville by Mauger in 1086. The above William of Boulogne was maternally Geoffrey's grandson, and lived *temp.* Henry I. He was father of Faramus 'of Boulogne.'

¹⁶ Domesday assigns 2 hides there to the count of Mortain and 1 hide to the earl of Chester; nothing to the bishop of Lincoln.

¹⁷ Domesday assigns 8 hides there to the earl of Chester (not Leicester), and 2 hides to Hugh de Grentmesnil, of whom the earl of Leicester was heir. The earl of Chester had $1\frac{1}{4}$ hides at Trafford in 1086.

¹⁸ Held by Ultbert of Geoffrey de Mandeville in 1086.

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fee of Berchamstede.¹ There also the earl of Leicester 4 small virgates.²

In HOCHECOTE [Edgcott] Roger Murdac 2 hides of the fee of king David.³

In WODEFORD the earl of Leicester 2 hides which Osemund holds.⁴

In BYFELD Roger de Reymes 2 hides.⁵

In AYDONA [Eydon] Richard Fitz Wale 2 hides of the fee of Leicester.⁶

In GRETTEWORTH [Greatworth] Ralf de Kaynes 2 hides of his fee.⁷

In SOLEGRAVE [Sulgrave] 4 hides of the fee of Gilo brother of Haschivill.⁸

GRAVESHENDE FALEWESLE

In FALEWESLE [Fawsley] the King has 2 hides.⁹

In CHELURDESCOTE.¹⁰ 2 hides of the fee of the earl of Leicester.

In FARDINGSTONE [Farthingstone] 3 hides and 1 small virgate.¹¹ There also Hervey

(‘Hervicus’) Belet 8 small virgates which William de Strafford holds.¹²

In WEDON’ [Weedon Bec] the monks of Bec 4 hides of the fee of the earl of Leicester.¹³

In CHARWELTON 2 hides and 4 small virgates of the fee of Berkamstede.¹⁴ There also the abbot of Thorney 4 small virgates—anciently written (*antiquo scripto*) half a hide.¹⁵ There also Hugh de Chaham half a hide of the fee of the earl of Leicester.¹⁶ There also 4 small virgates of the fee of Adam de Napton. There also the earl of Leicester 4 small virgates.¹⁷

In CATESBY 4 hides of the fee of William Peverel.¹⁸

In ELIDEN [Hellidon] 4 hides of the fee of Berkamstede.¹⁹

In PRESTON [Preston Capes] 3 hides less 2 small virgates of the fee of Simon de Wahill.²⁰ There also Richard son of William 1 hide (and) 2 small virgates.²¹

In LICHEBARUE [Lichborow] 4 hides of the fee of Hugh Poher.²²

¹ Held of the count of Mortain by Ralf, as $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 1 bovat, in 1086.

² Held by Hugh de Grentmesnil, as $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates in 1086.

³ Held of the bishop of Coutances by Walchelin in 1086.

⁴ Held of Hugh de Grentmesnil by ‘Richard’ in 1086.

⁵ This is the estate there assigned to Hugh de Grentmesnil by Domesday, and its tenant here is the same as at Newbottle, above, Roger de Reymes. The return of knights in 1166 speaks of him as living in 1135.

⁶ Held of Hugh de Grentmesnil by ‘Hugh’ in 1086.

⁷ Held of the bishop of Bayeux’s fee by William (de Cahagnes) in 1086.

⁸ They were held of Ghilo in 1086. The corrupt form of his brother’s name (Ansculf) should be observed.

⁹ Domesday assigns to the King only $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and $\frac{1}{4}$ hide there, but Godwine the priest also held of him four-fifths of half a hide there in 1086.

¹⁰ This is the manor that has not been identified.

¹¹ Held by William (de Cahagnes) of the count of Mortain as 3 hides and 1 virgate in 1086.

¹² Held of the count of Mortain by Alvred as 3 virgates in 1086.

¹³ Hugh de Grentmesnil had $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides there, and the count of Mortain half a hide, in 1086.

¹⁴ Held by ‘Ralf’ of the count of Mortain as 2 hides and ‘four-fifths of half a hide’ in 1086. These seem to be the ‘24 virgates’ assigned to ‘Earl Richard’ (of Cornwall) by the Survey in the *Testa* (p. 36).

¹⁵ Domesday assigns ‘half a hide’ there to the Abbey. In the *Testa* Survey it is ‘4 virgates,’ that is 4 of the ‘small’ virgates of which 10 went to a hide.

¹⁶ Held of the count of Mortain by William (de Cahagnes) in 1086.

¹⁷ Hugh de Grentmesnil had ‘1 virgate’ there in 1086.

¹⁸ So also in Domesday.

¹⁹ This is one of the omissions of Domesday, where it ought to be found among the manors of the count of Mortain.

²⁰ Domesday assigns to the lord of Wahill a nameless estate in this Hundred, but it is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and $\frac{1}{10}$ hide.

²¹ Domesday assigns to the count of Mortain there $\frac{4}{5}$ hide and $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, which would amount to the above total.

²² The abbot of Evesham’s in Domesday.

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In EVERDON the monks of Bernay $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 2 small virgates.¹ There also Hugh the sheriff 8 small virgates which the monks of Daventre hold. There also Ralf de Waundeville 4 small virgates.² There also Walter 4 small virgates.

In SNOKESCOMBE [Snoscombe] 4 small virgates of the fee of the earl of Leicester.³

In STOWE John de Armenteres 4 hides of the fee of Gilbert de Gaunt.⁴

HUNDRED OF AYLWOLDESLE

In BADDEBY [Badby]⁵ and NEWENHAM [Newnham] the abbot of Evesham 4 hides.

In NORTON $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 2 small virgates of the fee of Warewyk.⁶

In THORP(E) Stephen de Turs⁷ half a hide. There also William de Neufmarché (*novo foro*) 4 small virgates.⁸

In BERUBY [Barby] 2 hides of the fee of William Peverel.⁹

In GILDESBORU [Guilsborough] the bishop of Lincoln in demesne, 2 hides.¹⁰

In STAV[ER]TON William de Neufmarché, (*novo foro*) 1 hide of the fee of the earl of Leicester.¹¹ There also Stephen de Welton 3 hides of the fee of Roger de Moubray.¹²

In BRAUNDESTON [Braunston] William Trussebot 3 hides and 6 small virgates of the fee of Payn Peverel.¹³ There also the earl of Leicester 4 small virgates.¹⁴

In DAVENTRE Walter Fitz Robert 8 hides of the fee of the king of Scotland.¹⁵

In WELTON William $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 2 small virgates of the fee of the earl of Leicester.¹⁶ There also Hugh the sheriff $5\frac{1}{2}$ small virgates of the fee of Berkamstede. The monks of Daventre hold (them). There also Richard Maulore 2 small virgates.

In ESSEBY [Ashby St. Legers] 4 hides of the fee of the earl of Leicester.¹⁷

In DODEFORD Ralf de Chanes 3 hides.¹⁸

¹ This holding does not seem to be recognisable in Domesday. Henry II., early in his reign, confirmed to the monks of Bernay [Eure] 'Ebredona' among the lands given them in England (*Calendar of Documents preserved in France*, p. 137).

² These reappear in the *Testa* Survey as '4 virgates which Geoffrey de Waundeville holds of the fee of Albemarle.' They are also found (*Testa*, p. 27) as held of the Belvoir fief.

³ Domesday assigns to the count of Mortain 2 virgates there.

⁴ Held in demesne by Gilbert de Gand in 1086.

⁵ On the 4 hides at Badby assigned by Domesday to Crowland, see the Introduction to Domesday (p. 285).

⁶ Norton (by Daventry) was held, in 1086, by the count of Meulan, brother of the first earl of Warwick, as $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides and $\frac{1}{10}$ hide.

⁷ He was seneschal of Anjou under Henry II. As he was an under-tenant of Robert de Chocques in 1166, this was doubtless the 'half hide and fifth part of half a hide' held by Gunfrei de 'Cioches' there in 1086.

⁸ Held of Hugh de Grentmesnil by 'Osbern,' as 'four-fifths of half a hide' in 1086. In the *Testa* Survey this holding is entered as '4 virgates' of the earl of Leicester's.

⁹ So also in Domesday.

¹⁰ This is not recognisable in Domesday.

¹¹ Held of Hugh de Grentmesnil by 'Osbern' in Domesday.

¹² Held of the count of Mortain by 'Alan' in 1086. These are described in the *Testa* Survey as 'of the fee of Stuteville,' but the Stutevilles were great under-tenants of the Mowbrays.

¹³ Held by Walter de Aincurt as $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides in 1086. In the later Survey, found in the *Testa* (p. 36), Robert de Ros (Trussebot's heir) is 'dominus ville,' but it is 'of the fee of John de Eyncurt.'

¹⁴ Held of the bishop of Bayeux's fee by William Peverel in 1086.

¹⁵ The Countess Judith's in 1086.

¹⁶ This was clearly the '3 hides less a virgate' held here, in 1086, of Hugh de Grentmesnil by 'Osbern'; and as the successor of this Osbern in his two other under-tenancies was William de Neufmarché, this was doubtless the name of the above 'William.'

¹⁷ Hugh de Grentmesnil's in 1086.

¹⁸ Held of the count of Mortain by William (de Cahagnes) in 1086. The later Survey in the *Testa* (p. 36) proves that the overlordship had passed from the Count to the earl of Leicester, for it speaks of the vill as 'de feodo Leyc.,' though William de 'Kaynes' was its lord.

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In CHELREDESCOTE Geoffrey de Torevill 1 hide and 2 small virgates of the fee of the earl of Leicester.¹

HUNDRED OF NORTON

In ESSEBY [Ashby Canons] Stephen 2 hides and 8 small virgates of the fee of Hugh de Lega.²

In MORTONA [Morton Pinkeney] Henry de Pinkeney 1 hide and a half.³

In WEDONA [Weedon Pinkeney] the same Henry 2 hides and 8 small virgates.⁴

In PLOMTON [Plumpton] William Fitz Robert⁵ 1 hide and a half of the fee of 'Wahill.'

In SLAPTON 4 hides of the fee of the earl of Leicester.⁶

In BRADDENE [Bradden] Payn 1 hide (and) 4 small virgates.⁷ There also Viel (*Vitalis*) Engayne 1 hide (and) 4 small virgates.⁸ There also Ralf de Wandeville 1 hide (and) 2 small virgates.⁹

In little BLACOLVESLE [Blakesley]¹⁰ Norman de St. Patrick¹¹ 2 hides of the fee of Peverel¹²

Also (*item*), belonging to the hidage (*hidagium*) of Norton 1 hide and 7½ small virgates.¹³

In another BLACOLVESLE [Blakesley] the same (Norman) half a hide.¹⁴ There also Roger Golofre 3½ hides and half a small virgate.¹⁵ There also William de Plumton 2 hides (and) 2 small virgates.¹⁶ There also Gilbert 1 hide (and) a half and 1 small virgate of the fee of Berkamstede.¹⁷

Also in SELVESTON Otuer half a hide of the fee of Earl William.¹⁸ There also William de Caynes 1 hide of the fee of Morton' (*sic*).¹⁹ There also Henry de Pinkeney half a hide.²⁰

In MAYDEFORD [Maidford] Payn 2 hides (and) 2 small virgates.²¹

In SEWEWELL [Sewell] Ralf 1 hide (and) 6 small virgates.²²

In PATESHILL' [Pateshull] 4 small virgates.²³

¹³ Domesday enters 'Blacheslewe' as a 'member' of (Green's) Norton, but without recording its hidage separately.

¹⁴ This must be the half hide which Robert (of Rhuddlan) held of the earl of Chester in 1086.

¹⁵ Golafre manor. Hugh de Gulafre held 3 knights' fees of William de Curcy in 1166. The name seems to be preserved in some lands called 'Cullofres' in Wood Blakesley mentioned in 1387.

¹⁶ Plumpton manor, held of the earls of Leicester by the Plumptons. It is not accounted for in Domesday.

¹⁷ This was the 1½ hides held in 1086 by Sagrim of the count of Mortain.

¹⁸ Held of Geoffrey de Mandeville by 'Ernald' in 1086. The tenant above was doubtless Otuer de Boville, a considerable tenant of Earl Geoffrey (de Mandeville) in 1166. Earl William succeeded in 1167.

¹⁹ Held of the count of Mortain by William (de Cahagnes) in 1086.

²⁰ Held of Ghilo (de Pinkeney) by 'Godwin' in 1086.

²¹ Held by 'Hugh' of Hugh de Grentmaisonil, as 2½ hides in 1086. Payn (de Alneto) held under the latter Hugh's successor, the earl of Leicester.

²² Sewell in Blakesley, held by Ralf (de Waundeville) of the Belvoir fi(ef). The lord of Belvoir is assigned 3½ hides there in 1086, but this doubtless includes Ralf's 1 hide and 2 small virgates under Bradden above.

²³ See note under Foxley, below (p. 373).

¹ This is the unidentified manor.

² He held 10 knights' fees, in 1166, of Hugh, lord of Wahill, heir of the lord of 'Wahill' who had 2½ hides here in 1086.

³ As held by Ghilo (de Pinkeney) in 1086.

⁴ Domesday assigns 3 hides there to Ghilo.

⁵ Styled William de Plumton under Blakesley below.

⁶ Probably an error for Chester. They were held of the earl of Chester in 1086.

⁷ Held by 'David' as 1¼ hides in 1086.

⁸ Held by William (Engayne) of Robert de Buci, in 1086, as 1¼ hides.

⁹ He held of the lord of Belvoir. This holding is not entered (as at Bradden) under Robert de Todenil's land in Domesday, but is probably included there in Sewell (see below). The above Survey accounts for exactly 4 hides, a total which confirms its accuracy.

¹⁰ *Alias* Woodend.

¹¹ He gave two-thirds of the tithes of his demesne here, as a tenant of William Peverel, to Lenton Priory. Domesday gives 2 hides as held here by 'Walter' of William Peverel.

¹² St. John of Jerusalem manor.

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In NORTON [Green's Norton] and in (its) soke 7 hides and 1 large virgate.¹

In ATTENESTON [Adston] Geoffrey de Turvill' 3 small virgates.² There also the monks of Bec 8 small virgates.

HUNDRED OF TOUCESTR[E]

In GAUTON [Gayton] the advocate de Bettune 4 hides.³

In PATESHILL [Pateshull] Simon de Wahill 7 hides.⁴ There also William de Hocton' 8 small virgates. There also 'earl Maurice' (*Comes Mauricius*) of the fee of Botebot 2 small virgates.⁵

In FOXLEYA [Foxley] Simon de Wahill 4 small virgates.⁶ There also (*Comes Maur'*) 8 small virgates of the fee of Berkamstede.⁷ There also the monks of Northampton 6 small virgates.⁸

In HINTON [Hinton in the Hedges] Elias 2 hides of the fee of Earl William.⁹

¹ So held by the King in 1086. See also note under Blakesley above.

² This was probably the 'one virgate' held in almoyn by Leofwine, the priest, in 1086. Geoffrey de Turville must have held under the earl of Leicester, to whom the Crown had alienated the land.

³ Held by Sigar de 'Cioches' as $4\frac{2}{5}$ hides in 1086, though Domesday does not mention the place. The *seigneur* of Bethune, 'advocate' of Arras, was here his heir.

⁴ Domesday assigns 8 hides there to the lord of 'Wahill.' The above three entries amount to 8 hides in all, but this may be only a coincidence.

⁵ Baker appears to accept 'Earl Maurice,' here and at Foxley, as a real person, but I deem the name to be clearly a corruption of *Comes Mauris* (count of Mortain). 'Mauritanium' is the form under which Mortain appears in the East Anglian Domesday.

⁶ It is possible that these 4 'small virgates' with those under Pateshull above (p. 372) were included in the Domesday total of 8 hides for the 'Wahill' fee in Pateshull.

⁷ Held by Ralf of the count of Mortain as $\frac{4}{10}$ hide in 1086.

⁸ St. Andrew's Priory manor. These lands seem to have been part of the Wahill fief in 1086, for they were given to the monks by one of its tenants, *temp.* Hen. I.

⁹ Helyas de Hintone held 4 knights' fees of Earl Geoffrey de Mandeville in 1166.

In WAPPENHAM Henry de Pinkeny 2 hides of (his own) fee.¹⁰

In EVELEIA [Evenley] are 4 hides.¹¹

In GRIMESCOTE [Grimscot] Aunsel 2 hides and 4 small virgates of the fee of Roger de Moubray.¹² There also the monks of Dones-tabel' (Dunstable) 2 hides of the fee of Wahill.¹³

In POTTON John de Daventre 1 hide (and) a half (and) 1 small virgate.

In TIFFELD William de Pery 1 hide (and) a half (and) 1 small virgate of the fee of Earl Hugh.¹⁴ There also Walter de Fortho 1 hide (and) a half and 2 small virgates.¹⁵ There also William de Gaynes 7 small virgates.¹⁶

In WYTLEBYR' [Whittlebury] Richard 6 small virgates of the fee of Selveston [Silverstone].

In TOUCESTR' the earl of Arundel 7 hides (and) 4 small virgates.¹⁷ There also Wybert atte church (*ad ecclesiam*) 6 small virgates of the fee of St. Wandrille.¹⁸

'Ernald' had held these 2 hides of Geoffrey de Mandeville in 1086.

¹⁰ Ghilo (de Pinkeney)'s in 1086.

¹¹ These 4 hides are assigned to the lord of 'Wahill' by Domesday.

¹² Held of the count of Mortain in 1086, by Alan, as $2\frac{4}{10}$ hides at Cold Higham. This proves that a grant from the count's fief had here been made to Roger (or his father Nigel).

¹³ These are clearly the 2 hides held of the lord of 'Wahill' in 1086 as 'ad ecclesiam de Pascelle,' but in Cold Higham (to which Grimscot adjoins). The monks of Dunstable had obtained them by gift of Walter de Wahull, who gave them 'all the land of Grimscote of his fee,' with a moiety of Pateshill church.

¹⁴ Here again Domesday assigns no such holding in Tiffeld to Earl Hugh (of Chester), but the accuracy of this Survey is proved by its totals amounting to exactly 4 hides.

¹⁵ Held of the count of Mortain, as a hide and a half and the fifth of a hide, by 'Ralf' in 1086.

¹⁶ Held of the count of Mortain, as half a hide and the fifth of a hide, by William (de Cahagnes) in 1086.

¹⁷ Held by the King, as $7\frac{1}{2}$ hides, in 1086.

¹⁸ This must be the holding of the sochman, entered in 1086 as having there half a

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In GRAFTONE [Grafton Regis] the abbot of Grestain (*Grestenge*) 4 hides [$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{4}{5}$ hide].¹

HUNDRED OF CLEYLE

In STOK and in ALDRINTON [Stoke Bruern and Alderton] are 7 hides (and) 2 small virgates.²

In BASSENHAM [Passenham] 1 hide.

In WYCA MAINFEIN [Wyke Hamon] 2 hides of the fee of Wolfrington [Wolverton].³

In PYRIA [Potterspury] Robert de Ferrar[iis] 3 hides (and) 2 small virgates of the fee of the earl de Ferrar'.⁴

In WEST PYRIA [Paulerspury] are 3 hides and a half and the fifth part of half a hide of the fee of William Peverel.⁵

In FORHOUE [Furtho] Walter 2 hides of the fee of Richard Fitz William.⁶ There also (are) 7 small virgates of the fee of Berkamstede.⁷ There also the earl of Leicester 3 small virgates.⁷

In COVESGRAVE [Cosgrove] Robert Ryvel 8 small virgates. There also William le Brun 6 small virgates. There also Adam 9 small virgates.⁸

hide and $\frac{1}{10}$ hide, that is, exactly '6 small virgates.' The Conqueror must have given it to St. Wandrille, with the advowson of Towcester. It was afterwards known as Bradenstoke Priory Manor. The words 'ad ecclesiam' might possibly mean 'as belonging to the church.'

¹ Held by the count of Mortain as $\frac{4}{5}$ hide in 1086. His son William is said to have given them to the Abbey.

² Domesday assigns 4 hides to Stoke Bruern and $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides (the count of Mortain's) to Alderton.

³ Domesday assigns only 3 virgates there to Maino lord of Wolverton, and enters the missing $1\frac{1}{4}$ hides as Robert d'Ouilly's in Wyke Dyve.

⁴ Held, as $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides, by Henry de Ferrers in Domesday.

⁵ Held, for exactly the same amount, of William Peverel by 'Robert' in 1086.

⁶ Held of the count of Mortain by 'Ralf' in 1086.

⁷ These two holdings represent two holdings there of the count of Mortain, each of $\frac{9}{10}$ hide, in Domesday. But they only account for 1 hide between them.

⁸ Cosgrove was similarly divided, in 1086,

In PYRIA [Potterspury] the heirs 'de Saffeto' 1 hide (and) the fifth part of one hide of the fee of king David.⁹

In POKESLE Robert Ryvel 6 small virgates of the fee of the earl of Leicester.¹⁰ There also 4 small virgates of the fee of king David.¹¹

In ESTENESTON [Easton Neston] Richard de Le estre 1 hide (and) a half and 1 small virgate of the fee of Berkamstede.¹² There also Godfrey and Aldred 8 small virgates of the fee of William Maudut.¹³

In SOM[ER]ESHALL [Somersale] Michael Mauntel 6 small virgates of the fee of William Peverel of Hetham [Higham].¹⁴

In WAKEFELD 4 small virgates of the King's fee.¹⁵

In HERTWELL [Hartwell] Nicholas, Hugh, Adam, Ralph, 4 hides (and) a half and 1 small virgate—that is (*scilicet*) the fifth part of half a hide—of the fee of Walkelin Mamy(n)ot.¹⁶

into 3 holdings of $\frac{4}{10}$ hide, $\frac{5}{8}$ hide, $\frac{1}{10}$ hide respectively. But this Survey makes them all rather larger.

⁹ Held of the Countess Judith by William Peverel in 1086.

¹⁰ Probably the half hide held by the King there in 1086.

¹¹ William Peverel held $\frac{4}{10}$ hide there of the bishop of Bayeux in 1086.

¹² Held of the count of Mortain by William (de Cahagnes), as 1 hide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, in 1086.

¹³ This holding appears, from its size, to be the $3\frac{1}{4}$ virgates there held by Bondi of Gunfrei de Cioches in 1086. But as William Mauduit was the successor of Winemar, it must represent the $2\frac{1}{2}$ virgates ($6\frac{1}{4}$ small virgates) held of Winemar there by Maiulf in 1086.

¹⁴ It appears to me that this may be the 'half a hide and half a virgate' held of William Peverel by Turstin (Mantel) in 1086 as in 'another Courteenhall.' The land was afterwards reckoned as in Roade.

¹⁵ Count Alan's in Domesday.

¹⁶ This exact amount— $4\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 'a fifth of half a hide'—was held in Domesday by William Peverel of the bishop of Bayeux. It had now been added to the Maminot portion of the bishop's fief. The 'small virgate' is explained, it will be seen, by this entry.

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In ESSE [Ashton] Robert Fitz Anketil 1 hide and 2 small virgates of the fee of William Maudut.¹ 'Ad hydām' William Ruffi 4 small virgates.²

HUNDRED OF WYMERESLE

In MIDDLETON [Middleton Malsor] Robert de Causho and Geoffrey 5 hides and 1 virgate—that is (*scilicet*) the fourth part of 1 hide.³

In TROP' [Rothersthorpe] Ascelin de Chokes 2 hides (and) a half and the fourth part of 1 hide.⁴ There also the hospital of Northampton half a hide and the fourth part of 1 hide.⁵

In WOTTON 2 hides and two-thirds of half a hide.⁶ There also Michael 1 hide and the third part of half a hide.⁷

In HARDINGESTORN' 7 hides of the fee of king David.⁸

In BLETHESWORTHE [Blisworth] and in CORTENHALE [Courteenhall] Peverel 7 hides

and 4 small virgates of increase (*incremento*)⁹ in Quenton which Gilbert held.

In QUENTON' [Quinton] David and Philip 1½ hides and the fourth part of 1 hide.¹⁰

In PRESTON (Deanery) Walter Fitz Wynermer 1 hide and 1 virgate of the fee of king David. There also, of the fee of Olneye, (he holds) half a hide.¹¹

In ALECOTE [] king David the third part of 1 hide.

In PIDENTON' [Piddington] 1 hide and a half and 1 virgate.¹²

In HOUCTON' [Houghton Magna] Robert de Pavely 1 hide (and) half a great virgate and two virgates of the fee of Peverel.¹³ There also king David¹⁴ 4 small virgates which Osebert held. There also Simon 1 hide and 1 virgate.

In another HOUCTON [Houghton Parva] and in BRAUNFELD [Brayfield] 3 hides (and) a half which William de Houcton' held.¹⁵

In HORTON Alouf de Merk' 2 hides and 1

¹ It had come to him with the rest of Winemar's Domesday holding.

² Clearly the four parts of half a hide which Bondi held of Winemar in the same vill in 1086.

³ In Domesday 'Midelstone' was held of Geoffrey Alselin in two portions. William held of him 3½ hides there, and 'two hides less a virgate' belonging to the manor, though in Collingtree, were held of him by two socmen. It will be observed that these holdings make up, together, 5½ hides, which is the figure given above. The gloss at the end of the entry was doubtless intended to distinguish this (Domesday) virgate, from a 'small' one.

⁴ Held by Gunfrei 'de Cioches,' in 1086, as 2½ hides.

⁵ Held in 1086 by Geoffrey Alselin, as half a hide, with another half-hide, 'belonging to' Middleton, though 'in Torp.'

⁶ Held in 1086 of Walter the Fleming (of Woodhill) by Winemar as 2½ hides. It descended with the holding that follows.

⁷ Held in 1086 of the Countess Judith by Winemar as 1 hide. The above Michael (de Hamslope) was his successor *temp.* Henry I. It will be observed that the two above holdings amount, together, to 3½ hides, which is the Domesday total for Wotton.

⁸ Two of these were Countess Judith's in 1086, but the other five were then king William's.

⁹ Domesday assigns to William Peverel 3½ hides in Blisworth and 3½ in Courteenhall. The 'increase,' therefore, must be represented by the '4 small virgates.'

¹⁰ Quinton was held in 1086 by the Countess Judith as 1¾ hides in all. Peverel's '4 small virgates' seem therefore to figure only in the previous entry.

¹¹ This is Preston Deanery, where his father Winemar had held, in 1086, 1 hide of the bishop of Coutances ('the fee of Olney') and 3 virgates of the Countess Judith. The two holdings are here given differently, but their total (1¾ hides) is the same.

¹² Must also have been king David's, for Countess Judith had held it as 1 hide and 3 virgates in 1086.

¹³ Held of William Peverel in 1086 by 'Robert' as 1 hide and half a virgate and 'two carucates of land.' From this entry we again learn that the 'virgate' of Domesday was the 'great virgate' of this Survey.

¹⁴ One hide had been held there of his predecessor Countess Judith by Hugh.

¹⁵ This appears to represent the 2½ hides in Houghton Parva and the 1 hide in Brayfield which were the extent of the Countess Judith's holdings in these places in 1086.

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small virgate of Wahill.¹ There also of the fee of the king of Scotland (*Soc*) 3 small virgates.² There also Turgis de Quenton' 6 small virgates of the same fee.³ There also Walter Fitz Wym[er] 6 small virgates of the fee of Olney.⁴

In HAKELINGTON' [Hackleton] Nortgold' 1 hide.⁵ There also Turgis de Quenton' half a hide. There also the monks of Northampton 1 hide.⁵ There also William de Lisurs half a hide of the fee of Olney. There also Walter Fitz Wynem[er] 8 small virgates of the same fee.⁶

In CUGEHO [Cooknoe] William 1 hide (and) a half (and) 1 virgate.⁷

In WHISTON William a hide and a half of the fee of the abbot of Rammes[eye].⁸ There also king David 1 great virgate.⁹

In DODINGTON [Denton] the same King 1 hide.¹⁰ There also Walter Fitz Wynem[er] 6 small virgates of the fee of Rammeseya. There also William de Wytendon' 10 small virgates of the abbot of Rammeseye.¹¹

In ESSEBY [Castle Ashby] and CHADDESTON' [Chadstone] William Fitz Clarembald 3 hides and a half.¹²

In GERDELE [Yardley] and GRENDONE 7 hides and 1 virgate less (*sic*) of the fee of king David.¹³

HUNDRED AND A HALF OF HECHAM

In ESTON' [Easton Mauduit] and STRIXTON Michael de Hampslape 3 hides (and) a half and a great virgate.¹⁴ There also Payn 1 great virgate.

In BOSESETE [Bozeat] king David 2 hides.¹⁵

In NEWETON' [Newton Bromswold] Alnohus de Bidun 2 hides (and) a half less (*sic*).¹⁶

In WOLASTON (are) 5 hides (and) half a virgate of the fee of Chokes.¹⁷ There also Corbelin 2 hides less half a virgate of the fee of king David.¹⁸

In HAREGRAVE Ralf de Foleville 3 small virgates. There also Richard and Roger de

¹ Held of Walter the Fleming (of 'Wahill') in 1086 by Alouf's father Otbert as 2 hides.

² Entered in Domesday as 1 virgate.

³ Which were held of the Countess Judith, in 1086, as half a hide, by Turbern.

⁴ Held of the bishop of Coutances as 3 virgates, in 1086, by Turbern.

⁵ These appear to represent the 2 hides which was Countess Judith's holding there in 1086.

⁶ Which his father Winemar had held of the bishop of Coutances, in 1086, as half a hide.

⁷ At Cooknoe, in 1086, Norgiold had held 3½ virgates of Guy de 'Reinbuedcurt' and 3 virgates of the Countess Judith. These two holdings are represented by that of William above.

⁸ As Domesday assigns Ramsey Abbey 3 hides in Whiston and Denton, this would leave it 1½ hides in Denton.

⁹ Entered as one virgate in Domesday.

¹⁰ This seems to be the 'one hide' there which is entered immediately after Whiston on the Countess Judith's fief in Domesday.

¹¹ The Ramsey holding here was only 1½ hides according to Domesday (see note ⁸ above), but, as Winemar held half a hide here of the Countess Judith in 1086, the Domes-

day total for Denton was 3 hides (including the first of the holdings above). The holdings may be confused in the text above.

¹² Held as 1¾ hides in Chadstone by Drogo de 'Bevreire' and 1¾ hides in Ashby by (Hugh under) the Countess Judith in 1086.

¹³ Domesday assigns to the Countess Judith 3 hides and 2 virgates in Grendon and 3½ hides in Yardley. The total would be 7 hides, which is the amount given above, if we omit 'and 1 virgate less' as an error.

¹⁴ This certainly comprises the nameless 2 hides and 3 virgates in Higham Hundred which Winemar, Michael's predecessor, held in 1086. It is possible that the excess represents the 3 virgates in 'Hantone' which follow immediately in Domesday and which have not been identified.

¹⁵ Domesday assigns 2 hides in all to the Countess Judith there.

¹⁶ Held of the bishop of Coutances as 2 hides less half a virgate in 1086. 'Alnohus' represents the name usually given as 'Halealdus' or 'Hanelaldus.'

¹⁷ Domesday gives the 'Cioches' holding there as 5 hides.

¹⁸ In Domesday Corbelin holds 2 hides there of the Countess Judith, who had also the 'soc' of another hide there.

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Costentyn 3 small virgates. There also Harold half a hide.¹

In STANEWIGGE [Stanwick] Ascelin 1 hide and 1 virgate and a half of the fee of (Peter)-borough.²

In YRENCESTRE [Irchester] Nicholas le Sauvage half a hide of the fee of Wahill.³

In COTES [Cotton] Gilbert Fitz Richard 1 hide (and) a half and 1 small virgate of the fee of Deneford.⁴

In another COTES Frumbold de Deneford half a hide of the same fee.⁴

In COTES John Bidoun 1 hide (and) a half and 1 virgate and a half.⁴

In RINGSTEDE Gilbert Fitz Richard 4 small virgates of the fee of Deneford.⁴

In RAUNDES (*sic*). There also Gilbert 4 small virgates of the same fee. There also Robert the King's son, of the fee of Gloucester, 2 hides (and) a half.⁵

In KNOSTON [Knuston] Frumbold 1 hide and a half and 1 great virgate.⁶

In the demesne of William Peverel 33 hides (and) a half and half a virgate.

In BOSEYATE [Bozeat] (are) 3 small virgates of the fee of William Peverel.⁷

HUNDRED OF NEUBOTLEGRAVE

In DAYLINGTON [Dallington] (there are) 4 hides of the fee of the abbot of (Peter)-borough.⁸

In DUSTON (there are) 4 hides of the fee of William Peverel.⁹

In UPTON the King has 2 hides (and) a half.¹⁰

In HOREPOL [Harpole] (there are) 4 hides of the fee of Beuver [Belvoir]. Peter 1 hide (and) a half. Also another (*aliud*) of the fee of Peverel.¹¹

In KYSELINGBYR[IE] (there are) 3 hides (and) a half of the fee of Gilbert de Gaunt.¹² There also the earl of Leicester half a hide.¹³

In BUCKEBROK [Bugbrooke] (there are) 4 hides of the fee of Mortain (*morenc*).¹⁴

In HEYFORD there are 4 hides.¹⁵

In CLACHETORP [Clasthorp] and in LITTLE HEYFORD (there are) 4 hides.¹⁶

¹ At Hargrave Domesday mentions only half a hide, which Eustace held of William Peverel.

² This holding, as 1 hide and 1 virgate, was 'in demesne' at the time of Domesday. It must be the 'one hide and one virgate' which Ascelin (de Waterville) is found holding by payment of ten shillings a year, apart from the manors which he held by knight-service. (*Chronicon Petroburgense*, p. 170.)

³ This appears to represent the $2\frac{1}{2}$ virgates there held in 1086, not by the lord of 'Wahill,' but by 'Robert' under the count of Mortain. Domesday assigns also to William Peverel $1\frac{3}{4}$ hides 'de soca' there.

⁴ Domesday assigns to the bishop of Coutances 6 hides and a virgate and a half in Raunds and 5 hides in Denford. These holdings had been broken up since his fief had escheated to the Crown, and this Survey treats of Denford under Ringstead and Cotton (see also p. 389 below).

⁵ The entry 'Robert the King's son' must have been made before Robert was created earl of Gloucester.

⁶ This must represent the 1 hide and 3 virgates held of Gunfrei de 'Cioches' there, by Winemar, in 1086.

⁷ Held of William Peverel, as a virgate and a half, by Turstin in 1086.

⁸ Held by 'Richard' of the abbot of Peterborough in 1086.

⁹ So also in Domesday.

¹⁰ Entered as 2 hides in Domesday.

¹¹ These entries are very obscure. Domesday gives under Harpole only $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides which were held by William Peverel. It would seem as if the text of this Survey were corrupt. In that case its meaning may be that of 4 hides in Harpole, Peter held $1\frac{1}{2}$ of the fee of Belvoir, while the rest ($2\frac{1}{2}$) was of the fee of Peverel. But the former holding cannot be found in Domesday.

¹² Held by Gilbert de 'Gand' in 1086.

¹³ Part of the Mortain fief in 1086.

¹⁴ Held by the count of Mortain in 1086.

¹⁵ Domesday assigns there $2\frac{3}{8}$ to the bishop of Bayeux, $1\frac{3}{8}$ to Gilbert de Gaunt, and $\frac{5}{8}$ hide to the count of Mortain, in Nether Heyford.

¹⁶ The count of Mortain held $1\frac{1}{4}$ hides and William Peverel half a hide in Clasthorp,

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In FLORA Otuer 4 small virgates of the fee of Earl Geoffrey.¹ There also Aunsel de Chokes 1 hide and (1) virgate² anciently (*antiquo*). There also Ralf Fitz Sewan, of the fee of Peverel, half a hide.³ There also Hugh de Chaney 1 hide and 4 small virgates of the fee of Kaynes.⁴

In BROCKEHOLE [Brockhall] and in MUSECOTE Ralf de Gaynes 1 hide of the fee of Gaynes.⁵ There also Gervase Samson 1 hide of the fee of War[wick].⁶

In NEUBOTTLE and in BRYNTON [Brington] there are 6 hides.

In WHELTON [Whilton] (there is) 1 hide of the fee of R[oger] de Moubray.⁷

In RAVENESTORP and in CHETA [Teton] 4 hides of the fee of Peverel.⁸

In HALDENEY [Holdenby] (there are) 3 hides of the fee of the earl of Leicester.⁹

and the Count $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides in Upper Heyford, in 1086. The above arrangement of Heyford and Clasthorp in two groups of exactly 4 hides each should be observed. The Domesday total for the two seems to be $7\frac{5}{12}$ hides.

¹ Otuer de Boville (compare p. 368, note ⁴ above) is here entered as holding of the fee of Earl Geoffrey (of Essex), earl William's predecessor.

² Held as such by Gunfrei de Cioches in 1086.

³ William Peverel's in 1086.

⁴ In Domesday William de Cahainges (the same name) held 1 hide there *in capite* and 3 virgates of the count of Mortain.

⁵ Entered in Domesday as 3 virgates held of the count of Mortain by William (de Cahainges). 'Gaynes' is Cahagnes.

⁶ This holding is found in 24 Ed. I. as '7 virgates held by John Gerveys of the fee of Warwick.'

⁷ Held of the count of Mortain by 'Alan' in 1086.

⁸ Domesday assigns to William Peverel $1\frac{1}{4}$ hides in Ravensthorp and 2 hides in Teton, all which was held of him by 'Drogo.'

⁹ This must be the '2 hides and 1 virgate' which Domesday assigns to the count of Mortain in 'Aldenesbi.'

This Survey throws no light on the identity of the 'Aldenestone' which is entered in Domesday (fo. 224) immediately before East Haddon, and was then held by the count of Mortain as 1 hide and 3 vir-

In HADDON [East Haddon] the same earl 4 hides.¹⁰

In BRAMPTON the same earl 4 hides.¹¹

In HERLESTON [Harlestone] (there are) 3 hides.¹²

In HOLTROP [Althorpe] 1 hide and 1 small virgate of the fee of Berkamstede.¹³

HUNDRED OF GILDESBORU

In GILDESBORU [Guilsborough] William Fitz Aldred' (*sic*) 3 great virgates (and) a half of the fee of Peverel.¹⁴ There also the priest 1 small virgate of the fee of the earl of Leicester.¹⁵

In HOLEWELLE [Hollowell] the bishop of Lincoln 1 hide and the third part of a hide.¹⁶ Robert de Dyva is the tenant. There also the earl of Leicester 3 small virgates. There also, of the fee of Peverel, 5 small virgates.¹⁷

In NORTOFT Coleman half a hide of the

gates. It should, however, be observed that, adding this assessment to the above 2 hides and 1 virgate, we obtain exactly 4 hides, which is the *normal* assessment of a vill in this Hundred. This rather confirms Mr. Stuart Moore's suggestion that 'Aldenestone' was part of Holdenby.

¹⁰ This is the total of the count of Mortain's holdings there in 1086.

¹¹ Domesday assigns to the count of Mortain there a holding of 4 hides less 5 acres and another of half a hide.

¹² Domesday gives four holdings there reckoned in all at $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 1 virgate (*i.e.* $3\frac{3}{4}$ hides).

¹³ The count of Mortain is only assigned $\frac{2}{3}$ hide here ('Olletorp') in Domesday.

¹⁴ Which his father Alvred (the butler of the count of Mortain) had held of William Peverel as $3\frac{1}{2}$ virgates in 1086.

¹⁵ The church, with 1 virgate, at Guilsborough was held by the count of Mortain in 1086 as a dependency of Nortofo.

¹⁶ Domesday assigns $1\frac{2}{3}$ hide here to the bishop of Lincoln.

¹⁷ Domesday assigns to the count of Mortain (the earl of Leicester's predecessor) only two-thirds of a virgate, and to William Peverel only 1 virgate here. But it enters a certain Gilbert also as holding two-thirds of a virgate.

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fee of Peverel.¹ There also the earl of Leicester 2 hides and 1 great virgate.²

In COTESBROK [Cottesbrook] Robert Botevileyn 2 hides of the fee of Wahill'.³

In CRETON [Creton Magna] Aunsel de Chokes 1 hide.⁴

In another CRETON [Creton Parva] Herbert half a hide of the fee of Ralf de Gaynes.⁵

In WESTHADDON Hugh the sheriff 2 hides (and) 1 great virgate.⁶ There also Peverel 1 great virgate and a half.⁷ There also Aunsel de Chokes 1 great virgate.⁸ There also the earl of Leicester half a hide. There also Nigel de Albeny half a hide of the fee of Roger de Mowbray.⁹

In WATFORD (there are) 4 hides of the fee of Baldwin Fitz Gilbert.¹⁰

In BUCKEY Serles (*sic*) de Quency 2 hides (and) a half and 1 great virgate of the fee of Aunsel de Chokes.¹¹ There also William Fitz Alvred (*Alfridi*) half a hide of the fee of Montacute (*Montis acuti*).¹² There also the earl of Leicester 3 great virgates.¹³

In CREK [Crick] Roger de Caunvill' 3 hides (and) a half and 1 great virgate of the fee of Roger de Mowbray.¹⁴

In LILLEBURN and COTES [Claycoton] the earl of Leicester 4 hides.¹⁵ There also William son of Alvred (*Alfridi*) 1 great virgate.¹⁶

In STANFORD the abbot of Selby (*Seleby*) 2 hides.¹⁷

In WELLEFORD [Welford] William de Wyvill 4 hides and 1 great virgate of the fee of Roger de Mowbray¹⁸ of Gildetote [*? Chilcote*]. There also Ad[am] 1 hide (and) a half of the fee of Baldwin Fitz Gilbert.

In GELVERTOFT [Yelvertoft] (there are) 2 hides and the third part of 1 hide of the fee of the earl of Leicester.¹⁹ There also Ralf Fitz Osmund half a hide of the fee of William Fitz Alvred.²⁰

In ELTESDON' [Elkington] Hugh the sheriff 1 hide (and) a half. The monks of Pippe- well are the tenants.²¹ There also Hugh 1 great virgate of the fee of Westminster. There also Hugh de Kaynes 4 small virgates.²² There also Nigel de Aubeny 2 small virgates of the fee of Welleford'.²³

¹ Held of William Peverel by a socman, in 1086, as a dependency of Cotton-under-Guilsborough.

² Which his predecessor the count of Mortain had held as 2 hides in 1086.

³ In 1086 Dodin had held 1½ hides there of the lord of Wahill and half a hide of the King himself.

⁴ Held by Gunfrei de 'Cioches' in 1086.

⁵ Held of the count of Mortain by William (de 'Cahainges') in 1086. 'Gaynes' is the same as 'Cahainges.'

⁶ This holding seems to represent the 2 hides here assigned by Domesday to 'the church of Coventry.'

⁷ William Peverel's in 1086.

⁸ Held by Gunfrei de 'Cioches' in 1086.

⁹ This probably means that half a hide had been given there to Nigel, and had descended to his son Roger de Mowbray.

¹⁰ Domesday assigns to Gilbert only 2 hides there.

¹¹ Held in 1086 by Gunfrei de 'Cioches' as 2 hides and a virgate and half a hide of soc(land).

¹² Held by his father Alvred of the count of Mortain, as 3 virgates, in 1086, unless this was the holding which follows.

¹³ It should be observed that this holding, which cannot be identified in Domesday, makes up exactly 4 hides for Buckby.

¹⁴ This was part of the escheated fief of Geoffrey de Wirce, who held there 4 hides less a virgate (the same amount as above) in 1086.

¹⁵ This included 2½ hides at Lilbourne, part of the escheated fief of Earl Aubrey, but the balance is not accounted for by the 3½ virgates of William Peverel, which is all that Domesday assigns to Coton.

¹⁶ Which his father Alvred held of the count of Mortain in 1086.

¹⁷ Two hides less a virgate in Domesday.

¹⁸ This was held, as 4 hides, of Geoffrey de Wirce by 'Alfridus' in 1086.

¹⁹ Robert (of Rhuddlan) held them of Earl Hugh (of Chester), as 2 hides and 1 virgate, in 1086.

²⁰ Held by Alvred of the count of Mortain, as 3 virgates, in 1086.

²¹ Hugh's holdings here amount to 1 hide and 3 virgates, which was the amount here held of the count of Mortain, in 1086, by Alvred.

²² Possibly what was held of Guy de 'Reinbuedcurt' by 'Turchil' in 1086 as three-quarters of a virgate.

²³ This was the 'quarter virgate' entered

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In ESSEBY [Cold Ashby] 2 hides (and) a half of the fee of Coventre.¹ There also Henry de Mundevill' 1 great virgate of the fee of Peverel.² There also Hugh de Kaynes 3 great virgates.³ There also Robert half a hide of the fee of Welleford.⁴

In WYNEWYK [Winwick] (there are) 3 hides and 1 great virgate of the fee of Coventre.⁵ There also Robert Alegod 8 small virgates⁶ of the fee of Peverel.

In NAVESBYA [Naseby] (there are) 7 (hides) of the fee of Peverel.⁷

In TURLEBI [Thornby] 1 hide (and) a half of the fee of the earl of Leicester. There also Robert Fitz Alegod 1 hide of the fee of Peverel.⁸ There also (is) half a hide according to the rolls of Winchester (*per rotulos Wyncestrie*).⁹

In COTES [Cotton-under-Guilsborough] Robert Halegod' 4 virgates (and) a half.¹⁰

HUNDRED OF MALLESL[E]

In HOUTON' [Hanging Houghton], of the fee of St. Edmund, 1 hide.¹¹ There also

in Domesday as appurtenant here to Geoffrey de Wirce's manor of Welford. This is an entry of importance, because it implies that Roger de Mowbray had been preceded in his tenure of the forfeited lands of Geoffrey de Wirce by his father Nigel de Albini.

¹ As in Domesday.

² Held by William Peverel, as 1½ virgates, in 1086.

³ Held of the count of Mortain by William (de Cahagnes) as half a hide in 1086.

⁴ Appurtenant to Geoffrey de Wirce's manor of Welford, as 2½ virgates, in 1086.

It should be observed that the total of the holdings is 4 hides in this Survey, as in Domesday. Yet the figures are different for the last three.

⁵ The same in Domesday.

⁶ Entered in Domesday as 3 virgates.

⁷ The same in Domesday.

⁸ Entered in Domesday as dependent on Cotton(-under-Guilsborough).

⁹ Domesday enters this half hide as a second holding of William Peverel there.

¹⁰ Entered as 3½ virgates in Domesday, where it is held by William Peverel. The tenant is the Robert 'Alegod' of the Winwick entry, and the Robert 'Fitz Alegod' of the Thornby one.

¹¹ Domesday makes it 1 hide and half a virgate.

'Rocinus' 1 hide and 3 virgates of the fee of Berkamstede.¹² There also 1 hide and 1 virgate of the fee of king David.¹³

In LANGEPORT [Lampton] Simon Malesov[er]es 4 hides of the fee of Wahill'.¹⁴ There also of the socage of St. Edmund half a hide.¹⁵

In SCALDEWELL' Aubrey [*Albrem*] 3 great virgates of the fee of Oxford.¹⁶ There also of the fee of St. Edmund 1 hide (and) a half and 1 great virgate.¹⁷ There also king David 2 hides (and) a half and 1 virgate.¹⁸

In WALDE [Wold] Earl Aubrey (*Com' Abbemar'*) 4 hides and 4 (*sic*) virgates of the fee of Oxford.¹⁹

In FAXTONE (there are) 2 hides (and) a half of the fee of Baillol.²⁰

In WALDEGRAVE [Walgrave] Henry 3 hides (and) a half and 1 great virgate of the fee of king David.²¹ There also Henry de

¹² The count of Mortain's in Domesday.

¹³ Countess Judith's in Domesday. The above three holdings, it will be seen, amount to just 4 hides.

¹⁴ Held of the lord of 'Wahill,' as 4 hides and 1 virgate by Fulcher in 1086.

¹⁵ Entered as 1 virgate and 1 bovat in Domesday (Domesday also assigns 1 bovat there to Countess Judith).

¹⁶ This entry identifies as Aubrey de Vere the 'Albericus' who held 3 virgates there of the bishop of Coutances in 1086. Compare p. 362 and note 7 on p. 367 above.

¹⁷ The same in Domesday (1 hide and 3 virgates).

¹⁸ Held in 1086 by Countess Judith as 2 hides and 1 virgate.

¹⁹ This entry illustrates by the Earl's name the corruptness of the text in places. I have shown above (p. 362) that the above holding probably includes the 2½ hides held, with 3 virgates at Scaldwell, by 'Aubrey' of the bishop of Coutances, although Domesday assigns them to Wadenhoe. The addition of the Crown's share of Wold would about give him the holding, which is represented in the text by that of his heir, Aubrey earl of Oxford.

²⁰ This was the King's in Domesday, and had been granted to Balliol since.

²¹ Held of the Countess Judith by Fulcher, as 3 hides and 3 virgates, in 1086.

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Tracy 3 virgates of the socage of Foxton.¹ There also the earl of Leicester half a hide.²

In BRIKELESWORTH [Brixworth] Simon Fitz Simon 8 hides (and) a half of the fee of Corcy. There also Alfred 1 hide and 1 virgate of the fee of Salesbyrs (*sic*).³

In THORP' by Northampton [Kingsthorpe] 5 hides less 1 virgate.⁴

In MULTON, of the socage of Torp' 1 hide (and) a half and (a) bovate.⁵ And in WESTON 1 hide.⁵

HUNDRED OF SPELEHO

In ABENDON' [Abington] Humfrey de Bas-singburne 4 hides.⁶

In WESTON Richard 4 hides.⁷

In BILLINGGE PARVA (there are) 4 hides.⁸

In BILLINGGE MAGNA (there are) 4 hides.⁹

In OVESTON' [Overstone] Gilbert de Milers 4 hides.¹⁰

In MULTON 2 hides and 4 small virgates of

the fee of Richard de (*sic*) Engayne.¹¹ There also Guy de Baillol 1 hide (and) a half and 1 small virgate of the fee of Foxton [Faxton].¹² There also Richard de le Pek 4 hides of the fee of king David.¹³

In BOKETON [Boughton] (there are) three hides and 3 small virgates of the fee of the monks of St. Wandrille (*Wandragesile*).¹⁴

In PITTESFORD [Pitsford] Henry Malesures and Philip 3 hides (and) a half of the fee of Wahill.¹⁵ There also the earl of Leicester 6 small virgates.¹⁶

In SPROTTON [Spratton] (there are) 9 small virgates of the fee of king David.¹⁷ There also, of the fee of Richard Basset, 3 small

found holding it of the heir of William d'Avranches, as a Mortain fee. It must therefore have been held by the count of Mortain in 1086, and granted out afresh, like Sywell, as an escheat.

¹¹ Held of Robert de Buci by William (Engaine), as 2 hides and 1½ virgates, in 1086.

¹² Faxton carried with it, in Domesday, lands in Wold and Walgrave. As our Survey records those at Walgrave as '3 virgates of the socage of Faxton,' it looks as if the above entry might refer to the 2½ hides, which balance Domesday seems to assign to Wold, unless they are already accounted for under Wold above.

The arrangement in Domesday is very different from that in our Survey, which groups Multon in two halves of 4 hides each (in addition to the portion belonging, as above, to Kingsthorpe).

¹³ Richard's predecessor Grimbald had held only 3½ hides of the Countess Judith there in 1086, but the 3 virgates wanting, to complete the 4 hides, were held of her by two other tenants.

¹⁴ Domesday only assigns them 3 hides less half a virgate (by Countess Judith's gift), but enters 4½ virgates there as held of the Countess by tenants, which would make up 4 hides. Domesday, however, also gives 4 virgates there as held of the King (fo. 222b) and of Robert de Buci.

¹⁵ Fulcher (Malsor) held 3 hides and 1 virgate there of the lord of 'Wahill' in 1086.

¹⁶ This represents the count of Mortain's holding there in Domesday, where, however, it is given as only 1 virgate.

¹⁷ Held of the Countess Judith, as 1 hide, by Rohais in 1086.

¹ Domesday enters as appurtenant to Faxton 2 hides and 3½ virgates in Wold and Walgrave.

² Which Robert had held of the count of Mortain in 1086.

³ Here is more alienation of Crown demesne. All Brixworth had belonged to the King in 1086, when it was entered as of 9½ hides. De Courcy's share may have been granted in the first instance to William Meschin.

⁴ 4 hides and 3 virgates (the same amount) in Domesday.

⁵ Entered in Domesday, for the same amount, as appurtenant to Kingsthorpe.

⁶ Richard [Engaine] held them in 1086.

⁷ These 4 hides seem to be represented in Domesday by the 1 hide appurtenant to the king's manor of (Kings)thorpe (see note ⁵ above) and the 2½ hides of the count of Mortain (fo. 223); but this leaves the Count's 2½ hides on fo. 224 unaccounted for.

⁸ Domesday assigns 3 hides 1½ virgates there to Gunfrei de Cioches and 2½ virgates to the count of Mortain. This would account for exactly 4 hides. But Domesday also assigns the Count 4½ virgates there which are surplus.

⁹ Held by Gilbert the Cook in 1086.

¹⁰ Overston is not mentioned in Domesday; but the Millers family are subsequently

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virgates.¹ There also the earl of Leicester 2 hides (and) a half and 1 great virgate.²

HUNDRED OF ANFORDESHO

In WENBUGBURG' [Wellingborough] of (the fee of) Croylaunde 5 hides (and) a half.³ There also Nicholas de Cogeho 3 great virgates of the fee of king David.⁴ There also the earl of Leicester 1 hide.⁵

In HERDWYK' [Hardwick] (are) small virgates of the fee of king David.⁶

In EKETON [Ecton] (are) 4 hides of the fee of the earl de Ferrers. William de Mungom[er]y is the tenant.⁷

In SIWELL [Sywell] the monks of Northampton and the nuns of Elstow (*Aunestowe*) 4 hides.⁸

In HOLECOTE [Holcot] Ad[am] 2 hides (and) a half and 1 small virgate of the fee of William de Curcy.⁹ There also 1 hide and 4 small virgates of the fee of king David.¹⁰

In ESSEBY [Mears Ashby] are 4 hides of the fee of king David.¹¹

In WYLEBY [Wilby] (are) 4 hides of the fee of king David.¹¹

In DODINGTON [Duddington] (are) 4 hides of the fee of king David.¹¹

¹ Held by 'Ralf' of Robert de Buci, as 1 virgate and 1 bovat, in 1086.

² Held of the count of Mortain, as 3 hides less a virgate (the same amount), by William and Durand in 1086.

³ So also in Domesday.

⁴ This is the amount assigned to Countess Judith there in 1086.

⁵ The only other holding at Wellingborough entered in Domesday is 1 virgate held of the bishop of Coutances.

⁶ Entered in Domesday as 1 hide.

⁷ These four hides were held of the Ferrers' fee by Ralf in 1086. Walter de Mungomery held four knights' fees of the Earl in 1166, but William seems to have been his tenant in 1177.

⁸ Held in demesne by the Count of Mortain as 4 hides in 1086.

⁹ Entered in Domesday as 2 hides and 2½ virgates appurtenant to Brixworth (which, as has been seen above) had passed to Curcy.

¹⁰ Held by Hugh of the Countess Judith as 1 hide and 1½ virgates in 1086.

¹¹ Countess Judith's in 1086.

In (Earl's) BARTON (are) 4 hides of the fee of king David.¹¹

HUNDRED OF ORLINGBERGE

In ORLINGBERGE [Orlingbury] Fucher Malesou[re]s 1 hide of the fee of Wahill.¹² There also 1 hide (and) a half of the fee of William de Curcy.¹³

In WYMALE [Withmale] 1 hide (and) a half and 1 virgate of the fee of Wahill.¹⁴

In BATESHASEL MALESOU[RE]s [Ratsaddle (Lodge)]¹⁵ half a hide of the fee of Wahill'.

In HYSHAM [Isham] Henry de Ysham 2 hides and the third part of 1 hide of the fee of Daundevill'.¹⁶ There also Thomas Pyel 1 hide (and) a half (and) 2 small virgates and a half of the fee of Rameshe.¹⁷ There also Geoffrey 6 small virgates of the fee of Huntingdon.¹⁸

In CRANESLE [Cransley] Hugh Kyde 1 hide (and) a half and 1 bovat and a half

¹² See note below on Withmale.

¹³ Domesday assigns to the count of Mortain 3 virgates in Orlingbury, which Fulcher (? Malsor) held of him. But it also assigns to him 3 virgates (held by Fulcher) in Pytchley, which are not accounted for there below, and may here be reckoned in Orlingbury.

¹⁴ Fulcher (Malsor) held of the lord of Wahill' 2½ hides in 'Widmale' according to Domesday. This Survey shows us that, of these, 1 hide was in Orlingbury and 1½ in Withmale.

¹⁵ Between Pytchley and Hannington.

¹⁶ This holding must have been made up of the 3 virgates which Walchelin held of the bishop of Coutances there and the 1 hide and 2½ virgates which Ralf held of Guy de Reinbuedcurt there, in 1086, which would amount together to 2 hides and 1½ virgates. In 24 Ed. I. Henry de Isham is found holding 1¾ hides here of Alexander 'Daundewye,' who held of Latimer (heir, through Foliot, of Reinbuedcurt). Thus 'Daundevill'' was only a mesne tenant.

¹⁷ This was the 1 hide and 2½ virgates which Domesday charges Eustace (the sheriff) with seizing from Ramsey Abbey, and which the Abbey had now regained. See Ramsey Cartulary, III. 55, 211, for Thomas Pyel's tenure there.

¹⁸ Domesday assigns nothing there to Countess Judith.

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of the fee of Chok[es].¹ There also Ralf Meschin 5 small virgates of the fee of Geytington [Geddington].² There also John le Bauld 1 great virgate. There also Foliot 2 hides (and) a half and 1 small virgate of the fee of Huntingdon.³

In PYTESLE [Pytchley] the abbot of (Peter)borough 5 hides (and) a half, but (there are) nevertheless in the rolls of Winchester 6 hides and 3 small virgates.⁴ There also Richard Engayne 3 hides (and) 1 virgate.⁵ There also William Fitz Gery half a hide of the fee of Mortain.⁶

In HARUDON [Harrowden] Reygold 1 hide of the fee of William de Curcy. There also Geoffrey 2 hides and (*sic*) one bovat less of the fee of Huntingdon. There also Nicholas de Cugeho 1 hide of the King's fee.⁷

In HAM'TON⁸ [Hannington] (is) half a hide of the fee of the earl of Leicester.⁹ There

also a hide and a half of the fee of king David.¹⁰

HUNDRED OF STOTFOLDE

In MAYDEWELL [Maidwell] Alan 4 hides and 2 small virgates of the fee of Wolrington' [Wolverton].¹¹ There also Robate (*sic*) 2 hides of the fee of Rannulf de Bayouse [Bayeux].¹²

In KEYLMERS [Kelmarsh] the same (holds) half a hide of the fee of St. Edmund.¹³ There also of the fee of No(t)tingham 1 hide (and) a half and half a virgate.¹⁴ There also, of the socage of Geytington' [Geddington], half a hide and 1 small virgate.¹⁵ There also Eudo Fitz Haschul' 1 hide and 1 small virgate of the socage of Rowell [Rothwell].¹⁶ There also Ad[am] 5 small virgates of the fee of king David.¹⁷

In HASELBECH the bishop of Salisbury 2 hides of the fee of Berkamstede. There also the earl of Leicester 1 hide of the fee of Mor[tain].¹⁸

¹ Held as $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides by Gunfrei de Cioches in 1086.

² 2 hides and 1 virgate there constituted a member of Geddington in 1086. The above tenant would be Ranulf Meschin, *temp.* Henry I.

³ Only 1 hide is assigned by Domesday to Countess Judith at Cransley. The Domesday total for Cransley is $4\frac{3}{4}$ hides, and that of this Survey 4 hides, 1 great virgate, 6 small virgates, and a bovat and a half. The holdings seem to have been redistributed.

⁴ Domesday (here termed 'the rolls of Winchester') assigns to the abbot at Pytchley, in all, 6 hides and 3 virgates (not, as the Survey states, 'small' virgates).

⁵ Domesday assigns to William (Engayne) only 2 hides there.

⁶ Held as 3 virgates by the count of Mortain in 1086. It will be observed that these two holdings in Pytchley exceed the Domesday assessment, while the Peterborough one is less. The deficit of $1\frac{1}{4}$ hides on the Peterborough holding is exactly equal to the increase on that of Richard Engayne.

⁷ Domesday assigns $2\frac{3}{4}$ hides in Harrowden Magna and $2\frac{3}{4}$ hides in Harrowden Parva to the bishop of Coutances and 1 hide in Harrowden Magna to Guy de Reinbuedcurt. This is a larger total than the above, and the holdings had been redistributed.

⁸ *i.e.* 'Hani[n]ton.'

⁹ The count of Mortain's in Domesday.

¹⁰ Only three virgates were held here by Countess Judith in Domesday.

¹¹ This is entered in Domesday as 4 hides and $\frac{2}{3}$ virgate. It was then held by Maino (the Breton) lord of Wolverton.

¹² This represents the Domesday holding of Ansgar the chaplain ($1\frac{3}{4}$ hides). The tenant was ancestor of the family of Rabaz here.

¹³ For all these holdings Domesday gives nothing but 2 hides and a third of a virgate, which formed, in 1086, a member of the King's manor of Rothwell.

¹⁴ Held by William Peverel (of Nottingham) in 1086 as 1 hide and a half and a third of a virgate.

¹⁵ See note to this manor ('Esbece') in Domesday text (p. 323). The count of Mortain held all 3 hides in 1086.

¹⁶ Entered in Domesday as $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides and $\frac{1}{4}$ virgate. In the above entry the name of the Domesday tenant-in-chief seems to be retained, and the words 'of the fee of Peverel' added.

¹⁷ This is clearly the bishop of Coutances' Domesday holding there, which is entered as half a hide and $\frac{3}{4}$ virgate.

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tington [Geddington], 5 small virgates.¹ There also Maurice 10 small virgates of the fee of St. Edmund.² There also, of the socage of Rowell [Rothwell] 1 small virgate.¹

In SOLEBY [Sulby] (are) 5 hides and 1 virgate of the fee of Westminster.³

In SIBERTOFT (are) 2 hides and a half and 2 thirds of a virgate of the fee of the King's serjeanty.⁴

In OXENDON' (are) 1 hide and 1 virgate of the socage of Rowell [Rothwell].⁵ There also 1 hide of the fee of king David.⁶

In OXENDON' PARVA Robert Fitz-Hugh 1 hide and three-quarters of a virgate of the fee of Berkamstede.⁷ There also, of the socage of Geytington [Geddington], 2 small virgates. There also Turberd 1 small virgate.

In FARENDON' [East Farndon] 1 hide and the fourth part of 1 virgate of the fee of Huntingdon.⁸ There also Robert Fitz Hugh 3 virgates and three-quarters of one small virgate of the fee of St. Edmund.⁹ There also William Meschin 1 small virgate of the socage of Geytington [Geddington].

In BOWDON [Bowdon Parva] Robert Fitz Hugh 2 hides and 1 virgate and the third part of 1 virgate of the fee of Berkamstede.¹⁰

¹ Entered together, under Rothwell, in Domesday as $1\frac{1}{2}$ (large) virgates.

² Entered in Domesday as $2\frac{1}{2}$ virgates.

³ At Sulby, in 1086, $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides and $\frac{1}{8}$ virgate were held by Guy de Reinbuedcurt and $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides by Geoffrey de Wirce.

⁴ Held by Humfrey of the count of Mortain, as 3 hides less a virgate, in 1086. The above 'serjeanty' was archer service, which gave name to the family of Le Archer here.

⁵ As in Domesday.

⁶ Held by Ulf of the Countess Judith in 1086.

⁷ Held by the count of Mortain as 1 hide and $\frac{1}{3}$ virgate in 1086.

⁸ Domesday assigns to the count of Mortain $3\frac{1}{3}$ virgates in Farndon, and to the Countess Judith 1 virgate. King David's holding (the fee of Huntingdon), appears to combine these.

⁹ Entered in Domesday as half a hide and the third part of a virgate.

¹⁰ Held as such by the count of Mortain in 1086.

There also king David 1 hide and the third part of 1 virgate and the third part of the third part of 1 virgate.¹¹

In THORP [Thorpe Lubenham] the earl of Leicester 4 great virgates and the third part of a virgate.¹²

In M[ER]STON [Marston Trussell] the same earl 1 hide and a half and two-thirds of 1 virgate which Osbert Trussel holds.¹³

HUNDRED OF ROWELL

In HETHERINGTON¹³ [Harrington] William Fitz Alvred (?) 6 hides.¹⁴

In BRAYBROKE 2 hides of the socage of Heth[er]ington.¹⁵ There also Guy the cook 1 hide.¹⁶ There also Peverel the third part of 1 hide.¹⁷ There also Ivo 2 hides with the addition (*implemento*) of 2 virgates of the land of Peverel and with half a virgate of the fee of St. Edmund.¹⁸

In ARINGWORTHE [Arthingworth] Robert Fitz Hugh and William Fitz Albein (*sic*)

¹¹ This seems to be unaccounted for in Domesday.

¹² Both these were held by the Earl's predecessor, Hugh de 'Grentemaisnil,' in 1086, their joint assessment then being 2 hides and $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, and their tenant 'Hugh.' In this Survey their total assessment is $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 1 virgate.

¹³ This early form of the name is found also in a deed of 1278 concerning the manor (Sloane MS. xxxii. 24).

¹⁴ See note to this place in Domesday text. It was held in 1086 by the abbey of Grestain as $5\frac{1}{3}$ hides.

¹⁵ These 2 hides also were held by the abbey of Grestain in 1086.

¹⁶ This was probably the 1 hide held there by Robert de Veci in 1086.

¹⁷ See next note.

¹⁸ This holding appears to represent the 1 hide $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates held there by Countess Judith in 1086 with the addition, as above, of $2\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, which would make it exactly 2 hides. No land at Braybrooke is assigned to Peverel in Domesday, but Robert de Buci held there half a hide and a third of a hide, which are exactly the holdings here assigned to Peverel. It would seem then that Robert's escheated fiefs here had been granted to Peverel. The half virgate of St. Edmund's fee is duly assigned to that abbey in Domesday.

THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE SURVEY

2 hides and two-thirds of 1 hide of the fee of Berkamstede. There also Peter 1 virgate.¹

In ROWELL' [Rothwell] and in OVERTON [Orton] and in LODINGTON Eudo de Haschull' 9 hides and 1 small virgate. In LODINGTON William the constable 3 virgates, of which Robert le Baud is tenant.²

In DESEBURG' [Desborough] Norman and Reg[inald] race (*sic*) 2 hides and two-thirds of 1 hide.³

In PIPPEWELL Robert Fitz Hugh half a hide and the third part of one hide. There also William de Aubeny half a hide. According to (*per*) another roll 1 hide and three-quarters of a hide.⁴

In RISTON [Rushton] Andrew 2 hides (and) a half and the third part of a hide of the fee of king David.⁵ There also Robert Basset 1 hide (and) a half and 1 small virgate of the fee of William de Aubeny.⁶ There also Viel (*Vitalis*) Engayne two-thirds of a hide which Viel (*Vitalis*) Lovet held (*sic*).⁷ There also

Sigric (*Siricius*) Bucar' the sixth part of a hide. There also, of the socage of Geytington [Geddington], 1 small virgate and a half.⁸ Roger de Cranesle was (*sic*) the tenant.

In BEREฟอร์ด [Barford] (is) 1 hide of the socage of Geytington [Geddington].⁹

In CLENDON', of the same socage, half a hide.¹⁰ There also Sigric (*Siricius*) Bucar' half a hide and half a virgate of the fee of William (Fitz) Alvred.¹¹ There also Ralf Normann' half a hide and half a virgate of the socage of Rowell' [Rothwell].¹²

In THORP' [Thorpe Malsor] Fucher' Malesoures 1 hide and the third part of a hide of the fee of Avenel William (*Will'i*).¹³

In another THORP' [Thorpe Underwood?] Hervey Belet two-thirds of 1 hide.

In DRAYTON' [Draughton] 1 hide and half a virgate of the fee of Rowell' [Rothwell].¹⁴ There also Corbet half a hide and three-quarters of 1 virgate of the fee of king David.¹⁵ There also William Durdent 1 great virgate of the fee of Menfelyn of Wolverington [Wolverton].¹⁶

¹ The first holding represents the 2 hides and $1\frac{2}{3}$ virgate (which is 1 virgate short) held there by Humfrey of the count of Mortain in 1086. Domesday also assigns half a virgate there to the Crown and the same amount to St. Edmund's Abbey.

² This was an alienation of Crown demesne. The King had held in Rothwell and Orton, with their dependent estate at Loddington, 10 hides in 1086, and this total is practically that of the holdings given above.

³ Desborough was much divided in 1086. Ambrose held $1\frac{1}{4}$ hides of William Peverel, Robert de Todeni half a hide, Alan a virgate of the count of Mortain, and the Crown half a virgate. Total $2\frac{1}{8}$ hides.

⁴ According to Domesday, Dodin held of Walter the lord of Wahull half a hide in Pipewell, and Humfrey of the count of Mortain a third of a hide there. The remaining holding was the half hide which 'Roger' held of Robert de 'Todeni,' and which had now come to the latter's successor, William de Aubeny ('Brito') of Belvoir. The 'other roll' and its entry cannot be explained; but this may imply that the total assessment is elsewhere stated to be $1\frac{3}{4}$ hides, not $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides.

⁵ The same amount was held there of the Countess Judith by Eustace in 1086.

⁶ Held of Robert de 'Todeni' by 'Hugh,' as $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, in 1086.

⁷ This represents the half hide and the

(waste) virgate which William (Engayne) held of Robert de Buci there in 1086.

⁸ The remaining holdings entered in Domesday at Rushton are half a virgate appurtenant to the King's manor of Barford (in Rushton), and half a virgate held by the Abbey of Grestain (see note ¹⁰ below).

⁹ Entered as an independent manor in Domesday.

¹⁰ Domesday enters half a hide and a third of a hide here as appurtenant to the King's manor of Rothwell. This Survey gives half a hide and half a virgate as appurtenant to Rothwell, and half a hide as appurtenant to Geddington.

¹¹ Held by the abbey of Grestain as half a hide and a third of a hide in 1086. This proves that Sigric's holding in Rushton was also that of the abbey of Grestain.

¹² See note ⁹ above.

¹³ Held, as 1 hide and the third part of a hide, of the count of Mortain by Fulcherus in 1086. See note to 'Alidetorp' in Domesday text (p. 327 above).

¹⁴ As in Domesday.

¹⁵ Held of the Countess Judith, as $2\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, in 1086.

¹⁶ Entered in Domesday as appurtenant to Maidwell, one of Maino (of Wolverton's) manors. Mainfelin was lord of Wolverton.

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HUNDRED OF STOKES

In WILBERDESTON' [Wilbarston] and in STOKES [Stoke Albany] William Daubeny 8 hides and 1 virgate.¹

In CARLETON [East Carlton], of the King's socage, half a hide and 1 small virgate and a half.² There also William Daubeny half a hide and 1 small virgate and a half.³ There also Robert Fitz Hugh 3 great virgates and 1 small virgate and a half.³

In BRAMPTON', of the King's socage, 1 hide.⁴ There also Basset 2 hides.⁵ There also Ralf Fitz Eldewyn 4 hides less 2 small virgates.⁶

In DINGELE [Dingley] Alvr[ed] 2 hides and 1 virgate.⁷ There also Richard Basset 1 hide (and) a half and 1 great virgate in his demesne.⁸

In SUTTON' [Sutton Basset] and WESTON' Richard Basset 6 hides.⁹

¹ Domesday assigns to Robert de 'Todeni' (William D'Aubigny's predecessor) 3 hides in Stoke and 3 hides and 1 virgate in Wilbarston. But the total in this Survey possibly includes the 1 hide at Stoke and 3 virgates at Wilbarston, which had been held by the King in 1086 and which would bring up the total to 8 hides.

² Here is 1 hide and 3 'small virgates' in Carlton apparently unaccounted for in Domesday. But Domesday assigns to Ralf Paynel 2 hides in this Hundred, of which the locality is not named.

³ Held of the count of Mortain by Humfrey, as 3 virgates, in 1086.

⁴ This would seem to be the '1 hide' that Hugh held there of Robert de Buci in 1086.

⁵ This was certainly the '2 hides' that Robert de Buci himself held there in 1086.

⁶ This entry is of special interest as giving us, apparently, the name of the son of a Domesday under-tenant, 'Ildvinus,' who held 2 hides there of Robert de 'Todeni' in 1086. The above total seems to include the 1 hide less $1\frac{1}{2}$ bovates which 'Ildvinus' also held of Robert in Dingley and the 1 hide belonging to the Countess Judith at Brampton in 1086.

⁷ Domesday assigns to the count of Mortain there $1\frac{1}{3}$ hides and $1\frac{1}{2}$ bovates, and to Countess Judith $\frac{1}{3}$ hide and ' $\frac{3}{4}$ of $\frac{2}{3}$ hide,' equal in all to 2 hides + $\frac{1}{6}$ + $\frac{3}{16}$, which is close to the above total.

⁸ Held as $\frac{2}{3}$ hide and ' $\frac{3}{4}$ of $\frac{2}{3}$ hide' (i.e. $1\frac{1}{3}$ hides in all) by Robert de Buci in 1086.

⁹ Domesday assigns to Robert de Buci

In ASSELE [Ashley] Ralf de Beufo 2 hides and 2 small virgates of the fee of Beuv[er].¹⁰ There also Richard Basset 4 small virgates which Guy de Wat[er]vill[e] held.¹¹ There also William Daubeny 7 small virgates.¹⁰ There also Roger de Sprotton 1 hide of the fee of king David.¹² There also Berengar' 1 hide less 1 small virgate which Guy de Wat[er]vill[e] holds of Ralf de Beufo.¹⁰

In COTINGHAM the abbot of (Peter)borough 7 hides.¹³

In BANEFIELD [Benefield] 1 hide of the fee (sic).¹⁴

In ROKINGHAM 1 hide of the fee (sic).¹⁵

HUNDRED OF COREBY

In WAKERLE (are) 2 hides (and) a half of the fee of Eudo Fitz Hubert.¹⁶

In HARINGWORTHE (are) 5 hides of the fee of king David.¹⁷

In LAXINTON' [Laxton] and in HYNEWYK [Henwick] Viel (*Vitalis*) Engayne 1 hide (and) a half.¹⁸ There also Robert Fitz Hugh 1 great virgate.

only $2\frac{2}{3}$ hides in Weston and $1\frac{2}{3}$ hides in Sutton. But the Countess Judith also held $\frac{1}{2}$ hide at Sutton and $1\frac{1}{3}$ hides at Weston in 1086, which would give a total, in all, of $6\frac{5}{6}$ hides for the two places.

¹⁰ Domesday assigns to Robert 'de Todeni' ('the fee of Beuver') $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides in all at Ashley. Three hides were held of him by Geoffrey and Walchelin and $\frac{1}{2}$ hide by Wibert. These three holdings are represented above by three others, of which the total is 3 hides and 8 'small virgates.'

¹¹ Robert de Buci had held in all one hide there in 1086.

¹² Domesday assigns only $\frac{1}{3}$ hide to Countess Judith at Ashley. Thus the total Domesday assessment is $4\frac{2}{3}$ hides, while in this Survey it is 4 hides and 12 'small virgates.'

¹³ So in Domesday.

¹⁴ Not Benefield in Huxlow Hundred. It is now a farm south of Rockingham. It is not mentioned in Domesday (compare note ¹ above on Carlton).

¹⁵ The King's in Domesday.

¹⁶ Assigned to him in Domesday.

¹⁷ Countess Judith's in Domesday.

¹⁸ Held by William (Engayne) in 1086.

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In BLATHERWYK Robert Fitz Hugh and Richard Dengayne 2 hides.¹

In BOLEWYK [Bulwick] are 2 hides.

In HENEWYK [Henwick] Viel (*Vitalis*) Lovet half a hide.

In DEEN [Dene] Ralf Fitz Nigel 2 hides (and) a half of the fee of Westm[inster].²

In NEWETON' and in ACLE [Oakley] 2 hides (and) a half of the fee of king David.³ There also William de Houton' 1 hide (and) a half and 1 great virgate of the fee of king David.³

In Little ACLE [Oakley] William Fitz Alvr[ed] 3 virgates of the fee of Montacute (*Montis acuti*).

In GEYTINTON [Geddington] the King 1 hide and 1 great virgate.⁴ There also 1 hide and 1 great virgate of the fee of St. Edmund.⁵

In WYCLE [Weekley] 2 hides and a half of the fee of the count de Warren' de Mor-teyn⁶ (*sic*).

In BOKETON' [Boughton] 1 half (*sic*) of the fee of St. Edmund.⁷

In KIRKEBY 1 virgate of the fee of Humfrey de Bassingburn.⁸

In STANERNE [Stanion] 1 virgate (and) a half of the socage of Bristok'.⁹

In COREBY and in GRETTON and in BRIX-STOKE [Brigstock] are 10 hides.¹⁰

HUNDRED OF WYLEBROK

In LODINGTON' [Lutton] Ralf Fitz William 2 hides and a half of the fee of (Peter)borough.¹¹ There also the abbot of Ramsey half a hide.¹²

In AYLINGTON [Elton], of the socage of (Peter)borough, 1 hide and a half. There also William Fitz Ketelber[n] half a hide of the fee of Rameseye.¹³

In WERMINGTON' [Warmington] the abbot of (Peter)borough 1 hide.¹⁴

In ELMENTON' [Elmington] the abbot of Croylaund 1 hide.¹⁵

In TANESOUERE [Tansor] Hacuil de Sancto Jacobo 5 hides and the third part of 1 hide.¹⁶ There also Salomon two-thirds of 1 hide of the fee of the earl of Warewyk.¹⁷

¹ Held of Robert de Buci by 'Norman' in 1086. His under-tenants were 'Hugh' (father of Robert Fitz Hugh?) and William (Engayne?).

² They are assigned to Westminster Abbey in Domesday.

³ Domesday assigns to Countess Judith 6 virgates and $1\frac{1}{2}$ bovates in Newton and $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate in Oakley, which would give a total of $3\frac{5}{8}$ hides for the two. The holdings of this fee above amount to $4\frac{1}{4}$ hides. But Domesday also assigns to Gunfrei de 'Cioches' there 3 virgates and $1\frac{1}{2}$ bovates, which would raise the total to the same amount as in this Survey.

⁴ A 'member' of Brigstock, as 1 hide, in Domesday.

⁵ So also in Domesday.

⁶ This interesting combination points to 1150-1160. As a Crown manor in 1086, it must have been alienated by Henry I. to Stephen or by Stephen to his son William (earl de Warenne and count of Mortain). It is certain from the Pipe Roll of 1130 that Stephen, then count of Mortain, had been given land in the county before that date.

⁷ 'dim' may be an error for 'hid,' as St. Edmund held one hide there in 1086.

⁸ Held by Richard (de Engaine) in 1086.

⁹ Similarly appurtenant to Brigstock in 1086.

¹⁰ Domesday assigns to the King's manors of Gretton, Corby, and Brigstock $3\frac{3}{4}$ hides, $1\frac{1}{4}$ hides, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides respectively, making $8\frac{1}{4}$ hides in all.

¹¹ Ralf was, apparently, son of that William who held these $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides of Peterborough Abbey in 1086.

¹² So also in Domesday.

¹³ Domesday assigns to Peterborough Abbey $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, and to Ramsey Abbey $\frac{1}{2}$ hide in 'Adelintone,' which I identify as Elton. (See note on p. 313.)

¹⁴ This is the '1 hide' in Warmington of which Domesday expressly says that it 'belongs to Walebroc' [Willibrook Hundred]. It was held of the Abbey by '2 knights' in 1086 (see p. 315).

¹⁵ So also in Domesday.

¹⁶ Crown demesne in Domesday as 6 hides. Hasculf de St. James (-sur-Beuvron) had thus secured $5\frac{1}{2}$ hides of these. See Introduction to this Survey (p. 362) for Hasculf.

¹⁷ The earl of Warwick (doubtless the supporter of Henry I.) had secured the rest

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In SOTHEWYK [Southwick] with YAREWELL [Yarwell] William de Lisurs 1 hide.

In FODRENGEYE [Fotheringhay] (are) 6 hides of the fee of king David.¹

In COTTERSTOKE [Cotterstock] Richard Fitz Hugh 1 hide (and) a half of the fee of (Peter)borough.² There also Roger Infans 1 hide (and) a half of the same fee.³

In NEWETON' [Wood Newton] Robert de Cerneya 3 hides of the fee of Marmiun.⁴

In ESTON [Easton] Simon de Lindon 2 hides.⁵

In WESTON [Colly Weston] William Fitz Herewyn⁶ 2 hides.

In NASSINGTON 6 hides.

In GLAPTHORN Geoffrey de Normanvill[e] 1 hide (and) a half. There also Ridel and Hugh half a hide and 1 virgate. There also Fulc de Lisurs 3 quarters of 1 hide.⁷

In APETHORP' [Apthorpe] (are) 2 hides.⁸

In CLYVA [King's Cliff] 1 hide (and) a half and half a virgate.⁹

In DODINGTON [Duddington] (is) 1 hide.⁹

HUNDRED OF SUTHNAVESLUNT

IRTLINGBURG' [Irthlingborough] 5 hides (and) a half and 1 small virgate of the fee of (Peter)borough.¹⁰ There also Reginald de la Bataille 3 hides (and) a half of the same fee. There also Simon Basset 1 hide (of) Avenel of the fee of (Peter)borough.¹¹

In ADINGTON' [Addington Parva] Richard Fitz Hugh 3 hides (and) a half of the fee of (Peter)borough.¹² There also William brother (*rectius* son) of Guy half a virgate of the fee of Croylaund.¹³ There also William de Huntingdon' 1 hide and 1 virgate (and) a half of the fee of Gloucester.¹⁴

In WODEFORD [Woodford] are 8 hides (and) half a virgate of the fee of (Peter)borough. There also Guy Treylli 1 hide (and) a half of the fee of (Peter)borough.¹⁵ There also Reginald de la Bataille half a virgate. There also William de Houton' half a hide.¹⁶

⁹ Both held for the same amounts by the King in 1086.

¹⁰ The Abbey had 5 hides and 1 virgate in demesne there in 1086.

¹¹ Domesday enters 5 hides less 1 virgate as held of the Abbey there by 4 knights in 1086. Thus the total in this Survey, as in Domesday, is practically 10 hides. Simon Basset had married one of the two daus. and coh. of William Avenel, who held one knight's fee of the Abbey here *temp.* Hen. II.

¹² As 3 hides were held there of the Abbey by 'Hugh' in 1086, this entry would seem to give us the name of his son, Richard.

¹³ Domesday assigns nothing to the Abbey in Addington Parva.

¹⁴ This must be the 1 hide and 1 virgate which Osmund held there of the bishop of Coutances in 1086. It had evidently been bestowed on the first earl of Gloucester or his father-in-law.

¹⁵ Domesday assigns to the Abbey there only 7 hides, held by Roger (Maufe), and 3 virgates held by 3 tenants.

¹⁶ These two holdings seem to represent the 1 hide and 1 virgate held of the bishop of Coutances by 'Ralf' in 1086. Thus the total assessment of Woodford would be 9 hides in Domesday and 10½ hides in this Survey, which suggests some error.

of Tansor, which was probably what appears afterwards as his land in Southwick.

¹ Countess Judith's in 1086.

² Domesday assigns to Peterborough Abbey 3 hides at Cotterstock, held of it by '2 knights.' Here the holdings and names of the knights are given.

³ He is found complaining of its loss in *Chronicon Petroburgense*, p. 169.

⁴ This is an important entry, for it proves that the 3 hides held of Eustace (the sheriff) by Rainald, in Domesday, were at Wood Newton in Willibrook Hundred, and not, as Mr. Stuart Moore makes them, at Newton in Corby Hundred (see p. 349 above).

⁵ Domesday assigns the same amount to Easton (in Willibrook Hundred), but 1½ hides were then held by Rolland of Eudo Fitz Hubert and ½ hide had been given by Gilbert de Gand to St. Pierre-sur-Dives.

⁶ Here again we obtain the name of a Domesday under-tenant's son, for these 2 hides had been held of Ralf de Limesi by Herluinus in 1086.

⁷ So far as is known, there is no mention in Domesday of Glapthorne.

⁸ Entered in Domesday as the King's (at 'Patorp').

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In another ADINGTON' [Addington Magna] Aubrey the chamberlain 2 hides of the King's fee.¹ There also (is) 1 hide of the fee of the Abbot (of Peterborough).² There also William son of Guy 2 hides of the fee of the abbot of Croylaund.³

In THINGDENE [Finedon], of the King's demesne, 10 hides.⁴

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In CRANEFORD' Bertram de Verdon ('Wedon') 2 hides and 1 virgate (and) a half of the fee of (Peter)borough. There also Geoffrey the chamberlain 1 hide of the fee of Gloucester. There also Richard Fitz Guy 1 hide of the fee of (Peter)borough. There also Maurice Daundelyn 2 hides (and) a half of the fee of (Peter)borough.⁵ There also Ralf Fitz Roger 5 hides of Simon Fitz Peter.⁶

¹ Held, as $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, of the bishop of Coutances by 'Hugh' in 1086. It must have been granted by Henry I. to Aubrey (de Vere).

² Not entered, it would seem, in Domesday.

³ Domesday assigns 2 hides there to Crowland Abbey.

⁴ Domesday assigns only $9\frac{1}{2}$ hides to that portion of this great manor that lay in this Hundred.

⁵ These holdings are difficult to identify. Domesday assigns to the Abbey, at Cranford, 3 hides which were held of it by 'Robert' and $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides which are entered as held by Godric of the King. These holdings would seem to be represented by the $2\frac{3}{8}$ hides of Bertram and the $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides of Maurice, which amount to $4\frac{7}{8}$ hides as against $4\frac{1}{2}$. Richard Fitz Guy was son of Guy de Reinbuedcurt, who held 3 virgates there in 1086, but of the King, not of the Abbey. The 1 hide of the fee of Gloucester seems to represent the '1 virgate' which 'Robert' held there of the bishop of Coutances in 1086. It is certain, at any rate, that the Daundelyns subsequently held here $1\frac{1}{2}$ knights' fees of the abbey of Peterborough, which were in Cranford St. Andrew.

⁶ Sheriff of Northants 1155-1160 and 1163-1170. He seems to have been son of

In BARTON [Barton Segrave] Geoffrey the chamberlain 5 hides of the fee of Gloucester.⁷

In WERKETON [Warkton] are 4 hides of the fee of St. Edmund.⁸

In KET[ER]INGE (are) 10 hides of the fee of (Peter)borough.⁹

In GRAFTON [Grafton Underwood] Richard de Humaz 4 hides.¹⁰

In BURTONE [Burton Latimer] Richard Fitz Guy 8 hides (and) a half.¹¹ There also William de Houton 1 hide (and) a half.¹²

Peter de Brixworth and father of Simon Fitz Simon (Bridges, I. 453, 501), who occurs in this Survey under Brixworth (*ibid.* II. 80).

Mr. Baring has suggested to me that these hides at Cranford, which cannot be identified in Domesday, may have been taken from some other Hundred since 1086 and added to 'Naveslunt.' In that case, he points out that the Domesday 5 hides at Denford, not far off, are not satisfactorily accounted for in this Survey (see p. 376 above).

⁷ This had been held, as $4\frac{1}{2}$ hides, of the bishop of Coutances by 'Robert' in 1086. It seems possible that the above tenant was Geoffrey the chamberlain 'de Clinton' (as he is sometimes styled), for in the *Liber Rubeus* (though not indexed) 'Guefridus de Clintune' appears, in 1166, as having formerly held 5 knights' fees of the Earl of Gloucester (p. 289).

⁸ Entered as $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides in Domesday.

⁹ So also in Domesday.

¹⁰ Robert 'Albus' had held 3 hides there, and Eustace (the sheriff) $\frac{1}{2}$ hide in 1086. Both holdings must have been bestowed on Richard du Hommet ('de Humaz'), Constable to Henry II.

¹¹ Held in 1086 by his father Guy de Reinbuedcurt.

¹² This must be the hide and a half held of the bishop of Coutances by 'Richard' in 1086. But Domesday seems to assign to the Bishop another $2\frac{3}{4}$ hides there which are not here accounted for.

THE KNIGHTS OF PETERBOROUGH

In the introduction to the Domesday Survey mention will be found of the foreign knights brought with him and enfeoffed by Abbot Turolde, to whose holdings in the shire Domesday Book devotes a special section.¹ We have not, unfortunately, in the case of Peterborough, the usual detailed return of knights in 1166, but there are several distinct lists of the Abbey's knights and their holdings, with which the historians of Northamptonshire were not fully acquainted, and which more than enable us to supply the lack of the above return. The earliest of these is (A) that which is found in the Peterborough *Liber Niger*,² and which must belong to the first half of the reign of Henry I.³ Next in order of date is (B) the bull of Pope Eugenius (1146), confirming to the Abbey its possessions and naming all the knights' fees comprised in them.⁴ Third is (C) a list belonging apparently to the last quarter of the 12th century, and relating only to Northamptonshire.⁵ Fourth is (D) a full return, apparently drawn up in 1212, and doubtless intended as a substitute at the Exchequer for the missing *carta* of 1166.⁶ Lastly, Hugh 'Candidus' gives us, in his history of the Abbey, the state of the fiefs under Henry III., and their several descents.⁷ In few, if any, cases have we such a wealth of material for tracing the descent of fiefs at so early a period; for we have not only the names of the tenants, but the extent of their holdings and the locality of their fiefs.⁸

As an example of the precision which we are thus enabled to attain, we may take the Thornhaugh fief, held, in 1086 and under Henry I., by Anschitel de St. Medard, and extending over Wittering, Thornhaugh, Siberton and Etton, with part of Walmesford.⁹ From this fief there were due to the Abbey $4\frac{1}{4}$ knights, and from Ansgotby, in Lincolnshire (which belonged to it), $1\frac{3}{4}$, making in all 6 knights. This estate, descended, as a whole, through heiresses to the Russells, gave to Lord Russell 'of Thornhaugh,' the name of his barony, and is held by his descendant the duke of Bedford, who thus inherits it from the days of the Conqueror and of Abbot Turolde.¹⁰

From the 'Torpel' (in Ufford) fief also there were due 6 knights. Roger 'Infans,' its first holder, held $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides of the Abbot in Pilton, but his full fief of 12 hides included lands in Maxey and Ufford, north

¹ 'Terra hominum ejusdem ecclesie' (pp. 314-17 above).

² *Society of Antiquaries* MS. 60.

³ See *Feudal England*, p. 157. It was printed by Stapleton in *Chronicon Petroburgense*, pp. 168-175.

⁴ It is given by Hugh 'Candidus,' and printed in Sparke's *Scriptores*, pp. 80-81.

⁵ It is found at the end of the Northamptonshire Survey in Cotton MS. Vesp. E. xxii., and has not been printed.

⁶ It is printed in *Liber Rubeus de Scaccario*, pp. 618-19.

⁷ See Sparke (as above), pp. 53-63.

⁸ It will be convenient to refer to the above lists of fees under the letters (A, B, C, D) assigned to them in the text.

⁹ See p. 315 above.

¹⁰ See Bridges, II. 595-7, for the descent.

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west of Peterborough, and others in Cotterstock and Glapthorne. His descendants took the name of Torpel, and their successors the family of Camois held the fief, with Torpel as its head, by the same service of the Abbey.

When the Abbot's sixty knights were summoned forth to war, there was needed an officer to take command, as the Abbot could not do so himself. The accident of a claim being made and admitted in 1294 reveals the fact that Abbot John, who died in 1125, bestowed this post, as that of hereditary constable of the Abbey, on Ralf De la Mare and his heirs. As the charter by which he did so is witnessed by Robert abbot of Thorney, it cannot, in any case, be earlier than 1113.¹ The office is said to have been appendant to the family's holding at Maxey,² but Ralf held in all $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides in Northamptonshire and $2\frac{1}{2}$ carucates in Lincolnshire, for which fief he owed the service of three knights.³ Hugh 'Candidus' identifies his holding in the former shire as at Maxey, Northborough, and Woodcroft, and his Lincolnshire estate as at Thurlby. From the C list we learn that his 'service' was equally divided, one knight and a half being due from his lands in Northamptonshire.⁴ Geoffrey De la Mare, the tenant in this last list, was succeeded by Brian, the tenant in 1212,⁵ and Brian's son Geoffrey⁶ was father of Peter and grandfather of Geoffrey De la Mare, the claimant in 1294.⁷ His claim contains an interesting recital of the duties appurtenant to his office. It was he who had to summon the Abbot's tenants by knight-service, to 'distrain' them if they failed to appear, to lead the knights, when assembled, to the King, to marshal them 'as constable' while on service, whether on guard at Rockingham Castle or elsewhere, a representative of the Abbot accompanying him to pay all expenses. It was he also, he claimed, who ought to guard the Abbey on the day of a new abbot's installation, to serve him with his first dish, and to have, for his perquisite, all the vessels of silver and gold from which the Abbot himself should, that day, be served. Two robes a year he claimed as his due from the Abbot, keep 'within the Abbey' for his charger and its groom, and hospitality for himself, when he came there, 'with three esquires, five horses, five grooms, and two greyhounds.'⁸

All these details help to illustrate the feudal side of a great abbey holding its wide estates by military service of the Crown. The De la Mare fief, with which we have been dealing, cannot be traced up to Domesday, but that of the Watervilles of Thorp Waterville can be shown to have had its origin in the days of the first William. 'Azelinus' is found in Domesday Book holding of the Abbot at Achurch and Tichmarsh, and thirty years later we find in the A list 'Ascelinus

¹ It is printed in *Chronicon Petroburgense*, p. 130.

² *Ibid.* p. 132.

³ *Ibid.* p. 169.

⁴ This is confirmed by the fact that, in 1212, Thurlby (the Lincolnshire portion) was similarly held by that of $1\frac{1}{2}$ knights (*Liber Rubeus*, p. 522).

⁵ *Liber Rubeus*, p. 618.

⁶ Hugh 'Candidus,' p. 54.

⁷ *Chronicon Petroburgense*, pp. 73, 132.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 131-2.

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de Waltervilla' holding $13\frac{1}{8}$ hides of the Abbot in Northamptonshire, though he owed for this no more than the service of three knights, the same quota as De la Mare. Hugh 'Candidus' enables us to learn that this holding included lands at Marholm, Clapton and Thorpe Waterville, as well as at Achurch and Tichmarsh. This family contributed an abbot to Peterborough (1155-1175) and continued in the male line till 1287, when the 'Marholm' fief passed to Robert de Vere, maternal grandson of Reginald de Waterville. Dallington, again, is an interesting fief. In Domesday its four hides are held by 'Richard' of the Abbot; in A, thirty years later, it is held by Robert Fitz Richard, who owes for it two knights; in B (1146) it is the fief of Robert Frehille (?); in C it is that of 'Almaricus' Despencer; in D (1212) it is that of Geoffrey de Lucy, but its service has now dropped to one knight, for (says Hugh 'Candidus') Geoffrey has kept back the other since the days of Abbot Benedict (1177-1194). The Abbot and the then holder of the fief actually fought the question out in the 'Parliament' of 1275, and the service was fixed at one knight.¹

One particularly noticeable point about the knights of Peterborough is the small number of hides that went to the knight's fee. The information here at our disposal enables us to speak positively, and to produce figures strangely at variance with the widespread belief that a knight's fee normally consisted of five hides,² or, as some say, of four.³ In Northamptonshire $4\frac{1}{4}$ knights were due from the $10\frac{3}{16}$ hides of Anschetil de St. Medard, 3 from the $13\frac{1}{8}$ hides of Ascelin de Waterville, 3 from the 8 hides of Geoffrey 'the Abbot's nephew,' 3 from the $7\frac{3}{4}$ hides of Richard Fitz Hugh, $1\frac{1}{2}$ from the De la Mares' $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides, 1 from the 2 hides of Richard Engaine, 1 from the $1\frac{1}{4}$ hides of Walo de Pastone, 2 from the $5\frac{3}{4}$ hides of Roger Malfe, 2 from the 4 hides at Dallington, 2 from 3 hides at Sutton, 2 from $2\frac{1}{3}$ hides at Castor, and so on. Not only are the majority of these fees extremely small in hidage; they also, it will be seen, differ widely in hidage among themselves. This is a point of very great institutional importance in view of the belief frequently met with, and so recently upheld, that a knight's fee consisted of a certain number of hides, and that the system of military service under the Norman kings was thus connected with that which prevailed in the days before the Conquest.⁴

¹ *Chronicon Petroburgense*, p. 22.

² Oman's *History of the Art of War*, p. 360.

³ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, pp. clxi.-clxiv.

⁴ See further, on this point, *Feudal England*, pp. 232-4; *Studies on the Red Book of the Exchequer*, pp. 12-16; *The Commune of London and other Studies*, pp. 57-8.

MONUMENTAL EFFIGIES

THE monumental effigies of Northamptonshire are conspicuous and worthy items in the history of a well-favoured and historic county. They comprise a remarkable collection of memorials, not only of knights who took part in stirring times of English medieval history, but of men who were conspicuous politically, legally and socially in the spacious days of Elizabeth. In addition to these are the striking abbatical figures at Peterborough, and the large proportion of forty-four effigies of ladies out of a total of a hundred and eighteen monumental effigies to be found in the county.

It may be premised that the figures of knights, civilians and ladies exhibit as good consecutive examples of changes in armour, habits and dress as may be expected from the materials used by the sculptors ; that as much attention was paid to detail as the nature of the different stones employed allowed ; and that the likenesses were as good as the occasion of the production of the different memorials would permit.

The effigies, exclusive of two early abbots at Peterborough, run with a fairly even average intervention of only a few years between each example, from the middle of the thirteenth to about the end of the seventeenth century, and it will be convenient to consider each example with reference to the armour or costume exhibited, the public or personal history of each individual being naturally dealt with in another section of the history. These memorials are divided into two parts and taken in chronological order, and it should be stated that their dates have been considered as coinciding with the deaths of the individuals commemorated unless otherwise expressed.

Part I. comprises the monuments of the Gothic period proper. In Part II., after treating of certain memorials of the time of the Early Renaissance, and touching upon the effigies in legal costume, the remaining figures in the county are dealt with in the more or less modified manner that their gradually waning artistic or antiquarian interest and other considerations suggest.

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PART I¹

GOTHIC PERIOD

ABBOT BENEDICT. Died 1193. Peterborough Cathedral.

The effigy lies north and south, upon a modern tomb, in the retro-choir at the back of the high altar. The figure is sculptured in rather low relief in polished grey marble, and represented bareheaded, with the tonsure, and the face closely shaved. It is shown habited in an alb, a chasuble, with the orphrey attached to it in front, and taking the form of the archiepiscopal pall. Below the chasuble the ends of the stole appear. Round the neck is apparently the amice, but as there is no indication of any turning over, or of the apparel, the collar of the chasuble may be intended. The pastoral staff is held diagonally across the body, in the right hand; it has a simple crook curved outward. The ferule of the staff is thrust into the jaws of a double-headed and winged dragon, perhaps in allusion to that verse of the Psalms: 'Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet.' The left hand holds a clasped book of the Gospels.

Over the head of the figure is a semicircular trefoil canopy, surmounted by a rude representation of a Norman building such as are found in illuminated MSS. and on seals of this period.

Abbot Benedict ruled the monastery from 1177 until his death in 1193. The figure is sculptured upon a slab narrowing to the feet which, according to the practice of this early period, formed the external lid of the coffin placed level with the pavement.

ABBOT ROBERT DE LYNDESEYE. Died 1222. Peterborough Cathedral.

The effigy is placed second from the west end of the south aisle of the choir. It is carved in polished Purbeck marble. The head rests upon a pillow placed lozenge-wise. The whole of the face has been destroyed, but from its general form it appears to have been bearded.

The abbot is represented bareheaded, with the tonsure, he has the amice about his neck, and is vested in the alb, stole and chasuble. A pastoral staff has been held in the right hand and the left holds the Gospels. Above the figure is a semicircular trefoil canopy supported upon sculptured capitals.

The slab upon which the effigy is carved

¹ The following section is based upon *An Account of the Recumbent Monumental Effigies in Northamptonshire*, by the writer (1866-76), which is not within easy reach of the public.

narrows quickly to the feet and takes the shape of a coffin-lid, and must originally have been placed level with the ground and used for that purpose.

'VIRGILIUS.' Died 1228. Castor.

This is the demi-effigy of a tonsured ecclesiastic, vested apparently in the amice and chasuble, and sculptured in rather an unusual manner upon a coffin-lid of Barnack stone 'en dos d'âne.' It is probably intended to represent 'Virgilius Persona seu Rector' who was presented to the church by the abbot and convent of Peterborough, and whose death is recorded to have taken place in 1228.

ABBOT WALTER DE ST. EDMUND. Died 1245. Peterborough Cathedral.

In chronological order this is the third of the abbatial effigies. It lies in the south aisle of the choir third from the west end, and is sculptured upon a coffin-shaped slab of grey marble originally polished. The abbot is shown bareheaded, with the tonsure, and wearing a short beard, arranged, like the hair, in small curls. The forehead is lined with furrows and the figure is evidently that of an aged man. He is vested in the alb, with an ornamented parure or apparel at the feet; a tunic, or it may be the dalmatic, and the chasuble from which there is a very curious and unusual pendent ornament, probably a weight to keep this garment in place. There is no stole visible, and over the left wrist is a very long and narrow maniple. The amice appears about the neck, in the right hand is a pastoral staff with the simple crook turned inwards, and in the left the book of the Gospels. The feet rest upon a winged dragon into whose jaws the end of the staff is thrust. Over the head of the figure rises a pointed cinquefoiled canopy, springing from shafts with sculptured capitals and moulded bases, and surmounted by a representation of a building with towers and three-light windows.

SIR ROBERT DE VERE. Died 1249. Sudborough.

This memorial finds its place in the midst of the period during which military effigies had their rise. The figure of an illustrious soldier is presented fully clad in armour of the fashion that had its development in the latter part of the twelfth century, from the military habits of the companions and soldiers of the Conqueror, and was rapidly perfected, though practically the same defence in 1250.

Sir Robert de Vere was famous in arms, a



ABBOT JOHN DE CALETO. DIED 1262.
PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.



SIR DAVID DE ESSEBY. DIED BEFORE 1268.
CASTLE ASHBY.

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real crusader, the only representative in the county of the romantic expeditions to Palestine. Not to signalize a holy voyage, but in compliance with a conventionality of English sculptors then just coming into fashion, and which endured for rather more than a hundred years—he is shown in his freestone effigy with his legs crossed. De Vere is represented in a complete suit of mail—a true *bring-gar*—consisting of a hood continuous with the hauberk, and confined round the forehead by a band, and having a flapped opening fastened up with a thong over the left ear, to enable the head to be passed through the constricted neck of the hauberk into its hood, after the usual early manner. The hauberk is long, reaching to the knees, the mail chausses being steadied by straps below them. Over all is a long surcote confined round the waist by a cingulum in connection with which at the back is the transverse sword-belt checked at intervals for the buckle tongue, as with some examples in the Temple church, in the effigy of De L'Isle at Stowe-nine-Churches, and in that of De Goldingham at Rushton. The attachment of the sword-belt to the cingulum prevented the former from slipping over the hips. De Vere wears a shield suspended on the left arm after the English fashion; the feet resting on an animal are armed with prick spurs, and the head is supported by a single pillow. A noticeable feature is the long surcote in whose voluminous folds men dismounted on the field were frequently apt to get their legs entangled, and thus fell an easy prey to the enemy. The effigy lies upon a plain tomb under a low richly-moulded coeval arch.

Sir Robert de Vere was the second son of Sir Henry, constable of Gisors, a nephew of Aubrey, first Earl of Oxford. Matthew Paris says that his posthumous fame was very great, that his exploits became the themes for minstrels and were quoted as signal examples of martial bravery.

ABBOT JOHN DE CALETO. Died 1262. Peterborough Cathedral.

The fourth abbatial effigy in respect of age is that which is now disposed the first to the west in the south aisle of the choir, under a low Norman arch which it does not fit. It is carved in bold relief upon a coffin-shaped slab of polished Purbeck marble. The abbot is represented bare-headed, with the tonsure, and with the face closely shaven. He is vested in the alb, with a richly ornamented parure or apparel at the feet, a stole, a tunic or dalmatic, and a heater-shaped chasuble. This latter vestment is embroidered with foliage on the front, and has an orphrey

straight down it, with a small square rationale. The amice, like a hood, partially covers the head which rests upon sculptured foliage, and is supported on either side by the mutilated remains of angels who grasp the abbot by the ears! The right hand and upper part of the pastoral staff are gone; the left holds the clasped book of the Gospels. The feet press upon a very vigorous winged dragon who receives the ferule of the pastoral staff in its mouth; the tail terminates in foliage.

Abbot de Caleto conducted the Benedictine house at Peterborough from 1249 to 1262.

SIR DAVID DE ESSEBY. Died before 1268. Castle Ashby.

In chronological sequence now follows the cross-legged effigy of the distinguished warrior Sir David de Esseby. He is represented in a full suit of mail, beautifully sculptured, link by link,¹ and differing only from that worn by De Vere in having the hood distinct from the hauberk, a convenient improvement that had lately been introduced. The shape of the head implies a cervelière or skull-cap of iron or padded material under the hood. The surcoat, which retains slight traces of red colour, is somewhat scanty and short in the skirts, as it was frequently worn at this period. The figure, which no doubt dates from soon after the battle of Evesham in 1265, has much interest as giving an accurate picture of the military dress of that fateful era. It is in wonderful preservation, polished throughout, and is sculptured on a slab of Purbeck, narrowing rapidly to the feet, and taking the form of a stone coffin of the time, and of which it probably once formed the lid.

¹ During the last years of the thirteenth century, as the demand for military effigies rapidly increased, it became apparent that life-size statues with the mail laboriously carved link by link in Purbeck, Sussex or Forest marble, firestone, and various so-called 'freestones,' must give way to the easier process of working out the details of the armour and other decorative parts on a *gesso* surface, by the use either of tools or stamps, and finishing with gilding or colour. With the expansion of this particular art there was less likelihood of portraits being produced, because such advanced technical work can only have been carried on—as with the Purbeck effigies—in good artistic ateliers with full appliances, and necessarily without much reference to individual portraiture, armorial bearings or small personal details being added to conventional statues according to special directions. The minute information necessary for the appreciation of points such as these can only be laboriously acquired by measuring and drawing to scale and comparing monumental effigies in divers parts of the country.

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SIR GERARD DE L'ISLE. Died about 1287. Stowe-nine-Churches.

The Purbeck effigy of Sir Gerard de L'Isle, executed in a truly grand style, is one of the finest of its period in the kingdom. The lifeless attitude of the figure, cross-legged and with the right hand upon the breast, and the rare feature of closed eyes, is admirably expressed in an intractable material, the flowing folds of the surcote, the details of the mail hood, the long hauberk and the chausses being executed with freedom and careful precision. It is apparent that a subsidiary defence was worn on the head under the mail hood, which is tightened round the temples by an unusually wide fillet. The sword-belt, gigue and cingulum are barred at intervals for the buckle tongues, after the fashion of early effigies, the sword being worn so far behind that the man lies upon it, the chape only being visible, indicating that the use of the weapon was over. The peculiarity of closed eyes and the unusual position of the sword occur again in one of the outer figures in Purbeck marble (unappropriated) on the north side of the Round in the Temple church. Prick spurs are worn, and the effigy is of an earlier time than the assumed date of the death of De L'Isle—1287. This seems to bear out the view that it was one of a sculptor's stock, made some years before. The slab narrows to the feet and was evidently made with the view of forming the lid of a coffin to be placed level with the pavement.

ABBOT RICHARD DE LONDON. Died 1295. Peterborough Cathedral.

The fifth abbatial effigy in order of time lies fourth from the west end in the south aisle of the choir. It is executed in full relief upon a greatly mutilated slab of polished Purbeck marble, and represents an aged man, bearded, bare-headed and with the tonsure. The hair is conventionalized in a series of small curls, the cheeks are sunk and the upper lip has the remains of a moustache. The figure is habited in an alb, stole and chasuble, and about the neck is worn the amice. The pastoral staff, now broken away, was supported at the lower end by foliage. The mutilated left hand carries the Gospels. Over the head is a pointed trefoil canopy enriched above with freely designed Early English foliage, now much abraded. The extremity of the right foot is broken away and the whole of the left. The effigy reposes upon a Purbeck marble tomb to which it does not appear to belong, indeed the heavy quatrefoiled panels which support the figure on the north side are of a later date. The panel at the west

end of the tomb is filled in with good Early English foliage, and may possibly have formed part of the original monument.

SIR NICHOLAS DE COGENHOE. Died 1280. Cogenhoe.

The freestone cross-legged effigy of Sir Nicholas de Cogenhoe lies upon a plain coeval stone tomb, and the mail-clad figure shows a slight advance in the more capacious hood, the short surcote, and the small size of the shield and its sculptured arms. The head is still supported upon square and lozenge pillows, in this case the lozenge being below, and the coffin-lid shape of the slab has nearly vanished.

De Cogenhoe built the nave and aisles of the very interesting and beautiful church of Cogenhoe, his arms occurring four times with four other coats upon the capitals of the piers of the arcade—very rare features for that period.

SIR JOHN DE VERDON. Died 1296. Brixworth.

The mutilated and abraded cross-legged effigy in Barnack rag of Sir John de Verdon, in the historic church of Brixworth, was discovered about 1868 built into an arched recess in the south wall of the south transept where it now lies. Although the defensive armour represented is the same as has already been noticed, this mail-clad figure presents an improvement in the treatment of the armour, as well as a freer treatment in the art associated with memorials of this character; the figure must be of the extreme end of the thirteenth century. The head rests upon the usual two pillows; the legs from just below the knees have been destroyed.

With the exception of the figure of De L'Isle, all the preceding military effigies are represented as alert and drawing their swords, and all wear mail mufflers continuous with the sleeves of the hauberk. Out of these the hand could be passed through a hole in the palm, to be laced up in the immemorial way still practised by modern Asiatics.

SIR WILLIAM DE GOLDINGHAM. Died 1296. Rushton.

The cross-legged effigy of Sir William de Goldingham is the third of the polished Purbeck statues in the county, and is probably from the same workshop as that of De L'Isle. Thanks to the inflexible material the figure is in the like fine preservation with those of De Esseby and De L'Isle, and though generally exhibiting the same military costume is somewhat later in character. The separate mail

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hood has the flapped opening over the left ear found in connection with the continuous hauberk, and is confined round the temples by a wide outer fillet as well as with a narrow band interlaced with the mail. The surcote is long and full, the knees encased in poleyns, and the mail sleeves of the hauberk tightened at the wrist with a strap. The feet shod with prick spurs rest against a lion, and the head upon a single pillow supported at the ends in an uncommon manner by branches with ivy and conventional leaves. The gigue and sword-belt are barred or checked as in the De L'Isle effigy, after an early method of ornamenting the tongue-holes of the buckles. It is difficult to say whether this remarkable figure is a mere effigy from a sculptor's stock. It is just possible that it is the result of a special order and an attempted portrait.¹

A DE ROS, about 1300. Braunston.

The cross-legged effigy of a De Ros in hard red sandstone exhibits the military equipment of a knight in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and varying but

slightly from the examples already noticed. Thus the hood is bound round the brow by a studded fillet, the knees cased in poleyns of plate or *cuir-bouilli* and the lengthysurcote more freely treated. The attachment of the ends of the sword-belt to the scabbard is an early but not complete instance of a picturesque method which prevailed with many varieties until far into the following century, being finally superseded by the long series of locktied scabbards. The rowelled spurs are early examples, and similarly indicate the advance in the details of military harness. The head, sheltered by a canopy—which has prevented the sculptor from representing the mail beyond the convenient reach of his tools—rests upon two pillows, flanked by censing angels, and the feet upon two beasts trampling upon a hooded ecclesiastic. Below the right elbow is shown an animal curled up, something like a squirrel. Between the feet is sculptured a large rosette consisting of a centre and three concentric sets of leaves, and below the right foot is another rosette formed of a centre and twelve single leaves. These are evidently allusive to the name of Ros. It

¹ With regard to portraiture in the recumbent effigies, which give so human an interest to cathedrals and churches throughout the country, the conditions under which they were executed during the Middle Ages were generally quite unfavourable to likenesses being effected; indeed, it was only under very exceptional circumstances that this end was sought for or attained. In Northamptonshire, for example, absolute and early evidence is furnished on this point by the Purbeck marble effigy of Sir David de Esseby at Castle Ashby, who died before 1268. This figure bears so striking a resemblance to the figure of William Longspee the younger in Salisbury Cathedral, that the one might almost be mistaken for the other. Both must be the work of the same school, perhaps of the same sculptor at Purbeck, but both cannot be portraits. They represent, as closely as the intractable material would admit, knights of the period, *quelconques*, and must have formed part of a certain number of effigies kept in stock.

Again, taking other early examples, and from a famous series, the effigies in the Temple church, one would like to think that those dignified figures, which suffered such disastrous treatment fifty years ago, are accurate presentments of the Marshals and others; but almost a counterpart of one of them, also lying on his sword, and with the rare attribute of closed eyes, is to be found in the effigy of Sir Gerard de L'Isle (died about 1287) at Stowe-nine-Churches.

It may be here recalled that portraiture was sometimes carried out in early times, in exceptional cases, with great success. The four royal effigies, which after many vicissitudes are still preserved at Fontevault, should be mentioned as highly im-

portant examples, although neither sculptured in England nor in the English fashion. Of these the figures of Henry II. (died 1189) and Richard I. (died 1199) lie upon draped biers after the French fashion, with closed eyes as if laid out in death. They are shown habited in regal vestments, and were originally carefully painted and decorated, the shaven faces of the two kings being stippled to the life. The countenances much resemble each other, and to the extent that might be expected between father and son. On the other hand, and arguing from the kings to the queens, there seems no reason why the effigies of Eleanor of Guienne, queen of Henry II. (died 1204), and Isabella of Angoulême, second wife of John (died 1246), should not be sufficiently faithful likenesses also; indeed, the countenances of the effigies of these exalted ladies are so unlike that no other conclusion could be rightly arrived at. And similarly of Berengaria of Navarre, queen of Richard I. (died about 1230), whose interesting effigy at Mans fully bears out the accounts of her beauty which history has transmitted. On the other hand, again, the coarse figure which lay over the Lion Heart of Richard I. in Rouen Cathedral is little more than a conventional effigy. The Purbeck marble statue of King John at Worcester (died 1216), ignorantly gilded from head to foot in modern times by a governmental 'department,' is a further example, and highly valuable as the earliest portrait effigy of a king in England, for the figures of Henry I. and his queen on either side of the western doorway of Rochester Cathedral have nearly perished.

A noteworthy example of portraiture is shown by the latten effigy of Henry III. in the Abbey

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would however be difficult to identify the effigy because the members of this ancient house who were connected with Braunston at this period are known to have been buried elsewhere. It can hardly be supposed that a portrait is intended.

. . . DE BERNACK, about 1300. Barnack.

This effigy lies under a coeval arch in the wall of the north aisle, and is excellently sculptured in Barnack rag. A lady is represented habited in a long gown with rather loose sleeves. Over this is the supertunic without sleeves, gathered up in full folds in

(died 1272). That it is a portrait is proved by the countenance of the king as exhibited at different periods from youth to age on his Great Seals. The brow of the effigy with so marked a frown of triple creases, indicative of the feverish and anxious life that was led, can hardly be taken as an imaginary creation of Torel. But even in the highest quarters there was no fixed rule, for the latter effigy of Queen Eleanor at Westminster (died 1290), also by Torel, is a purely conventional figure. At the time of her death the queen had reached mature years, and had borne many children. Torel's masterpiece represents a woman of about twenty-six, and it has been considered that the four graceful figures by William of Ireland on Queen's Cross, Northampton, were inspired by it. This is possible, but it must be borne in mind that countless effigies throughout the country are represented in much the same conventional attitude as that shown in the queen's statue at Westminster, though far from approaching it in its singular and dignified beauty.

Exceptional examples of portraiture are furnished by some of the abbatial figures at Peterborough, doubtless executed from the life in the monastery, or elsewhere, from careful clerical instructions. And it is evident that in a few cases in the county, which will be duly signaled, some endeavour was made to give a degree of resemblance to the individual commemorated before 'lively effigies,' casts and painted portraits became successively available to sculptors. It must always be remembered that the carvers of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, accurately as they represented the armour and military attributes (imitating of course only up to the point that was consistent with the nature and capabilities of the material under their hand) could have had, even under the most favourable circumstances, very little to aid them in attempting a portrait beyond a chance suggestion given by relatives or friends of the dead man or the artist's own recollection of particular characteristics of countenance. Doubtless the armour and its general details were as familiar to the sculptor as the form of his own hosen, hood and leather coat. These remarks apply more to the productions of schools of sculpture such as existed, as Purbeck, Douling and Barnack, than to the humble workshops of stonemasons in

the front, and fastened at will by a button on either side just below the neck; above this garment is worn a mantle looped across the breast with a cord, which has been held in the right hand after the common fashion with effigies of ladies of this period. The mantle is caught up under each arm, and falls in a multitude of graceful folds. The head is covered with a crespine or net with a deep scalloped edging, bound round the head and fastened by a band under the chin. The hair appears in wavy plaits under the caul, and a short veil falling from it completes a very picturesque head-dress. Both hands are broken

villages, where the subjects of the effigies had been personally known.

Allusion must be made to the 'lively effigies' carried in ancient funeral processions. These were crude portrait statues which, although hastily made, not only could have served subsequently as full-sized models for sculptors, but were often so far 'monumental effigies,' inasmuch as many great personages had no other memorials. Towards the end of the fourteenth century it became the practice to bear a hastily-made 'lively effigy' of the dead man 'in his very robes of estate' in the funeral procession, and finally, when the obsequies were finished, to place it temporarily in the church, under or associated with its 'herse,' where it became a source of great attraction to the vulgar, supplying the place of the permanent effigy until that was set up. The 'lively figures' did away with the exposure of the actual dead body at the funeral, a practice which was attended with much inconvenience. They were closely allied to wooden effigies proper—of which there are ten in Northamptonshire—and were perhaps first suggested by them, inasmuch as their foundation was a more or less rude wooden block, like a great jointed doll. They were padded and made up to the proper form, just as monstrous figures are constructed in the *opera* of a theatre for pantomimes at the present day. The faces and hands alone were treated with wax, or fine plaster (*gesso*), laid over the roughly covered blocks, and fashioned and tinted to the life. The figures were then dressed in fair array with tinsel crowns, coronets and further insignia of greatness, and must have presented a somewhat barbaric spectacle. No doubt there were many 'lively figures' with their 'herse's' in Northamptonshire churches. As time went on so many of these tawdry structures, standing in different parts of a great church like that of Peterborough, or Higham Ferrers, must have added greatly to its picturesqueness and interest, possibly not always conducing to reverence. Figures from these sources in different stages of dilapidation—not less valuable on that account—from the rude wooden effigies of Plantagenet times to the examples of the beginning of the present century, still remain in the Abbey, remnants of the once popular 'Waxworks,' under the name of 'the Ragged Regiment.'



SIR ROBERT DE KEYNES. DIED 1305. DODFORD.

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away. The head rests upon a single pillow and the feet upon a dog. The coffin-shaped slab is still retained though no longer in use at this time for a pavement burial.

The effigy probably represents the wife of Peter de Bernak, who is commemorated by an effigy in an arch hard by, and now reduced to an almost shapeless block of stone. It is apparent that this dishonoured fragment formerly exhibited the usual dress of a soldier of the end of the thirteenth century, with the links carved on the Barnack stone as with the Purbeck effigies. The head of the effigy is broken off and lies near the mutilated trunk.

SIR ROBERT DE KEYNES. Died 1305. Dodford.

This Purbeck marble effigy is sculptured upon a slab narrowing to the feet, after the early manner common to the effigies in this material, and the last example in the county. The figure lies upon a wide and low altar-tomb formed of five plain slabs of Purbeck, the whole monument being polished, and forming a unique and striking memorial. A young man is represented wearing a closely-fitting mail coif apparently fastened up by a flapped opening on the left side of the face. Over this is a ridged headpiece or cervelière, prolonged over the ears and strapped on to the coif. The body is clothed in a quilted gambeson, and over this is worn a hauberk of mail, with sleeves, and gloves divided into fingers. The elbows are protected by small discs or coutes, and over all is a surcote laced on the right side, short and scanty in the skirts, indicating the cyclas and the coming change, and confined round the waist by a cingulum. The thighs seem to be covered by cuisses or breeches of leather, the knees are protected by ridged and shaped poleyns, and the legs and feet by mail chausses, and armed with prick spurs. The sword is suspended by a broad belt, and on the left arm is a shield charged with the arms of De Keynes—and kite-shaped, a reversion to the Norman form as depicted in the Stitch Work at Bayeux. The head rests upon two pillows and the feet upon a dog.

The whole of the mail here represented is of the kind known as 'banded,' of which only four other sculptured examples are known to exist on effigies in England, namely, at Kirkstead Chapel, Newton Solney, Tollard Royal and Tewkesbury. Brasses, painted glass, illuminated MSS., seals and other graphic authorities of the period abound with illustrations of this kind of defence, but the material and construction of 'banded mail' has not been satisfactorily explained. It is impossible,

on seeing the Keynes effigy only, to come to any conclusion other than that some protection differing very much from the usual chain mail was intended to be represented by the sculptor.

The monument of Sir Robert de Keynes is undoubtedly the most remarkable in the county. About forty years ago the effigy, which had been broken into three parts, was with characteristic appreciation and veneration most carefully put together by the distinguished antiquary the late Sir Henry Dryden, to whose untiring zeal in the elucidation and illustration of the antiquities of the county Northamptonshire is so greatly indebted.

MABILA DE MURDAK, about 1310. Gayton.

This diminutive freestone effigy of a child, measuring only two feet two inches, wearing a veil and gown, was discovered in 1830, built face inwards into the exterior of the east wall of the chapel. At the end below the head are two mutilated shields—a fess between six fleurs-de-lis, and a fess, in chief three roundles. On one side of the plinth is this inscription: **HIC IACET IN TUMBA MABILA FILIA THOME DE . . .** There was no such person at this period as Thomas de Gayton, but there was a Thomas de Murdak of Edgecote, who married Juliane, daughter and co-heir of Philip and Escholace de Gayton. Juliane de Murdak murdered her husband at the instigation of Sir John Vaux, in 1316, and was convicted of the crime and burnt at the stake. This untoward incident may account for the name of Murdak having been defaced on the effigy.

SIR JOHN DE LYONS, died 1312, and **MARGARET** his wife. Warkworth.

The freestone effigy lies upon a low tomb within an arch in the north wall of the north aisle, and is carved with much freedom and art, the loose fit of the mail hood and the arms of the hauberk, as well as the full folds of the long surcoat, being capitally expressed. There is no change in the general character of the military costume, but there is a manifest advance in its representation. The head rests upon two pillows supported by angels, and the feet, armed with prick spurs, upon a lion. The shield is sculptured with the Lyons coat. The sword-belt is a perfected example of a system of suspending this lethal weapon from two points on the scabbard which had its origin at the beginning of the last quarter of the thirteenth century. By the old plan the belt was attached to the top of the scabbard only, the result being that the sword constantly hung in a more or less

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vertical position and vibrated inconveniently. This was found to be an evil both on foot and on horseback. The new system of fastening the entire end of the buckle-strap to the scabbard, and the other or long strap a few inches down the scabbard had many advantages. It brought the grip of the sword more within the compass of the right hand, and the weight of the weapon, by leverage, tended to tighten and steady the belt, while on horseback the hilt was pitched outwards and the flat of the sword thrown more into a line parallel with the side of the body of the horse and its rider. But there was yet a difficulty, the tendency of the sword, thus hung from two points not opposite each other, was to take a diagonal bearing, and throw its front edge out of plane. This was at once obviated by slitting the upper portion of the buckle end of the belt into thongs of varying widths, lacing and tying these into the mouth of the scabbard, and carrying the remaining part of the belt in a slanting direction, and free, across the scabbard, until it met on the scabbard the loop of the long portion of the belt. Arrived at this point, the slanting strap was split into two narrowing thongs; these were laced alternately into the sinister or back edge, never into the dexter, of the loop of the long portion of the belt; the ends were run out behind, brought forward to the front of the scabbard, and tied in a 'sennit' knot. Thus the sword was steadied and righted, and this connection of the belt-ends on the scabbard had the further advantage of hindering it from flying wildly about, and entangling in the belt when the sword was drawn from it and the wearer on horseback and in action. That the system answered its purpose there can be no doubt for it remained in constant use, of course with different or modified details, until the middle of the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and it probably had special qualities connected with service in the field, which to us at the present day are not so apparent. No doubt also an advantage of this picturesque and complicated belt was that the loop of the long strap was thus prevented from slipping down the narrowing scabbard by its attachment to the end of the buckle-strap. The pommel of Sir John Lyons' sword is cut into facets in a very unusual way, and the bare hands are posed in prayer after the fashion that was now almost universally established. The mail mufflers and the fingered mail gloves—the ancient prolongations of the sleeves of the hauberk—are now almost clean gone.

The freestone effigy of Margaret de Lyons

lies on the left side of her husband, and represents her in a gown and mantle with its usual fastening cord, a coverchief, and a wimple pinned up under it over pads on each side of the face. The hands are in prayer and the head rests upon two pillows supported by mutilated angels. The straight under line of the eyes in both figures is a marked conventionality of sculptors of the time. Neither effigy is a portrait.

SIR PHILIP LE LOU. Living 1315. Ashton.

The wooden effigy lies upon a modern tomb in the north-east corner of the south aisle, and represents a man in the usual hood, hauberk and chausses of mail, and surcote; the head rests upon two cushions and the hands are in prayer. The vanished shield has been suspended by a broad gigue and was doubtless originally charged with the arms. The sword and right foot have disappeared, and the whole figure is in a melancholy state of decay.¹

¹ From the same art centres which produced the stone effigies came the oaken or wooden figures, of which there are so many in the county. These memorials—with the exception of the odd elongated figure at Braybrooke, probably a production of the local carpenter—have high interest and value, not only from their artistic quality, but from their comparative rarity in the country generally. Their manufacture was as follows:—

The sculptor of a full-sized wooden effigy, say in the early years of the fourteenth century, had many difficulties to contend with. In the first place, he must find a block of well-seasoned oak, sound at the heart, and at least two feet across. This width would be essential whether he represented a knight 'in the posture of prayer,' drawing or sheathing his sword, or a lady 'fair and gent,' holding the mantle-strings, gathering up the long skirts of the gown, or with 'hands in resignation pressed.' It was necessary that the wood be carefully chosen, because the *table* of the monument and important parts of the figure had to be fashioned out of the block, and also because—in order to prevent splitting—the body, as far as it was absorbed into the *table* or bed upon which it would lie, must be hollowed out from the back. There must be no decay or failure breaking through to the front. The sculptor having done his work, and fastened with wooden pins such parts as lay outside the compass of his block, the decorator took the effigy in hand. Having sized the figure as far as was necessary, he glued pieces of linen across the open cracks and knots to bridge over the inequalities. He then gave the statue a thin coat of *gesso*—that is to say, a mixture of parchment size and whitening—with a view to subsequent painting. He applied a thicker coating of *gesso* to those portions of the effigy which he intended to decorate in relief, such as mail, or large surfaces which were to be afterwards gilded

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SIR PHILIP DE GAYTON, died 1316, and ESCHOLACE his wife, living 1284. Gayton.

The wooden effigy of Sir Philip de Gayton lies under an open ogeed arch in the wall that separates the chancel from the chapel, on a high tomb of which the sides are divided by panelled shafts with crocketed finials into twelve niches with ogeed and cusped canopies of very good design. The knight is shown in the well-known military costume of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, consisting of hood, hauberk, genouillères, chausses, spurs, surcote, sword-belt, sword and cingulum, with the head resting upon the usual two pillows, and the feet upon a smooth and sleek animal. It is apparent that a shield, doubtless charged with the De Gayton arms, was originally borne on the left arm. The whole monument, including the effigy, which had fallen into some decay, was 'restored' in 1830.

He was one of the representatives for the county in 1300, and married a lady of whom nothing further is known than that she had a daughter Juliane, married to Thomas de Murdak, and bore the unusual name of Escholace, and was living in 1284. Her graceful freestone effigy lies under a richly moulded pointed arch in the north wall of the chapel. The lady is shown wearing a long loose gown, low in the neck, with tight sleeves fastened with eleven very small buttons at the wrist, very exasperating to do up. Over this garment a mantle is shown gathered under the left arm in the common fashion of effigies of the period, and fastened by a cord held in the left hand. This is the usual attitude with effigies of ladies at this time, and Queen Eleanor is so shown in her statue at Westminster. The face of Escholace has been rechiseled in modern times. She wears one of the numerous varieties of head-dresses, consisting simply of a coverchief flowing to

or silvered, and which he desired, as the medieval artists always did, to break up by slightly raised work in order to supply value and ornamental importance to the gold or silver. The *gesso* he impressed before it hardened with matrices or stamps of various patterns—mail of different sizes being among them—certain *liney* marks showing the removal of the mould as the operator proceeded with his work. As to the surfaces to be gilded, there were many processes. They were usually first treated with bole Armenian, to give depth and richness to the gold leaf, which was much thicker than that of the present day—often, in early times, beaten out of specially supplied gleaming bezants from the East—and, as well as the silver, applied with white of egg, left dead, or burnished with an agate, the *dent de loup* of the Frenchman.

the shoulders over small pads at the sides of the temples, and confined round the head by two jewelled circlets. She has no wimple and in this respect also her dress resembles the effigy of the queen, as well as all the figures on the crosses at Northampton, Geddington and Waltham.

SIR WALTER TREYLLI, died 1290, and ELEANOR his wife, died 1316. Woodford.

The wooden effigy of Sir Walter Treylli lies together with that of his wife on an altartomb in the line of the north arcade of the nave, both figures being carved with considerable art. The knight is represented in a round headpiece covering the mail hood or possibly attached to it, a short surcote, mail hauberk and chausses, and poleyns of plate, the precursors of the more shapely genouillères. He bears a shield on his left arm originally charged with the coat of Treylli. The hands are in prayer and the sword is suspended from the belt by two lockets in accordance with the new fashion then coming in. The feet rest upon a lion and the head upon the usual double pillows. The absence of spurs is very unusual, perhaps unique, and may be attributed to an oversight, unless real spurs were attached. The whole figure has been painted and decorated, according to the invariable practice with wooden effigies, but nearly every trace of this treatment has perished. It is evident that it is a memorial of about the middle of the first quarter of the fourteenth century and it was no doubt set up shortly before or at the death of Eleanor relict of Sir Walter Treylli in 1316.

The figure of Eleanor Treylli is well proportioned. She wears a tight-sleeved and long gown of which the full skirt is gathered up under the left arm in the usual way, falling in voluminous and graceful folds. Over this is worn a mantle; a deep wimple is

The painting upon stone and wooden effigies—for the process was the same in both cases—was of course done in distemper (*tempera*), and finally covered with a coat of plain or tinted oleaginous varnish, a very necessary but not sufficient protection. The failure of the painting upon wooden effigies is attributable to constant changes of temperature, causing the contraction and expansion of the wood, and the consequent breaking up or 'fretting' of the surface. Age, damp and neglect have accelerated the ruin of stone and wooden figures alike, and this has been completed by the periodical scrubblings with soap and water and soda by relentless parish clerks. Thus it is that the effigy of Dame Treylli at Woodford retains traces only of its ancient splendour; all the rest of these interesting memorials in the county are melancholy wrecks.

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fastened up under the chin, a long coverchief falling over it in many folds. The hands are in prayer, the head rests upon two pillows, and the feet upon a dog. The mantle has been diapered in two shades of red and white, in alternate quatrefoils containing concentric foliations, and circles intermittently decorated with swans, and cinquefoils with the same florals centres of a smaller size. Portions of this pattern still remain in the deep folds of the drapery.

SIR WILLIAM DE COMBEMARTYN. Died 1318. Alderton.

The wooden effigy is a good example of a work of art of this character and represents the man in the usual hood, hauberk, chausses, etc. It is accurately carved in an attitude of easy repose, and though it has lost every particle of colour and is sadly decayed, in its looped and windowed raggedness it still exhibits much that arrests the attention. The loose fit of the mail about the right arm and neck is well expressed, and the repair of the block by the sculptor before he handed it over to the painter is evident, as is also the straight under-eye line, the favourite fashion of medieval sculptors of this the best age. The effigy formerly lay in the south aisle of Alderton church, but when this was pulled down in 1848, it was relegated by the process of 'restoration' to an upper stage of the tower.

HAWISE DE KEYNES, living 1329. Dodford.

Under an arch in the north wall lies a neglected and dismembered wooden figure of a lady who wears a veil, wimple originally painted white, kirtle or cote-hardie, formerly blue, and supertunic. This is doubtless the effigy of Hawise, mother of the last Sir Robert de Keynes, and who was living in 1329. On the wall at the back of the arch is painted a representation of two angels bearing away the departed spirit in the shape of a small figure held up in a napkin, and five shields of arms of which two only are legible.

An entry is now made into a new period of costume, with a new king very different from the old one. It may here be mentioned that the outer military garment for the body had three developments. First, the ancient *surcote*. This in its origin reached only to the knees, it subsequently came to such a length at the end of the thirteenth century that, as has been already intimated, men called upon suddenly to fight on foot got their legs enroveled in the *surcote's* ample folds and became easy victims to the foe. The skirt was accordingly evenly reduced all round, but still the shorter drapery was found

to be an inconvenience. A new and strangely unpractical garment was therefore formed by cutting away the whole of the front of the *surcote* up to the middle of the thighs, slitting it up the sides to the hips, taking it in at the body, and lacing it up on the right side. Thus was formed the *cyclas*, which appears to have been a purely English garment.

It did not long find favour. The useless hinder flapping part was an incumbrance, and not more than fifteen monumental effigies in the country, between 1321 and 1346, represent it. As early as 1340 the long hinder flap of the *cyclas* was cut off, it was fitted tightly to the body, the lower edges of the garment were finally quainted or dagged, it was laced up at the side, and the *jupon* made its appearance. These three stages of the gradual growth of a garment from long and loose to short and tight within two hundred years are well exemplified in Northamptonshire. Not less so is the gradual change of the *jupon* to the heraldic *tabard*, as will also duly appear.

The effigies of which that of Sir Laurence de Pavely is an excellent type may properly be classed as belonging to the Transition military equipment between the hauberk and *surcote* effigies of the thirteenth century and the *camail* and *jupon* figures of the latter part of the fourteenth. As with the architectural Transition, the monumental works now to be considered have great beauty and interest. The coming change has already been indicated by the shortened skirts of the *surcote*, as seen in the effigies of De Keynes, Le Lou, and Combemartyn, and in the locketed scabbard of Treylli; indeed, very gradual and strictly chronological advance in armour and costume may be clearly shown from the effigy of De Vere to that of De Pavely, and although on comparing the former figure with that presently to be noticed the latter shows itself as something quite different after a lapse of eighty years, it is noticeable how slowly so complete a change has been brought about by slight varying details and in almost imperceptible modifications in the forms of the different defences and costume.

SIR LAURENCE DE PAVELY, living 1329, and . . . his wife. Paulerspury.

The wooden effigies of Sir Laurence de Pavely and his wife lie upon a high freestone tomb, under the easternmost arch of the chancel aisle, on the north side, with the eastern end of the tomb abutting against the respond of the arch. The north and south sides are divided into five compartments with plain shields within them, suspended altern-

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ately from foliage and heads, under ogeed canopies of good design, cusped and sub-cusped. At the west end of the tomb are two shields under canopies of the same character, the one being hung from a queen's head, crowned and wearing a wimple, the other from the head of a king bearded and crowned, the two being probably intended for Philippa and Edward III.

The effigies have suffered much from decay, whitewash and neglect. De Pavely wears a conical and fluted bascinet, to which a camail is attached in the usual way by laces running through vervelles. This head-gear takes the place of the ancient mail hood, forming an important change. The body is clothed in a haketon with tight-fitting sleeves, and over this is worn the singular garment the *cyclas*, with loose sleeves reaching to the elbow. The hands are protected by plain cuffed gauntlets and the knees by fluted *genouillères*; the legs are encased in chausses of mail, bound with a band below the knees, and the feet armed with rowelled spurs. The sword, which the knight is sheathing, is loosely suspended by a broad transverse belt, fastened by a double locket in accordance with the new fashion, and placed a few inches below the top of the scabbard. How these transverse sword-belts were kept in position at the back, in the absence of the narrow cingulum or waist-strap, is not apparent. They passed away when the *baudric* came in, and reappeared when the latter fell into disuse, as will presently be seen. The left arm carries the mutilated shield, which must have borne the De Pavely charges. The head rests upon two pillows and the feet upon a lion. The effigy of De Pavely is one of very considerable interest. The fluted bascinet is of excessively rare occurrence, and the *cyclas* is rendered the more curious in this instance by having sleeves attached to it. Of the fourteen effigies and brasses exhibiting the *cyclas* in England, three examples are in Northamptonshire.

The effigy of the lady represents her wearing a coverchief over the head confined round the temples with a circlet and falling with long folds over the shoulders. The hair is plaited over small pads and a wimple is pinned up loosely under the chin. She is habited in a gown with tight sleeves and over this is a long supertunic without sleeves, open at the sides as in the later *cote-hardi*, and falling in easy graceful folds to the feet. The hands formerly in prayer are missing. It is apparent that they were separately attached to the effigy. The head reposes upon two pillows, supported by mutilated angels, and a dog lies at the feet. The memorial is a work of

great artistic merit; it is rarely that such an elaborate work, with angels supporting the pillows, is found associated with a wooden effigy.

MAUD HOLAND, about 1330. Woodford Halse.

This well proportioned and delicately-sculptured figure, in hard red sandstone, represents a lady wearing the usual coverchief, wimple, gown and mantle of the time. The hands are in prayer, and the head rests upon two pillows supported by angels. The lower part of the effigy has been greatly mutilated. It was discovered March 7, 1878, buried about two feet below the surface of the ground close to the north wall of the chancel, towards the west, outside.

In 1329 Maud widow of Robert Holand was lady of the manor of Woodford Halse, and is probably represented by this effigy.

SIR THOMAS LE LATYMER. Died 1334. Braybrooke.

This wooden effigy of strange proportion, and of the great length of 7 feet 4 inches, has suffered much from decay. It is carved in very knotty oak, and represents a man wearing a ridged *cervelière* over a mail hood, a hauberk and chausses of mail, *genouillères* of plate, a surcote reaching only to the knees—the *cyclas* in fact, with its hinder portion cut off—and plain gauntlets. The spurs have wheel rowels, and the shield, no doubt originally blazoned with arms, is suspended by a narrow gigue. The short surcote indicates the transition from the *cyclas*, which it resembles in being open at the sides, to the *jupon* which succeeded it as a military garment. The ridged *cervelière* is the precursor of the pointed bascinet, but is very seldom met with.

. . WALE. About 1340. Eydon.

This disfigured freestone effigy of a lady habited in a gown and supertunic probably represents the wife of Sir Richard Wale, who was lord of Eydon in the time of Edward II. It formerly lay under a pew in the north aisle, from whence it was removed into the vestry in 1865.

EFFIGY OF A DELAMERE. Glington.

A man is here represented wearing the unusual dress of a forester. The head is apparently bare with the hair arranged in full locks at the sides. Taking Chaucer's description of the Yeoman in the *Canterbury Pilgrimage*, the shoulders appear to be covered by the *hode*, the body is vested in the *coote* with close-fitting sleeves, and over this is

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worn a short surcote with loose sleeves, the legs are covered by *bosen* and the hands by cuffed gauntlets. On the right side a *horn* is suspended from a narrow crossed strap, and apparently from a *baudric* worn under the supertunic. A *shef of pocok arwes* is carried in what seems to be a sling, a *mighty bowe* is held under the left arm, and the feet rest upon the remains of a hound.

The effigy at Glinton is evidently a monument of the early part of the fourteenth century and probably represents one of the Delamere family who possessed land in the adjoining parish of Northborough, and are said to have held the office of foresters of Kesteven, an adjacent district of Lincolnshire, from the beginning of the thirteenth century. In the time of Bridges it was lying together with the figure of a lady in Glinton churchyard. They were then described as 'two old stones with battered figures of ecclesiastics.' The forester has been sheltered in the tower, but the effigy of the lady remains outside, a mere block of stone.

SIR WILLIAM DE HINTON, living 1346, and . . . his wife. Hinton-in-the-Hedges.

The freestone effigies lie upon low plain panelled tombs of the same material placed continuously against the north wall of the north aisle, and apparently in their original positions. They are somewhat abraded, and were described in 1788 as painted black, perhaps their original condition; they have subsequently been scraped, and in 1866 were coated with thin green lichen. The knight is in a costume very like that of De Paveley at Paulerspury, the attitude is exactly the same, and the latter may possibly have formed the model for a local sculptor. The costume is interesting. De Hinton wears a bascinet and camail, a habergeon, a tight-sleeved haketon, with the lower edge cointised or pinked, a cyclas with a short sleeve on the right side only, gauntlets with articulated cuffs of plate and leather fingers, a mutilated lion-faced pallet or disc is fixed on the right elbow, chausses of mail cover the legs and are bound below the knees. The sword is suspended by a rather narrow belt, from a double locket; on the right side are the remains of a misericorde—the first appearance of this weapon. The shield is hung by a gigue and fastened to the arm by an enarme. The head rests upon the two pillows which are now finally to be superseded in military effigies by the knightly helm. The feet armed with rowel spurs rest upon a lion whose mane is sculptured in a series of long wavy locks instead of the usual short curls.

The effigy of De Hinton's wife is uncouth and rudely executed. She wears a tight-sleeved gown and a mantle looped across the shoulders, a coverchief over the head, pads for the hair at the sides of the face, and a wimple under the chin. The head rests upon the usual double pillows supported by headless angels, and the feet upon a mutilated animal.

SIR JOHN DE LYONS. Living 1346. Warkworth.

The effigy carved in clunch lies under an arch of the north arcade, on a high and narrow altar-tomb of the same stone, of which the north and south sides are divided into eight compartments by buttresses with crocketed finials. Each compartment contains a panel under an ogeed and canopied arch; three of the panels on each side contain figures, and in the other five are shields suspended from foliage. At the west end of the tomb is a kneeling figure under a canopied arch. The east end of the tomb abuts against the respond of the arch under which it is placed. The effigy is a very rich and beautifully sculptured example of the costume of a knight in the middle of the fourteenth century. He wears upon his head a bascinet to which is attached a camail of mail, over his body a cyclas laced at the right side, under this a haketon with sleeves, and under this garment a gambeson. His legs and feet are encased in chausses of mail, the spurs have plain wheel rowels, the knees are protected by genouillères, carefully decorated with ball-flowers and quatrefoils, like the 'Paules windows' on the shoes of the laity, the elbows by guards and lion-faced discs, and the hands by gauntlets of plate and leather, with close-fitting cuffs, strapped round the wrists. The spurs have plain rowels, left almost in block by the sculptor. The knight's head, supported by angels, rests upon his helm for battle and jousting, surmounted by the crest. The feet press, with admirable spontaneity, on a lion. The shield is charged with the lion rampant of De Lyons. The sword is suspended by an elaborate baudric worn obliquely, the ends of it are fastened to a double locket placed a few inches below the top of the scabbard. In later swords the double locket is close to the top, and in earlier examples two single ones are used. The end of the scabbard is protected by a chape or bouterolle, and the pommel of the sword is ornamented with a human face. The ornate misericorde is slung by a loop from the baudric, and every detail of the effigy has received the sculptor's most careful attention. Such was the military dress in which the heroes of Cressy and Poitiers



SIR JOHN DE LYONS. LIVING 1346. WARKWORTH.

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took the field. Of the six figures or weepers on the sides of the tomb, four are men and two women, the men being in complete harness of a slightly later date than that shown on the effigy. The women appear to wear mourning habits. The kneeling figure at the west end is in armour of the same character as that of the male statuettes at the sides. It probably represents the last Sir John Lyons son of the subject of the paramount figure.

No doubt from the architecture and costume of this interesting memorial, it commemorates Sir John de Lyons, who was living in 1346. It is nevertheless somewhat remarkable that we should find upon the tomb the arms of the wife of the last Sir John de Lyons, son of the subject of the effigy, and who was married in 1370, as well as those of his brother-in-law and successor Sir Nicholas de Chetwode who died in 1369. These coats must have been sculptured after the marriages. The existence of the Chetwode arms upon the tomb seems to account for the absence of any other memorial to Sir Nicholas in Warkworth church, where brasses still remain to several of his immediate successors.

JOHN DE ARDELE. Aston-le-Walls.

Near the north door of the chancel is a cinquefoil-headed arch containing the freestone effigy of a priest with a crocketed canopy over the head. He is shown vested in alb, stole, chasuble and amice, and of course wears the tonsure. This is a monument of the middle of the fourteenth century, and probably commemorates John de Ardele who was presented to the church in 1348.

SIR JOHN DE PATESHULL. Died 1350. Cold Higham.

This individual is represented by a cross-legged effigy carved in oak, and lying under a richly-moulded ogee arch in the south wall of the chapel, upon a freestone tomb with delicate tracery panels, containing ten blank shields under cusped canopies. It is an instructive example of military costume, and is so far, and indeed widely, transitional that it presents details of armour both of the beginning and of the middle of the fourteenth century. For instance the mail hauberk, surcoat and chausses are of the former, while the plate and leather gauntlets, the cotes, genouillères, bascinet and camail are of the latter time. The head rests upon the customary pillows of the older fashion, and the feet upon the lion, which appears to acquire greater fierceness of expression and fulness of treatment as time advances. The

figure has suffered from decay in the usual manner and has been painted white in modern days.

Nothing is known of the knight here commemorated save that he was lord of Cold Higham in the time of Edward II. and Edward III. and died in 1350, the probable date of the effigy. It is reasonable to suppose that the surcoat was originally blazoned with the arms, and it may be hoped that no amateur in archæology will now claim as the effigy of a *crusader* this cross-legged representation of a man who died eighty years after the last of the romantic expeditions to Palestine.¹

¹ The procedure during the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century with regard to the fashioning of monumental figures sufficiently explains why we find effigies in the purely English conventional attitude so common throughout the country, and particularly during the half century subsequent to the last crusade of 1270. Such memorials bear, obviously, no more reference to attachment to the enthusiastic expeditions to Palestine than to participation in the wars of Edward I. in Wales and Scotland.

With a view to once more dispelling this fiction, it may be stated that there are no cross-legged figures to be found on the continent, and that one of the striking characteristics of the armed English effigies is that with two or three exceptions they are uniformly shown with open eyes, as living and alert, with the hands in prayer or drawing or sheathing their swords. Moreover, devotional feeling has been invariably expressed in recumbent statues throughout Christendom by the position and treatment of the hands and not by the attitude of the legs, and this is illustrated by hundreds of monumental effigies from end to end of England.

Practically the cross-legged attitude is one that a recumbent living figure naturally takes, and it was not a posture reserved to illustrate romantic episodes in one period of the world's history. The old sculptors of the golden age of English Gothic speedily saw the sculptural value in the natural and restful character of the living position. It added at once an artistic flow of the lines to the folds of the surcote, while the yielding nature of the mail specially promoted and lent itself to the particular technical treatment of English effigies which we look for in vain on the continent.

By far the greater number of cross-legged effigies are, as has been intimated, of a later date than the Eighth and last Crusade of 1270. The attitude being a purely conventional one was only very gradually adopted by the sculptors from about the time of the Seventh Crusade of 1248. Consequently the generality of examples in this posture are to the memory of men who flourished a whole generation subsequent to 1270, and whose military ardour was chiefly expended in the Welsh and Scotch wars.

The existing cross-legged effigies of such men as Brian Fitz Alan at Bedale, Yorkshire (died 1302),

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All the wooden effigies in the county are carved in oak, and there is no pretence for the idea that any of them are in chestnut.

Having arrived at the borders of the third quarter of the fourteenth century, by slow and well-defined changes in military costume, the alabaster period is entered upon, but as regards this county not until thirty years after this tractable material first came into use. A type of military habit is now presented which is more fully exemplified than any other in the whole range of English monumental art. The recumbent bronze statue of the Black Prince at Canterbury—'An image in relieved work of laton gilt placed in memory of us—*'tout armez de fier de guerre'*—is indeed a notable type of the camail and jupon period, and the pure alabaster figure of Sir John de Herteshull is no less important in its way, and a very early example of the style of armour which, arrived at step by step, again passed away by equally slow degrees.¹

John de Hastings at Abergavenny (died 1313), and Aylmer de Valence in Westminster Abbey (died 1323), none of whom went to a crusade, as well as countless similar figures of the same period, and later, which were made under the same conditions, and dating, indeed, throughout the first half of the fourteenth century, are not only entirely in accord with the system of medieval sculpture, but constitute the irrefragable evidence of historical monuments as regards the subject.

And although art of this kind naturally deteriorated with the gradual change from mail to plate defences, there was always propriety of treatment of the subject. The truthful though wholesale manufacturers of the bascinet-and-camail and later effigies in 'monumental alabaster,' soon recognized the fitness of not crossing 'in effigy' the legs of men encased in rigid tubes of steel, and who could not have so placed them with any degree of comfort, if at all, in real life.

Of the fifteen cross-legged effigies in Northamptonshire, only one, that of Sir Robert de Vere (died 1250), represents a man who is known to have taken part in a Crusade, namely, in the Seventh of 1248. Of the rest, one is of Sir David De Esseby who died before 1268, while six represent men who deceased between 1280 and 1296, and who may or may not have gone to Palestine; but of such expeditions there appears no record, although other military services are carefully chronicled. The remaining seven cross-legged effigies in the county are the memorials of persons who died between 1305 and 1350, and who took part in no crusade, the latter date being in fact eighty years after the last of those military expeditions. No doubt an analysis of the cross-legged effigies and brasses in any county in England would yield precisely the same results.

¹ It is apparent from examples which will be duly notified that blocks of clunch, magnesian limestone, alabaster and other proper material were

SIR JOHN DE HERTESHULL. Dead 1365. Ashton.

The effigy lies in the south-east corner of the south aisle upon a tomb of hard red sandstone, of rude and no doubt local workmanship, with the front divided into seven panelled compartments, with flat single cusped ogee arches. The figure is sculptured out of a block of pure alabaster 7 feet long, 2 feet wide, and about 18 inches thick. De Herteshull appears armed in a tall conical bascinet, with a camail of mail fastened by laces running through vervelles. The shoulders are protected by articulations of plate, and the arms by brassarts, articulated coudières and vambraces. The curtailed cyclas has developed into a jupon under which is worn the hauberk of which the lower part appears below the jupon's cointised edge. Under the jupon a circular breastplate or *plastron de fer* is suggested by the swelling outline of the chest. Round the hips is buckled a very elegant

constantly sent from their beds in Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Derbyshire and other parts during the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to be sculptured into effigies in London and other artistic centres. Their high character marks them out from the rude memorials presumably made by the village mason at local stone quarries. It will be remembered that Cennino Cennini, who completed his valuable work on painting in 1437, in his usual simple piety invokes the Virgin Mary, and then gives directions how to take casts from the life. This is valuable evidence, as showing what assistance the sculptors may have had in special cases in the early part of the fifteenth century towards obtaining faithful likenesses.

Shortly after the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century the uses and value of Derbyshire alabaster were recognized. The earliest artistic exponent of this material is perhaps the beautiful figure of John of Eltham in the Abbey (died 1334). But the effigy of Edward II., set up in Gloucester Cathedral by Edward III., must have been made about the same time, as well as that of the king's second son, William of Hatfield in York Minster, who, having been born in the winter of 1335, and living only a few weeks, is commemorated by a statue of a boy of about twelve years old. Thus appreciated in the highest quarters, alabaster opens a long artistic vista, and its importance is emphasized by the fact that we know precisely the sources of this admirable material which surrendered so readily to the chisel, and was worked principally on its own ground. The results were sent everywhere, actually under safe-conducts to Nantes, in 1408—the monument of the irascible John Duke of Brittany, made by Thomas Colyn and two others, at the request of Joan of Navarre, as a memorial of her first husband.

Even without looking at the effigies, a clear judgement can be formed as to the amount of

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horizontal baudric, the new sword-belt, which was introduced in or about 1335, and lasted in purity until the end of the century, being from that time gradually superseded until about 1420, when it had quite vanished. It should be noticed that with the baudric the misericorde was generally first introduced, and it disappears and reappears during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It must be that when the cingulum and other subsidiary belts of the surcote and cyclas periods, which supported the transverse sword-belts passed away, the baudric was sewn to the jupon to prevent it from slipping over the hips. It is apparent that the gussets of the arms, at the elbows and shoulders, are the visible parts of the hauberk, the jupon furnishing no more protection than did the surcote; indeed St. Remy says that the French at Agincourt even wore hauberks under their plate armour—'Premièrement estoient armés de cottes d'acier, longues, passants les genoux, et moult pesantes; et par-dessous harnois de jambe; et par-dessus blancs harnois; et de plus, bachinets de camail.' The thighs are protected by cuissarts, and the knees by genouillères ridged and studded, and with single inverted lower articulations. The head reposes upon two pillows, tasselled, for the first time, and supported by angels. The lower portion of this fine effigy is greatly mutilated, the heel and part of the left (in two senses) foot, shod with a rowel spur, rests against a lion. The hands and wrists are gone. Round the verge of the slab, which is

portraiture which now, under such a wholesale alabaster system, could have been produced; and when we see the 'marble' countenances themselves the conclusion is verified at once. For countless alabaster effigies throughout the country follow the same bascinet-and-camail model. From the last quarter of the fourteenth century a *furor* to be thus represented in effigy seems to have set in both with regard to alabaster and brass. There was not, nor could there be, portraiture, but there was perfect accuracy in arming details, for the sculptors were well acquainted with the glittering suits of steel, and with the heraldry on the jupons and the tabards.

We find these alabaster representations from Derbyshire throughout the west of England, in the mid-lands, in East Anglia and in the northern and southern counties, from Cumberland to the Isle of Wight. And though there arose a reaction in favour of brass memorials as against alabaster, supported by importations from the Low Countries from about 1418, the fashion again reverted to the use of the delicate and easily-worked stone, and its employment never died out again until after the middle of the seventeenth century, and then, apparently, only because the quarries ceased

embattled and ornamented with ball-flowers, is the following inscription, divided at intervals and alternately by scutcheons and roses: $\text{X}:\text{m}o\text{on}f\text{r}:-:\oplus:\text{J}o\text{h}:\text{O}:\text{an}:\oplus:\text{de}:\text{het}:\text{O}:\text{tel}\oplus\text{hull}:\text{O}:\text{le}\oplus\text{it}:\text{O}:\text{p}e\text{g}:\oplus:\text{dy}:\text{O}:\text{eu}:\text{O}:\text{di}:\oplus:\text{fa}:\text{O}:\text{a}:\oplus:\text{me}:\text{O}:\text{eit}:\oplus:\text{me}:\text{O}:\text{rci}:\oplus:\text{O}am\oplus\text{en};$ the letters being much broken and defaced towards the end.

SIR JOHN SWINFORD. Died 1371. Spratton.

This effigy lies upon a low embattled altar-tomb of alabaster, under an arch between the chancel and the north chancel aisle, and enclosed on the south side by coeval iron railings, with the main standards formed into pricket candlesticks, herse-fashion. It is a massive and striking figure, cut out of a block of spotless alabaster, 7 feet long, 2 feet 4 inches wide, and 1 foot 9 inches deep, and although there is no departure from the general mode of representing the deceased at this time, there is an unusual amount of repose and dignity about the figure which is very impressive. All the details are carefully rendered, and the whole has been elaborately painted and gilded. On the head is shown the bascinet, with the camail fastened by laces running through staples or vervelles in the usual way. Over the camail is worn a collar of SS, the letters strung on two ribbons, and set in a metal or cuir-bouilli band of which the ends are fastened together by a single cord, the slack end expended in a knot similar to the slip in what is called a hangman's knot. The shoulders are protected by

to yield sufficiently good material. The best alabaster had, in fact, already begun to succumb to the heavy demands made upon it before the end of the fifteenth century, and it rapidly deteriorated in quality from that time.

The use of alabaster brought about retrogression in monumental art. It rapidly did away with the employment of *gesso* on effigies, and put an end to the delicate painted decorations on such monuments of which Stothard, with infinite zeal and pains, and only just in time, rescued the evidences from obliteration and oblivion.

Under these conditions it will be at once anticipated that the number of alabaster effigies in Northamptonshire is very considerable. As a matter of fact, they form the large proportion of 50 of the 118 effigies in the county, ranging between the years 1371-1629. The earliest example is that of Sir John de Herteshull, who died at least thirty years after alabaster had come into use. As has been already noticed, the alabaster employed for effigies up to about the end of the fifteenth century was of a pure white kind. It was free from the red streaks and imperfections of the inferior stone which was subsequently used, and finally abandoned on account of its impurity.

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articulated épaulières, the arms to the elbows by brassarts (arrière bras or rerebraces), the elbows with the advanced details of double articulations, the forearms by avant bras or vambraces, and the hands by plate gauntlets with leather palms and fingers of articulated plates. The gussets of the arms at the 'vif de l'harnois' seem to indicate a garment of leather—'la cuera de antes' of Spanish knights. The body is clad in a hauberk, over which a jupon is worn, with the bottom edge pinked or déchiqueté, and laced upon the right side. Over this is worn an elaborate baudric bearing the initials of the wearer, I.S., thrice repeated, and from which, suspended by two rose-studded chains (one is partly destroyed), is a ponderous sword, 4 feet 4 inches long; it has unfortunately lost its quillons. On the right side are the remains of a misericorde, at this time an indispensable attribute of the accoutrements of a soldier. Below the jupon appears the hauberk of mail, like the camail in large links and originally gilded. The thighs are covered by cuissarts and upon the front of these defences, about an inch below the hauberk, is a short fillet checked at intervals and apparently of a piece with the cuissarts. The only explanation that can be offered of these singular additions is that they were features in the armour of Sir John Swinford to meet a special requirement. They have their value in showing that care was taken in this instance to instruct the sculptors to represent accurately this peculiarity of an individual suit. The knees are protected by genouillères, slightly ridged and with single articulations. The legs are cased in greaves or jambeaux, and the feet covered by articulated sollerets, of which the three last members, which would have projected through the stirrup, cover only the upper half of the foot. The rowels of the spurs are gone; the head resting on a tilting helm—the fashion now established—deeply hollowed out and showing the ocularia, and surmounted by the crest: and the feet press against a lion, admirably rendered, and with his tail wound round the sword.

It must be noticed that the collar of SS, one of the fourteen associated with effigies in the county, appears to be the earliest sculptured example in England. Sir John Swinford died in 1371; there is no question of the precise period and subject of the effigy, and the fact therefore remains not only that this knight was entitled to wear a collar of SS, but that the decoration was an established livery collar when Henry of Lancaster was yet a boy, since he was not born until 1360. This at once disposes of the favourite conjecture that

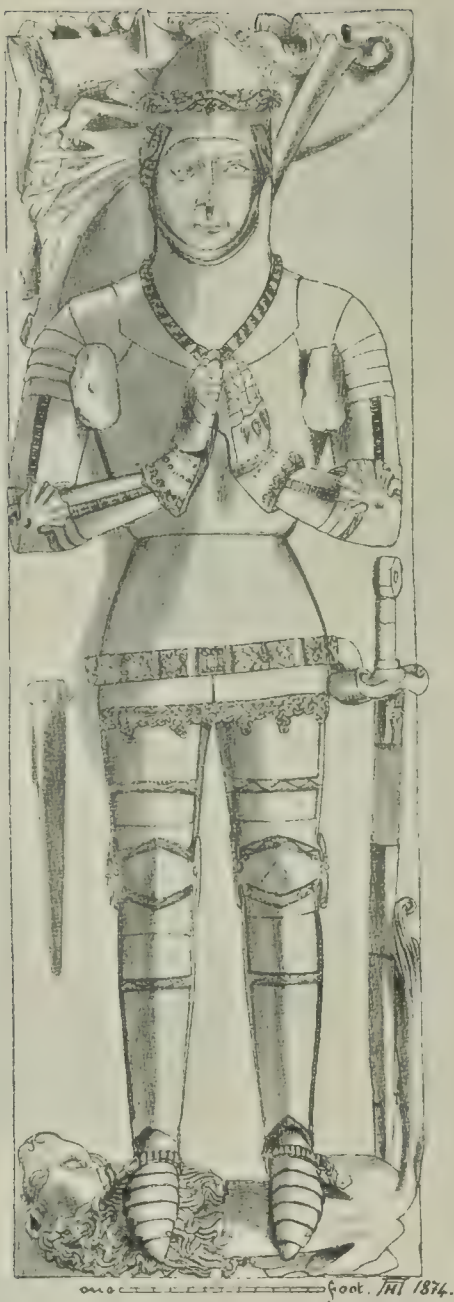
the SS collar was first devised by Henry IV. when he was Earl of Derby in allusion to the motto *Souverayne*.

On each side of the alabaster tomb are three sunk circles, containing shields within trefoils.

EFFIGY AT ORLINGBURY, about 1375.

This alabaster effigy differs in a very few respects from those at Ashton and Spratton. It is very delicately carved, and represents a man in a bascinet with the camail, of which the attachment is covered by a foliated coronal or 'prente,' with an ornamental frontlet such as is described in the will of Humphrey de Bohun, died 1321, as 'j. petite prente oue foilles d'argent oue j. frountele de Saye pur j. bacynet.' It is inscribed in front over the brow *Ihc nazani*, and at the sides are the first four words of the penitential Psalm li., *Miserere mei Deus secundum (benignitatem tuam secundum amplitudinem miserationum tuarum dele defectiones meas)*. The armour for the body is the same as at Ashton and Spratton, the coudières and genouillères being edged with a lozengy border, which also appears upon the cuffs of the gauntlets, themselves further strengthened by gads or gadlings. The jupon sculptured with the arms—a fesse between three lozenges—is deeply fringed at its bottom edge, and the mail hauberk is just evident below it. The baudric is a refined example of the almost endless varieties of this military belt. Extra articulations or reinforcing plates are shown on the cuissarts and jambeaux, which are worked with a lozengy ornament on the hinging seams, and closed on the inside with little hooks, their first appearance in this relation. The head reposes on the tilting helm, with the crest, and the dilapidated feet showing the remains of the spurs, on a well-executed lion.

Orlingbury was held by a family bearing the local surname from the beginning of the reign of Edward II. to the middle of the fourteenth century. The manor was subsequently divided, and the names of knights of the families of Orlingbury, Loges, Verdon and Thurning occur as holding parts of knights' fees here, or levying fines of the manor up to the end of the third quarter of the century. During the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. knights of the names of Simson, Curtys and Wimbish are recorded as more or less connected with Orlingbury. The effigy is clearly of the extreme end of the fourteenth century, but none of the above-mentioned persons are signalized as bearing the arms—a fesse between three lozenges—and the absence of tinctures on the jupon make it impossible to appropriate the coat to any one of the



SIR JOHN DE WITTELBURY. ABOUT 1410.
MARHOLM.

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twenty-nine families who displayed these charges on their shields.

WENTILIANA DE KEYNES. Died 1376. Dodford.

Immediately in front of the monument of Hawise de Keynes is the freestone effigy and altar-tomb of her great-granddaughter Wentiliana, the namesake of her great-aunt, and the last of this ancient house. She was lady of the manor of Dodford, and died unmarried in 1376. Like her maternal predecessor, Wentiliana is habited in a veil, kirtle and super-tunic, her head is supported by angels, and in her uplifted hands she holds a heart, the only instance in Northamptonshire. 'Let us lift up our heart with our hands unto God in the heavens' (Lamentations iii. 41). The front of the tomb is divided by piers charged with blank shields hanging from talbots' heads, into six trefoil-headed, cusped and crocketed niches, which contain small figures of knights with swords and veiled ladies—'weepers,' in attitudes of great distress.

JOHN PYEL, died about 1380, and JOAN his wife. Irthlingborough.

The alabaster effigies represent a man wearing a merchant's gown and a gypcière, and a woman in a gown, kirtle and mantle. The figures are in a shockingly mutilated state, and lie upon an altar-tomb panelled with quatrefoils containing blank shields, in the south aisle of the church.

SIR JOHN DE WITTELBURY, about 1410. Marholm.

The effigy is vigorously carved in clunch, and lies upon a beautiful clunch altar-tomb under the south-eastern arch of the nave arcade. The sides and ends of the tomb are divided into twelve multifoliated panels containing blank shields, the plinth is panelled with quatrefoils, and the cornice ornamented with grotesque animals and richly sculptured round the verge. De Wittelbury wears a bascinet with the enriched 'prente' for covering the attachment of the camail. This latter is replaced by a bavière, and over it is worn the deep plate gorget. The headpiece is encircled by a jewelled orle, of a pattern that was common at this period, for preventing the pressure of and steadying the tilting helm. A collar of SS signifies the wearer's attachment to the person of the king. The articulations at the shoulders have increased in number from those last noticed at Orlingbury. Pallettes are introduced at the 'vif de l'harnois,' fan coudières, richly edged and with double articulations at the elbows, and

the plate gauntlets have foliated edgings on the cuffs and gadlings on the knuckles; the joints of the brassarts, avant bras, cuissarts and jambes are richly seamed. The knight wears a tight-fitting jupon, and an elaborate baudric, below which the mail hauberk appears, with additional sets of free-hanging rings very characteristic of the time, and which were usually gilt. Modern oriental mail has these loose rings in brass. The feet are encased in sollerets and armed with spurs, of which the leathers are crimped in a manner only seen in connection with effigies of this time. The quillons of the sword appear to be late seventeenth century repairs. The head rests upon a tilting helm, with the crest, and the feet upon a lion. The whole figure is capitally executed and represents a most interesting suit.

All that is known of John de Wittelbury is that he was attached in some way to the person of the king, and that he was lord of the manor of Marholm in the time of Richard II. and Henry IV.

RALPH GREENE, died 1419, and KATHERINE his wife. Lowick.

The indenture of agreement made in 1419 between Katherine, widow of Ralph Greene, and two others, his executors, and Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton, 'kervers' of Chellaston, Derbyshire—published in Halstead's *Genealogies*, merely states that the tomb of Ralph Greene and his wife at Lowick shall sustain 'deux images d'alabastre, l'un countrefait a un Esquier en Armes en toutz pointz, avec un helm de soubz son chief, et un ours a ses pies, et l'autre image sera countrefait a une dame gisant en sa surcote overte, avec deux Anges tenant un pilow de soubz sa teste, et deux petitz chiens a ses pies, l'un des ditz images tenant l'autre par la main.' There is not a word in the agreement to the effect that the two figures shall be presented 'come ils estaient en leur vivant.' Accordingly the effigy of Greene, hand in hand with that of his wife, shows him as an armed man *quelconque*, but accurately depicting the armour of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the jupon bearing the Greene arms; and similarly the effigy of the lady is no more than a type of the costume of the day.

Greene is habited in armour of the same character as that of De Wittelbury, but more advanced, and while adhering generally to truthful representation, the effigy has just such difference of detail and treatment as is to be expected from the interpretation of well-known forms of defensive armour by the chisel of a different artist working in a more facile

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material. The headpiece, with a similar orle to that of De Wittelbury, has *ȝhe naȝa* inscribed on the front, and the defences for the body and arms are practically the same, with the addition of a camail with a free-ringed edge appearing below the gorget, and, surprising though it is, unmistakably shown to be worn under a mentonnière of plate, the gorget covering both these protections. The simpler form of the coudières and the fastening buckles of the brassarts and avant bras are noticeable. The jupon is charged with the arms of Ralph Greene's father. The gauntleted left hand holds the right gauntlet, gallantly removed to clasp the right hand of the faithful Katherine. These protections for the hand exhibit the advance of gadlings on the fingers as well as on the knuckles. The close-fitting jupon, *déchiqueté* after the earlier fashion, is bound round the hips by the baudric, the free-ringed edge of the hauberk appearing below. This belt now sustains the misericorde only, which disappeared with the disuse of the baudric and reappeared during the Wars of the Roses, the sword being slung from a narrow transverse strap, a recurrence in modified form to the broad sword-belts of the early part of the fourteenth century. How it was kept in position at the back there is no evidence to show. The cuissarts, genouillères and jambes are richly bordered and seamed, and the sollerets, which rest on a muzzled bear—'*un ours à ses pies*'—are reinforced by instep plates and armed with spurs with crimped straps, after the peculiar and short-lived fashion of the time. The head rests on the tilting helm—as the agreement has it, '*un helm de soubz son chief*,' with the crest.

The effigy of Katherine Greene shows her in accordance with the terms of the agreement as '*gisant en sa surcote overte, avec deux anges tenant un pilow de soubz sa teste, et deux petitz chiens a ses pies*,' and wearing, besides the mantle or surcote, a tight sleeved gown and a cote hardi. The head-dress, supported by two angels with a pillow, is very remarkable, the hair being widely displayed on either side over pads under a net, a long veil falls behind, and this is surmounted by a heavy coronal, more than twice the size of, and with the same details as the orle on the husband's helmet.

SIR JOHN CRESSY. Died 1444. Dodford.

A period has now intervened during which brasses to a large extent took the place of effigies as monumental memorials. Such brazen records are well supplied in the county, but to a much smaller scale than the effigies. A space of rather more than twenty

years being thus bridged over, the capital alabaster effigy of Sir John Cressy presents itself for consideration.

This distinguished soldier is represented in a suit of armour that is noteworthy, both in itself as well as in showing how great an alteration had gradually and continuously taken place in military dress since the death of Henry IV. in 1413. The old-fashioned jupon, the lineal descendant of the ancient surcote, is now clean gone, the baudric has vanished, and gone are the bascinet and camail. With the exception of the new gorget of mail and a mail skirt, the man is now 'lock'd up in steel,' and the change has been complete and remarkable.

The effigy of De Cressy represents him in a gorget, or more properly a standard of mail, and wearing a collar of SS to which a trefoil pendant is attached. The shoulders are protected by a series of articulations, the lowest being deep, forming the main shoulder plates, and cut out on the right side to facilitate the working of the sword arm. In other and coteremporary and later examples, these defences took the form of reinforcing plates, fixed to the under armour, having great variety of shape, and attaining, like the elbow guards of the time, extraordinary dimensions. De Cressy's elbow guards are of comparatively moderate form, the brassarts are buckled inside, and the avant bras tubular. The gauntlets are fine examples with gadlings on the knuckles. The body is covered by a cuirass '*à emboîtement*,' formed of two parts, of which the lower overlaps the upper, giving flexibility. To the cuirass are attached five tassets, each hinged on the left and buckled on the right side; channelled tuiles are fastened by straps to the lowest tasset, and under them the mail skirt, which had now taken the place of the ancient hauberk, appears. The legs are cased in cuissarts, the knees protected by genouillères with plain and engrailed articulations, and the jambes are richly seamed and hinged as usual. Reinforcing plates are fastened below the knees by a nut fixed by half a turn, and the feet, covered with articulated sollerets, and armed with rowel spurs with enriched leathers, rest upon a sleek animal. The sword, its hilt decorated with *ȝhe*—'*Goddess hygh name thereon was grave*'—is suspended by a broad transverse richly studded belt, and the head reposes on the tilting helm with the crest—a demi Saracen, armed.

The effigy lies upon a high altar-tomb of alabaster. The sides are divided into compartments containing angels holding shields of arms, and between them are small figures under trefoil arches. Round the verge of



SIR JOHN CRESSY. DIED 1444. DODFORD.



ARCHDEACON SPONNE. DIED 1448. TOWCESTER.

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the tomb is the following inscription: *Hic jacet Johes Cressy miles d'nus isti ville quondam capitani de Lysieux Orbef et Pontleueque in Normadia ac cõiliari dñi regis in Francia qui obiit apud Tobe in Loirina iiiiº die marcii anno dñi mº cccc xliiii cui añie p̃picietur deus, amen.*

It is uncertain whether a portrait has been produced in the effigy; circumstances were certainly against accuracy, but no doubt it was attempted, and that the memorial somewhat resembles one of the most notable of the ancient worthies of the county. The eyes however are treated in the narrow slit fashion of sculptors of the day. The neck is shaved high up into the hair, which is cropped to a hard line round the head, far above the ears, and according to the ugly custom then prevailing. It is also doubtful whether the body of the captain of Lisieux, Orbef and Pont l'Eveque lies within the panelled alabaster altar-tomb, with its lines of angels holding shields of arms, alternating with 'weepers'; but if he is indeed enshrined within this graceful grave, it may well be said that 'after life's fitful fever he sleeps well.'

JOHN DYCSON. Died 1445. Yelvertoft.

Under a canopy in the north wall of the chancel lies the alabaster effigy of John Dycson, who was presented to the church in 1439. He is represented wearing the usual sacerdotal vestments, consisting of alb, stole, chasuble, maniple and amice, with the very unusual addition for a priest of a dalmatic worn under the chasuble. The head of the figure rests upon a pillow supported by mutilated angels, and the feet upon a kneeling lamb. The whole of the surface of the alabaster on one side has been disintegrated, apparently by the dropping of water from the roof. The wall outside the chancel at the back of the tomb is beautifully panelled and decorated with quatre-foils.

ARCHDEACON SPONNE. Died 1448. Towcester.

This liberal-minded ecclesiastic was buried before the altar of the Virgin in the parish church of St. Laurence. The effigy lies upon an open altar-tomb consisting of eight buttressed shafts, with open four-centred and cusped arches, with foliage in their spandrels. The upper slab is richly moulded, and ornamented with the Sponne arms and roses, and forms a canopy over 'the lively picture of death' which lies beneath it. This lower stone effigy represents a corpse stretched upon a winding-sheet, and shows considerable power of sculpture and knowledge of anatomy.

When the church was repewed in 1835, it was thought necessary to lower the actual tomb of the archdeacon, and it was then discovered that the oblong sepulchre which contained the body was formed of rough slabs of limestone, strongly cemented together, with an opening loosely closed on the south side. The skeleton of the deceased was found in a perfect state of preservation, lying on a bed of fine white sand, and with no trace of any vestments or coffin.

The archdeacon is represented in a long cassock, or *toga talaris coccinea*, reaching below the feet, and with sleeves closely buttoned at the wrists; a 'surples wythe sleveys'; and an *almutium*, or aumasse, a furred tippet and hood covering the breast and shoulders. These are not the usual eucharistic vestments, but those of a canon of a cathedral or a member of some collegiate or conventual foundation as attired in the choir habit. Sculptured effigies in this costume are extremely rare, but the feoffees of the Sponne charity, in their laudable zeal to preserve this fine monument, did not retain the original colours of the vestments. Up to the year 1883 they were all painted black. The entire tomb is of clunch except the head and hands of the archdeacon's effigy, which were of oak. The tonsure is not shown on the head of the upper effigy or on that of the skeleton figure.

It would have been satisfactory if it could now have been recorded that the active history of this interesting memorial to the town's great benefactor ceased before the lamentable restoration of the church in 1883. But at that time the effigy of the archdeacon was 'denudated' or stripped by a tool of all its coats of paint, including that which gave the original colours of the vestments; the figure was decapitated, and a new and gross stone head with wild Medusa-like locks put in the place of the wooden one, and bearing of course no kind of resemblance to it or to work of the period of the effigy. In the old head it is probable that there was some likeness of the man. It had been treated with *gesso* for painting after the usual medieval manner, and was in perfect harmony with the figure; in the modern one it is certain that there is none. The only authority for this absolutely needless and mischievous work was that of the legal guardians of the memorial—the vicar and churchwardens! To crown all, at the present day, the original head is 'lost'!

This particular case—which it is difficult to allude to with any kind of moderation—is mentioned as a very glaring instance of the ignorant and barbarous manner in which local history is dislocated or written backwards, and

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historical monuments defaced or wiped out under the shelter of 'restoration,' which daily devours apace.

SIR THOMAS GREENE, died 1457, and PHILIPPA his wife. Greene's Norton.

The long-suffering alabaster effigy of the third Sir Thomas Greene again shows an advance, and is a good prelude to the still more elaborate but rare military effigies which were set up to the memory of men who flourished during the latter part of the wars between the rival Houses, and of which unfortunately there are no examples in the county.

Greene is represented in a standard of mail or gorget, and wearing a collar of SS with a trefoil and ring pendant. The shoulders are protected by deep articulated épaulières, with reinforcing plates, replacing the earlier pallets, fixed to the body armour by nuts, and the right plate being shaped for freedom of the sword arm. The 'défauts de la cuirasse' are of mail, the avant-bras and brassarts circularly channelled or fluted, and the great coudières fixed by ties or arming points. The bare hands are uncommon at this period. The tassets are hinged on the right and buckled on the left side; to the lowest the channelled tuilles with engrailed edges are attached, the mail skirt being worn under them. The cuissarts are slightly waved, the genouillères plain with the large wings and small articulations of the period. The reinforcing plate of the plain jambes is fluted. The bare head, resting upon the tilting helm with the crest, shows that the hair cropped high up to a hard line, as in the effigy of Sir John Cressy, is now abandoned.

The effigy of Philippa Greene exhibits the hair confined in a flowered caul, the lady wearing a mitre head-dress such as may still be seen among the peasantry in Normandy. She is habited in a tight-fitting gown falling in straight folds to the feet, and a mantle fastened from a brooch on the right side by double cords looped through a brooch on the left; the head rests on a pillow supported by mutilated angels, and round the neck is a collar of SS, a very unusual attribute of a lady.

The church of Greene's Norton formerly contained a most interesting series of monuments of the Greene family, consisting of altar-tombs with brasses and effigies. Their general condition at the end of the seventeenth century is somewhat indifferently shown by engravings in *Halstead's Genealogies*, a volume of great rarity compiled by Mr. Rans, chaplain to the second Earl of Peterborough, and the memorials appear to have been considerably maltreated and de-

spoiled before that time. The effigies in question were then said to represent Chief-Justice Sir Henry Greene and Katherine his wife. Sir Henry Greene was buried at Boughton, and the costume shown by the Greene's Norton effigies is nearly a century after his time. Bridges in his description of the monuments has confounded one tomb with another, taking no account of armour and costume. Baker identifies the effigy with the first Sir Thomas Greene who died in 1391, but the costume exhibited is not of this period; and it fortunately happens that the armour and dress shown by the figures are of so distinct a character that their date cannot be mistaken. They are the effigies of the third Sir Thomas Greene who died in 1457, and of his wife Philippa, daughter of Robert fourth Lord Ferrers of Chartley.

The Greene monuments had already suffered before the time of 'Halstead'; they had been further mutilated and plundered of their brasses when Bridges described them; but their complete desecration was reserved to the year 1826, when the church was beautified by the authorities—'actuated by a proper spirit.' It is one of the saddest passages of Northamptonshire history.

Whatever memorial there was of the first Sir Thomas Greene, died 1391, has vanished entirely. The grey marble slab of the second Sir Thomas Greene, died 1417, and his wife, has been taken off its tomb and laid in the pavement; the brass plate with the inscription, the two shields and the knight are gone; the figure of the lady alone remains, the sides of the tomb being used as paving in the chancel. The alabaster effigies of the third Sir Thomas Greene and his wife appear to have been taken from the midst of the chancel and cast into an obscure corner of the church before 1826. At this time they were again brought to light; the despoiled tomb of the fifth Sir Thomas Greene was entirely removed from its arch in the north aisle, and in its stead the effigies were placed—the lady in a recumbent position, raised upon a tomb of rubble, and at her head, in an erect attitude, the figure of the knight broken off at the knees, the feet resting against a lion and portions of his legs lying loose. At the back and one end of the arch are slabs of alabaster, divided into narrow trefoil-headed compartments, containing alternately shields nearly obliterated. These are parts (about one-third) of the sides of the tomb; the remainder are said to have been taken away and made into a pigsty. The tomb of the fourth Sir Thomas Greene, died 1462, and his wife, has been entirely destroyed, but the

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Sussex marble slab containing the five brasses of the knight, his wife, a child and two shields still remain. The long and complicated inscription has vanished, and the marble slab forms part of the pavement. Such is the melancholy and humiliating picture of the memorials of a great medieval family.

MILITARY EFFIGY, about 1475. Apethorpe.

This half life-size alabaster effigy represents an armed man, bare-headed and with long curling hair after the fashion of the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The moderate size of the coudières is unexpected, but the gauntlets with piked cuffs and plain plate backs and leather fingers are characteristic of the time, as are also the engrailed genouillères articulations and sollerets. Over all is worn the tabard, the lineal successor of the armorial surcotes and jupons, and differing from the latter in being somewhat longer and having the flap sleeves. This garment, which eventually presented a strict fourfold picture of the heraldic coat of the wearer, is not seen earlier than in the beginning of the reign of Henry VI. and endured to the end of the sixteenth century, the example under notice being about fifteen years after his deposition in 1461. The head rests on the tilting helm, with the crest—a human-headed beast—and the feet on a chimerical animal. Above the head and forming part of the main block is a sculptured representation of the coronation of the Virgin. The principal figure has the right hand raised in benediction, the left, which formerly held the crown, being broken away. An angel bears a long scroll dividing the two figures. On the plinth are mutilated remains of four angels holding shields, and indications of the sword and misericorde. The memorial has long been removed from its tomb and lies on a window-sill on the north side of the chancel. The plinth has been cut to fit into the mullions and the whole figure much damaged by whitewash and cement.

EDWARD STAFFORD, EARL OF WILTSHIRE. Died 1499. Lowick.

On a high tomb of alabaster in the midst of a chapel on the south side of the beautiful church of Lowick, reposes the alabaster effigy of Edward Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire. This refined memorial is ordered in the will simply as 'a convenient tomb.' The earl is shown bare-headed, with hair long-flowing to the shoulders. He is habited in a cuirass and tassets with fluted tuiles, under which the mail skirt appears. The coudières are large, and fixed by nuts on the brassarts and avant-bras. The cuffed gauntlets consist entirely of a series of articulated plates to the tips of the

fingers, forming steel mufflers with leather foundations. The genouillères have quite lost the large wings of the middle of the century, and have the fine engrailed articulations of the end of it. Over the body is worn a tabard elaborately and delicately sculptured in front and on the sleeves with arms. The Earl of Wiltshire wears a dainty collar of SS, presumably representing that bequeathed in his will to 'my Lord and cousin of Shrewsbury' as 'my Collar of the King's Livery.' The sword is suspended from a plain belt, and the misericorde has been slung by a looped cord from a distinct and slender strap. The feet, clad in the wide-toed sollerets just come into fashion, rest upon a muzzled bear couchant upon the staff, the soles being further supported by crouching figures of ecclesiastics telling their beads. Under the head is the crest. Round the verge of the slab is the following inscription, in richly ornamented letters: *Orate pro Anima Edwardi Stafford Comititis Stafford Comititis Wyltshyr qui quidem Edwardus obiit hicesimo quarto die mensis marcii Anno Domini m^{lmo} CCCC Nonagesimo Nono Cuius Anime ppicietur Deus Amen.*

The Earl of Stafford was born April 7, 1469, and died March 24, 1499, being then in his twenty-ninth year. The effigy represents a man past middle age, with a drawn and harassed face and prominent bony brows, in accordance with the character of the conventional effigies of the end of the fifteenth century.

SIR HENRY VERE. Died 1516. Great Addington.

The alabaster effigy of Sir Henry Vere is very inferior as a work of art to that of his cousin the Earl of Wiltshire. Moreover it has greatly suffered at the hands of the iconoclasts, having been much scraped and mutilated to provide 'Vere powders' for the children of the village. The knight is shown bare-headed and with the long hair of the time. He wears a standard of mail—épaulières reinforced by pauldrons, a cuirass with its lance-rest, tassets, channelled tuiles and a skirt of mail. The coudières are of moderate dimensions and the gauntlets, with fingers of leather, have single plates shaped to the back of the hand, and plain cuffs. The wings of the genouillères are quite small, and the feet, protected by articulated sollerets, rest upon a muzzled bear, and the head upon a helm from which the crest is gone. The suit here represented is of the period when Sir Henry Vere flourished, and may consequently be taken to represent the harness in which he fought on the field of Bosworth in 1485.

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The last will of Sir Henry Vere contains this entry: 'Also I will that my tombe be made in our Lady's Chappell, with a vault in the wall of alybaster, and tomb of the same with a Pictur insolid on them.' There is nothing in the appearance of the countenance of the effigy to warrant a belief that it was sculptured as a portrait statue.

DAME ELIZABETH CHEYNE. Irthlingborough.

This mutilated alabaster effigy represents a lady of the early years of the sixteenth century in a pedimental head-dress with long lappets, a partlet, gown and mantle. It apparently commemorates Elizabeth first wife of Sir Thomas Cheyne, and only daughter of Henry Hodylston, by whose death in 1511 she became possessed of the manor of Irthlingborough.

SIR JOHN SPENCER, died 1522, and ISABEL his wife. Great Brington.

The Spencer tombs and effigies take a very high place among the sepulchral memorials of their period. Their condition is all that can be desired; they have never been mutilated, restored, or repainted, and the rich soft tone which the monuments and figures have acquired by age is very striking. Of the ten effigies eight are carved in clunch, the two latest being in white marble from the hand of Nicholas Stone. Tempting as it might be to consider the Brington monuments as a whole, and to treat at large of the manifold heraldry and the rich late Gothic and Renaissance details of the tombs, the exigences of a strict systematic arrangement of the effigies in the county, and of space, make it necessary to take the Spencer effigies indifferently with the others, as they fall by the deaths of the men into the chronological order which has been adopted, and to deal with them only in a like limited manner.

The effigies of Sir John Spencer and Dame Isabel his wife repose upon a high altar-tomb divided on either side into three compartments containing shields within enriched quatrefoils. Over the figures rises a four-centred arched canopy with a quatrefoiled entablature, surmounted by an elaborate cresting, and flanked by panelled and embattled turrets. It is a memorial of great refinement, and of special interest as the latest Gothic monument with effigies in the county. The sculpture throughout is admirable, and none can doubt that faithful portraits are here presented.

Sir John Spencer is represented wearing a simple gorget, his body being habited in a tabard. At the side openings of this garment the cuirass and taces appear, and below

it the tuiles and the mail skirt. The brasses and avant-bras are hinged after the old manner, the coudières decorated with rosettes, the cuissarts and jambes plain, and the large-winged genouillères and their single articulations ridged and engrailed. The feet are covered with engrailed sollerets ending with wide fluted sabbatons or toepieces, imitating the puffings of the civil fashion of the time. The heels resting on broad plate gauntlets, then just going out, show the construction of the soles and the straps fastening the sollerets. A scarlet mantle, lined green, falls to the feet, and is fastened across the breast by a continuously hinged band bearing the initials of the wearer. From the right side an estoc is suspended by a loop, and a sword on the left, both with Renaissance details, as is to be expected. The head rests upon a tilting helm with barred sights, surmounted by the wreath, and crest.

Dame Isabel Spencer, wears the pedimental head-dress with double lappets, paned and diapered. Her hair is braided in front, and flows behind her shoulders to the waist; she has a necklace from which a heart is suspended, and as this was the age of great gold chains, she wears three round her neck. The partlet is embroidered and edged with pearls, and the wrists similarly decorated. She is habited in a white kirtle edged with gold over a long scarlet gown covering her feet. From the girdle is suspended a rosary and a richly ornamented pomander chain; a heraldic mantle is looped across the breast by a tasselled cord, and falls in broad folds to the feet; it is embroidered with arms. At the feet are the mutilated remains of two squirrels.

At the east end of the canopy below the arch is this inscription in Roman capitals:—

HERE LIETH THE BODDIES OF SIR JOHN
SPENCER KNIGHT & DAME ISABELL HIS
WIFE ONE OF THE DAUGHTERS & COHEIRES
OF WALTER GRAUNT OF SNITTERFIELD
IN THE COUNTIE OF WAR: ESQUIER HER
MOTHER WAS THE DAUGHTER AND HEIRE
OF HUMPHRIE RUDINGE OF THE WICH
IN THE COUN: OF WORCESTER ESQ: WHICH
JOHN AND ISABELL HAD ISSU SIR WILL'M
SPENCER KNIGHT 1. ANTHONY SPENCER
2. WHO DIED WITHOUT ISSU. JANE WIFE
TO RICH: KNIGHTLEY ESQUIER SON'E &
HEIRE OF SIR RICHARDE KNIGHTLEY OF
FAWSLEY IN THE COUNTIE OF NORTH:
KNIGHT. ISABELL MARIED TO SIR NIC'S:
STRELLY OF STRELLY IN THE CON'TIE
OF NOTT. KNIGHT. DOROTHEE MARIED
TO SIR RICH: CATESBIE OF LEGERS
ASHBIE IN THE COUN: OF NORTH: KNI:
WHICH JOHN SPENC: DEPARTED
THIS LIFE THE 14 OF APR. A^O D'NI 1522



one foot. *T.M.* 1508.



one foot *T.M.* 1508.

SIR JOHN SPENCER, DIED 1522, AND ISABEL HIS WIFE. GREAT BRINGTON.

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ABBOT ROBERT KIRTON. Died 1528. Peterborough Cathedral.

The sixth effigy in the great Benedictine church is that of a mitred abbot carved in clunch, and very much defaced. The figure is shown wearing the alb with its apparels, tunic, dalmatic, stole and chasuble. Upon the head appears the mutilated remains of the mitre, it rests upon two pillows, and is supported on either side by angels. As this effigy is that of a mitred abbot there are only two to whom it can be ascribed—Kirton, forty-fourth abbot, and Chambers, forty-fifth and last abbot and first bishop, who would no doubt have been represented in a cope rather than a chasuble. The first mitred abbot of Peterborough was William Genge, elected in 1396, and from his time to that of Kirton it

is recorded that the abbots had brasses for their monuments, all of which were despoiled in 1643. Robert Kirton was elected in 1496. He erected 'that goodly building at the east end of the church,' and the gateway leading to the deanery. He died in 1528, and was buried under a high tomb in the chapel of St. Mary.

The effigies in Peterborough Cathedral may be compared with those early ecclesiastical figures in the cloisters at Westminster. They are not of so stately a character as those at Wells and York, nor do they occupy their original positions like those at Rochester, for in this respect they have shared the same fate as the Salisbury and Worcester monuments. They may be regarded as the most interesting series of early abbatial effigies in this country.

PART II

RENAISSANCE AND LATER PERIOD

CHIEF-JUSTICE SIR ROBERT BRUDENELL died 1531, and DAMES MARGARET and PHILIPPE his wives. Deene.

The alabaster effigies of these three personages lie upon an altar-tomb of a debased Italian, or rather early English Renaissance style, divided on the sides by arabesque shafts, sculptured with naked figures and vine and ivy foliage, into three compartments, containing shields in foliated lozenge-shaped panels.

The Chief-Justice is shown in the full judicial costume, precisely such as is seen on the bench at the present day with the exception of the head-gear. He wears a black cornered cap, a coif, and a scarlet gown with loose white sleeves, showing the close white sleeves of the doublet; he has no tippet or hood, but a scarlet mantle fastened by an ouche on the right side, and a collar of SS with a pendent Tudor rose.

Dame Margaret Brudenell, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Entwissel has her brown hair braided with black ribbon; she wears a blue pedimental head-dress with black lappets, a white pleated partlet, and three gold chains round her neck. The white gown has divided sleeves with ruffles, the blue mantle is fastened by a gold chain, a loosely-knotted yellow sash is about her waist, and two lapdogs lie at her feet.

Dame Philippe, the relict, daughter of Philip Englefield, wears the mourning habit, consisting of a long veil, and a barbe under the chin, according to her rank, a black gown with plain cuffs, and a long black mantle looped up under the right arm. It is doubtful

whether any of the three figures are portraits.

Round the verge of the tomb is the following inscription: of your charite pray for the soules of sr robt brudenell knight late chief justice of the kingys bench at westm̄ and Margaret and dame phylpp his wyves r robt dyed ye xxx daye of Januarie anno dñi m cccc xxxi and ye xij daye of phyllyppe dyed the xxiii daye of Marche anno dñi m cccc xxiii & lgen here on whose soules ihu have mercy Amen.

At this point it will be convenient to allude to the three other effigies in the county in judicial dress.

SIR EDWARD MONTAGU, successively Chief Justice of the King's Bench and of the Common Pleas, is shown in his alabaster portrait effigy at Weekley in the robes of a judge. He died in 1557.

SIR CHRISTOPHER YELVERTON, Judge of the Queen's Bench, died 1612, is represented in his excellent portrait effigy in alabaster, together with that of his wife, Mary Catesby, at Easton Mauduit, in full legal habits. In the same church is the portrait effigy in alabaster of his son, SIR HENRY YELVERTON, Judge of the Common Pleas, died 1629, together with that of his wife, Margaret Beale. He is in complete legal dress, precisely the same as that of his father.

In Steane church is the careful portrait effigy in white marble of SIR THOMAS CREWE,

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King's Serjeant and Speaker of the House of Commons, died 1633, and that of his wife, Temperance Bray. He wears a triple ruff, and the coif and gown of a 'serjeant of the law ware and wise.' Both figures appear to be from the hand of Nicholas Stone.

SIR RICHARD KNIGHTLEY, died 1534, and JOAN his wife. Fawsley.

The alabaster portrait effigies of this worthy member of an ancient family and his wife lie upon a Renaissance tomb of much the same character as that of Sir Robert Brudenell at Deane. The sides are divided into four compartments. On the north are four female figures, and in each division on the south two male figures. The east end abuts against the respond of the arch, and at the west is the Knightley achievement (as on the tabard) surmounted by a helmet with mantling and crest.

Sir Richard Knightley wears a tabard blazoned with arms on the front and each sleeve. Over the tabard is a collar of SS, from which is suspended a Tudor rose. This marked the position of Gentleman Usher Extraordinary to the King. Round the neck is the mail gorget, and under the tabard appear the upright neck guards of the pauldrons, and below it the large tuilles over the mail skirt. The knees are protected by articulated genouillères, and the feet by plain round-toed sollerets, unusual at this period, when broad sollerets were in full fashion. Inside the tilting helm, upon which the head rests, is a loose lining of mail, reaching beyond the edge; this was to defend that part of the neck where the headpiece and gorget come in contact.

Dame Joan Knightley, daughter and heir of Henry Skennard, wears the pedimental head-dress, a partlet embroidered at the neck, a waistcote, to which are attached divided sleeves, connected at intervals by points or laces, a kirtle of ermine, a gown, and over all a heraldic mantle, showing that the original was embroidered with the same Knightley quarterings and impaled coats as are exhibited on the knight's tabard, and on the achievement at the west end of the tomb—a striking costume.

In all probability both effigies are as careful portraits as could under the circumstances be produced.

The alabaster effigy of the lord of Fawsley's eldest son, RICHARD KNIGHTLEY of Upton, together with that of his wife JANE, eldest daughter of the first Sir John Spencer, remain at Upton in a greatly disfigured state, the monument having been destroyed before the time of Bridges. The knight is shown

wearing a gorget and a standard of mail, a collar of SS and a tabard, below which the usual tuilles and mail skirt appear. The culettes and taces are seen at the side, the elbows are protected by plain coudières, the knees by articulated genouillères, and the feet shod with articulated sollerets, and armed with long-necked spurs. The lady is habited in the usual gown, kirtle and mantle of the time, and her long hair flows from a plain caul with a jewelled edge. She wears gold chains, a collar of SS, a girdle and a rosary. Richard Knightley succeeded his father at Fawsley in 1534 and died in 1537.

WILLIAM PARR, LORD PARR OF HORTON. Died 1546, and MARY LADY PARR. Horton.

The alabaster portrait effigies of Lord and Lady Parr lie upon a tomb of the same stone and of the same Renaissance character as those of Brudenell at Deane and Knightley at Fawsley, in the midst of the chancel. Both figures are very delicately sculptured, and of the best work of the time, the greatest care having been bestowed by the sculptor upon the waving curls of Lord Parr's hair and patriarchal beard. He is represented in armour, with remarkably large upright pass-guards protecting the neck, and formed by turning back the upper members of the pauldrons which cover the shoulders. The waist is encircled by tassets, from which large channelled tuilles are suspended over the mail skirt. The coudières no longer have the exaggerated form of the preceding century, and are ornamented with an incised pattern. The knees are protected by plain genouillères, kept in place by straps passing behind and fastened by screws. The feet are covered with the broad-toed sollerets, and take the form of the general civil costume then in fashion, as was usually the case with armour. From the back quillon of the sword plain gauntlets of plate are suspended by a loop, no doubt representing the actual practice in real military life, and on the right side of the figure a heavy dagger or 'ballok-knyf' is hung from a cord round the waist, at the bottom of the plain ridged breastplate. The head rests upon the tilting helm, exhibiting the usual loose lining of mail of the time, which protected the neck, and is surmounted by the crest. Over the shoulders is worn a collar of SS from which a Tudor rose depends. This signifies the wearer's attachment to the royal person as Lord Chamberlain to his niece Queen Katherine Parr.

The effigy of Lady Parr lies on the left side of that of her gallant husband, and is a good example of a splendid and peculiar cos-



WILLIAM PARR LORD PARR OF HORTON, DIED 1546, AND MARY LADY PARR.
HORTON.

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tume which rapidly passed away at the death of Henry VIII. She is represented in a pedimental head-dress, with plain lappets pinned up at the sides, and her hair braided with ribbon. She wears a partlet embroidered at the neck, and two gold chains, from which a four-leaved flower is suspended. A tight-fitting gown, cut square at the neck, falls in plain folds to the feet; round the waist is a loosely-knotted girdle from which a gypciere or purse hangs by a cord with a running knot, and is drawn together by a tasselled string. The gown has divided sleeves attached to it, connected at intervals by points, and showing the pleated under-sleeves of the partlet, with ruffles at the wrist. The lady's head rests upon double pillows—they were called cushions after the period of the Reformation—supported by angels, and at her feet are two lapdogs with belled collars.

The tomb is divided into compartments with semi-circular arched canopies containing shields at the ends and figures at the sides. On the north side of the tomb are five female figures in pedimental head-dresses, and wearing pomanders; on the south side are two figures of ecclesiastics in tippets and hoods, and three men in long-sleeved gowns, open in front. Arms are painted on three shields at the two ends. Round the verge is the following inscription:

HERE LIETH · SIR · WELIAM · PAR · KNIGHT
· LAT · LORDE · PAR · OF · HORTON · AND
· LORDE · CHAMBERLENE · TO · THE · QVINES
· HIGHNES · DISESID · THE · X · OF · SEPTEMBER · ANO · 1546
HERE · LIE · TH · MARIE · DOWGHTER · AND COHEIR OF JOHN ·
SALISBERI · ESQVIER · LATE · WIF · TO ·
SER · WELIAM · PAR · LORD PAR · OF ·
HORTON · DESESED · THE · X · OF · IVLI ·
A · 1555.

SIR THOMAS TRESHAM. Died 1559. Rushton.

This alabaster effigy is remarkable as the only one of its kind in England. Tresham is shown wearing the long black mantle with a cross flory on the breast, the dress of a knight Hospitaller; the sword is worn over the mantle and portions of the armour are visible at the neck, wrists and ankles.

When Capt. Symonds visited Rushton June 5, 1645, the day before the battle of Naseby the alabaster tomb and effigy were in the church of St. Peter. This was pulled down in 1785 when the monuments were removed to All Saints church.

SIR THOMAS ANDREW, died 1564, and DAMES KATHERINE and MARY his wives. Charwelton.

Sir Thomas Andrew is represented in a tabard, blazoned as usual upon the front, back and sleeves, with his arms. The upright guards of the pauldrons, and the straps and buckles fastening the cuirass to the back-piece appear above this garment. The coudières show the vanishing channels of earlier times, and the nuts fastening them to the straps which kept them in place. Below the tabard is the mail skirt, and the genouillères and articulations have the characteristic plainness of their date. The head rests upon the tilting helm with its mail skirt, mantling and crest—a Moor's head. A collar of SS is worn with a pendent Tudor rose.

The effigies of the two ladies show them dressed alike in high-collared gowns, kirtles with divided sleeves, and mantles looped across the breast, the heads reposing on embroidered cushions.

The figure of Sir Thomas Andrew lies between those of his two wives upon an altar-tomb with the sides divided into three compartments containing shields. At the east end of the tomb is the coat of Andrew with crest between a man and seven sons, and a woman and three daughters, all kneeling.

Round the verge of the tomb is the following inscription:

Sub isto tum'lo jacet domina Katerina Andrewes prima uxor Thome Andrewes militis una filiar' et heredum Edwardi Cabe Armige' que quidem Katerina obiit decimo octavo die Augusti an'o mill'imo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, of howse solle God habe mercy. Amen.

It is thus shown that the monument was set up by Sir Thomas Andrew after the death of his first wife. He married secondly Mary, daughter of John Heneage. It is evident that the figures are not the accurate portraits that might have been expected.

WILLIAM CHAUNCY, died 1585, and JOAN his wife. Edgecote.

A considerable decline in interest, both antiquarian and artistic, is evinced by the rude and well-preserved alabaster effigies and tomb of the elder Chauncys. The effigy of the man shows him in armour of much the same character that has been noticed in earlier figures in the county. But the upright pass-guards of the pauldrons are gone, and in the place of the tuiles suspended from the tassets—seen for the last time on the effigy of Knightley of Fawsley—we have tuiles of articulated plates, a style which endured as long as armour was worn, working freely with sliding rivets,

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and known as 'Almayne rivet.' The armour generally is now of a lifeless and uninteresting character, though no doubt that under notice accurately represents a real suit. Chauncy's ruff and heavy gold chains, the articulated tuiles, and the method of suspending the sword are very characteristic of the time, as is also the dress of the lady—French hood, large ruff, pleated stomacher, gold chains and pomander. On the north side and west end of the tomb are coats of arms of Chauncy and Bustard, and round the verge of the tomb an inscription to the effect that William Chauncy, who deceased April 6th, 1585, and Joan Bustard his wife, who died May 7th, 1571, are here intombed. The alabaster tomb and effigy of their son SIR TOBY CHAUNCY, and his two wives, born respectively Shelley and Risley are counterparts of those of the father and mother. Sir Toby died in 1607.

At Rockingham are the greatly abraded and mutilated effigies of SIR EDWARD WATSON died 1616, and ANN his wife, born Digby. It is clear that these were again counterparts of those at Edgecton, and that none of them have any pretension to be portrait statues.

SIR JOHN SPENCER, died 1586, and DAME KATHERINE his wife. Brington.

In nearing the end of the sixteenth century, the armour shown by the military effigies and the costume of the ladies gradually tend to deteriorate in artistic quality; and in the place of the simpler memorials of knights of Gothic times, with their highly interesting harness, in which every detail tells its story, and the graceful or picturesque statues of their dames—we have the ornate and often garish monuments of the Renaissance, conceived indeed in the same pious spirit as the stony records of earlier times, but naturally of less antiquarian import and value. On the other hand many of the memorials in the well-favoured and historic county, now to be briefly considered, have the wider and more human interest as presenting portrait effigies of personages who took considerable positions during the spacious days of Elizabeth, and whose history forms part of that of the country, while Northamptonshire has the honour of holding their monuments in its keeping.

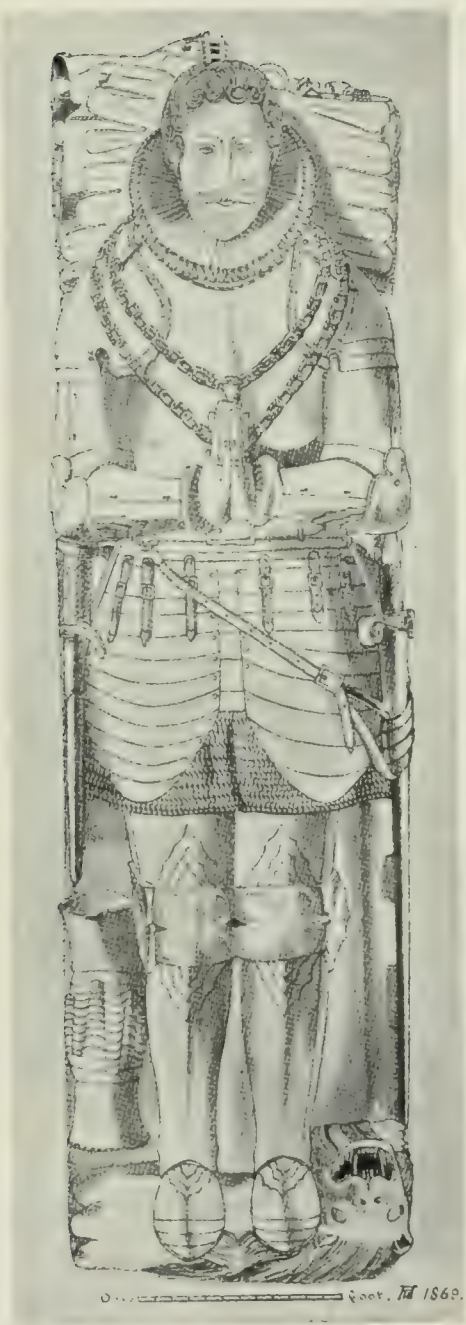
The tomb and effigies of Sir John Spencer and his wife is a conspicuous and typical example of the memorials just alluded to. He wears a double ruff, and a tabard over trunk hose, the arms and legs being clad in armour decorated throughout with an Italian feeling. It may be a question whether the singular ridged and engrailed cuissarts represent

portions of an actual suit. The head rests upon a naked helm, with neither mantling or feathers, and the heels upon gauntlets with well-defined details. On the left arm is worn an oval targe—the parma of the Roman soldier, which at this period, in accordance with the Renaissance feeling of the time, again took its place among military equipments in England. This example is charged with Spencer quarterings. The lofty altar-tomb is surmounted by a semicircular canopy, entablature and pediment, the whole being replete with manifold coats of Spencer, and quarterings; the entire monument is of clunch, richly painted. Dame Katherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Kitson of Hengrave, wears a large ruff in nebule folds, a tight bodice, with full puckered sleeves, pleated stomacher, and scarf. A large hood à calèche, reaching below the waist, partly shades the face, and over the lower half of the figure a coverlid is disposed in broad folds, draping the feet. The head rests upon delicately embroidered cushions. Both effigies have the appearance of being faithful portraits. The will directs that the executors should make a tomb such as they think fit.

The effigy of his son SIR JOHN SPENCER, died 1599, and of his wife MARY, only daughter and heir of Sir Robert Catelin, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, lie upon a very stately wide and low altar-tomb, under a lofty canopy, embellished with many coats of arms, and supported by square arabesque pillars and Corinthian columns—perhaps the design of John Thorpe. The entire monument is in clunch. The knight wears the heraldic tabard, and the armour differs in very slight respect from that of his father, the tabard—the latest example in the county, perhaps the latest in England—being worn over trunk hose and Almayne rivet; the cuissarts are horizontally articulated, and the genouillères decorated with arabesques. The head rests upon a finely-proportioned and well-plumed helm and the feet upon gauntlets. The costume of Dame Mary is more ornamental, but much the same as that of her predecessor, a fluted hood à calèche of moderate size being worn over the head. Both effigies must be accurate portraits.

WILLIAM CECIL LORD BURGHLEY, died 1599. Stamford Baron.

William Cecil, Lord Burghley, is exhibited in his alabaster effigy lying on a noble canopied Renaissance tomb of alabaster, 'touch' and other marbles, and further decorated with the armorial bearings of Cheke, Coke and Cecil. He holds in his right hand the staff



WILLIAM CHAUNCY, DIED 1585, AND JOAN HIS WIFE. EDGEFCOTT.

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of Lord High Treasurer, and is habited in the mantle of the Garter—then crimson, lined ermine, as shown—worn over a complete suit of armour, with large articulated tuiles of 'Almayne rivet' over trunk hose. This is apparently to a great extent a conventional suit, but based by the sculptor upon those which the armourer Jacobi made for Sir Christopher Hatton, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Henry Lee and others. The effigy lies upon a platted mattress—an ugly fashion of the time, which modern sculptors have had the bad taste to reintroduce—rolled up under the head, which is supported by a cushion. The face of the effigy is a striking portrait, well recognized from Mark Garrard's fine picture at Burghley.

SIR WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM, died 1599, and **DAME ANN** his wife. Marholme.

The effigies, carved in clunch, lie hand-in-hand on a tomb of the same stone with shields within arched panels on the side. Fitzwilliam wears an articulated gorget fastened with Almayne rivets, a breastplate with a tapul, large articulated tuiles of Almayne rivet over trunk hose, a bragetto, articulated cuissarts, genouillères, jambes and sollerets, all the details being most carefully rendered. The absence of the tabard shows very clearly the shoulder defences of the time, the whole suit being no doubt an accurate copy of real and well fitting armour. The head rests upon an armet. Dame Ann, daughter of Sir William Sidney, is shown simply dressed in a small jewelled French hood, a red embroidered bodice buttoned up to the throat, with high collar and ruff, and a loose scarlet gown with fronts of arabesque work.

SIR EDWARD MONTAGU, died 1601, and **DAME ELIZABETH** his wife. Weekley.

The interest of the effigy of this personage consists principally in the armour exhibited having the appearance of being a copy of a real suit. The tuiles, of uncommon moderate dimensions, the fitting and careful construction of the elbow-pieces and gauntlets deserve attention, and in all probability the face is a portrait. The head rests upon a close helmet. The figure of Dame Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Harrington, presents a simple and picturesque dress, and free from the ungainly extravagances not unusual at this time.

LADY ELIZABETH KNIGHTLEY. Died 1602. Norton.

This is the alabaster effigy of Lady Elizabeth, Dame Knightley, fourth daughter of Edward Duke of Somerset, Protector of England. It lies upon an alabaster altar-

tomb with an arched canopy, supported by two circular Corinthian columns of black marble. The lady is shown in a jewelled French hood, a large single ruff, a plain bodice with an elaborately embroidered skirt and a mantle lined with ermine. The hands and features are very small. On comparing this memorial with that set up by James I. in 1606 in the Abbey, to Mary Queen of Scots, it is evident that both are from the studio of the same sculptor—Cornelius Cure.

JOHN REDE. Died 1604. Cottesbrooke.

On an alabaster tomb in the form of a sarcophagus, in front of a recessed Corinthian arch, lies the alabaster effigy of John Rede. He is shown in a suit of armour well representing that worn at the beginning of the seventeenth century, including a plate gorget, a peascod breastplate and back-piece, articulated tuiles of Almayne rivet over trunk hose, and articulated half cuissarts. The figure lies upon a platted mattress rolled up to support the head, the clumsy fashion then lately introduced from the Low Countries. In front of the tomb are eight female figures, his daughters, kneeling in pairs, seven in the usual dress of the day and one in black, with hood à calèche, representing Theodozea who died unmarried. There is one male figure kneeling apart in a suit of armour, the only son, who died in 1603.

SIR GEORGE FERMOR, died 1612, and **DAME MARY** his wife. Easton Neston.

The alabaster effigies lie upon an altar-tomb in front of a wide monument placed against the north wall of the chancel. This comprises a semi-circular arch surmounted by an entablature, supported by two circular Corinthian columns, with an obelisk at each end. The whole monument is exceedingly rich with heraldry, arranged with excellent taste, and is in the finest possible condition. The knight wears a suit of armour so carefully rendered that it must have been copied from the real harness that served the wearer in the Low Countries. The plate gorget, peascod breastplate, deep articulated tuiles of Almayne rivet over trunk hose, and the half cuissarts are very characteristic of the time. The head rests on a helmet and the heels on gauntlets. Dame Mary, daughter and heir of Thomas Curson of Addington, co. Bucks, wears a plain gown tied all down the front with bows of ribbon and a small hood à calèche. Both faces are undoubtedly portraits.

WILLIAM RUSSELL, **LORD RUSSELL OF THORNHAUGH**. Died 1613. Thornhaugh.

The stone effigy of this illustrious soldier

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lies upon a plain stone altar-tomb, and presents a well-proportioned and martial figure clad in a suit just like that of his companion in arms Sir George Fermor. Such must have been the appearance of the splendid retinue of captains who were sent to Holland with the Earl of Leicester in 1585, and in this harness he appeared on the celebrated field of Zutphen in the following year, and soothed the last hours of his friend Sir Philip Sidney. The sword-belt offers an excellent example of the 'hangers.' On the north side of the tomb, kneeling before faldstools charged with impaled coats, are figures of Lord Russell's three sisters—Ann, Countess of Warwick; Elizabeth, Countess of Bath; and Margaret, Countess of Cumberland. They wear jewelled cauls, ruffs, and scarlet mantles lined ermine. On the south side are three figures of men in armour, wearing scarlet cloaks lined ermine. These are the three brothers of Lord Russell, who also kneel before faldstools bearing the respective impaled coats of their marriages.

SIR JOHN NEDHAM. Died 1616. Lichborough.

The alabaster effigy lies upon a tomb of the same material, and represents the Gentleman Pensioner in a suit of armour so carefully detailed as to make it almost a certainty that it was copied from the harness of office. Moreover the full-length coeval portrait in civil dress in the possession of Mr. Edward Grant of Lichborough Hall, with the original pensioner's axe alongside of it, indicates that the effigy is a faithful likeness. The head rests upon a helmet, the latest example in the county of this military pillow; it is decorated with a copious plume of feathers, a good instance of the feather fashions of the time, common alike with soldiers and civilians, as well as to noblemen's bedposts. Every gentleman pensioner had a man to carry his axe when he was not in duty bound to carry it himself. Both in the effigy and the picture the knight carries a stick in token of his quality.

SIR ANTHONY MILDMAI, died 1617, and DAME GRACE his wife. Apethorpe.

The effigies lie upon a well proportioned and stately tomb, with a canopy in the form of a dome of two stages, with excellent life-size allegorical figures at the sides and on the frieze of the canopy, the whole memorial being of alabaster. Sir Anthony, son of Sir Walter Mildmay, is represented in the usual armour of the time, with large tuiles of Almayne rivet over trunk hose, and lies upon a finely platted mattress of careful make. Dame

Grace, co-heir of Sir Henry Sherington of Lacock, wears a gown, mantle and hood à calèche. Both figures strongly resemble the full-length portraits formerly in the long gallery of the delightful house at Apethorpe, chiefly of Sir Walter Mildmay's building, which were unhappily sold a few years ago. On the tomb and canopy are many shields of arms.

SIR ARTHUR THROCKMORTON, died 1626, and DAME ANN his wife. Paulerspury.

These alabaster effigies lie upon a continuous tomb of black and white marble at the west end of the chancel aisle. Sir Arthur wears a coif, large falling bands and cuffs, and a complete suit of the armour of his time that has been so often exemplified. The right leg has been restored in stone. The lady, who was daughter of Sir Thomas Lucas of Colchester—together with Lord Lisle, 'in cold blood barbarously murdered'—has her hair crisped, and wears an old-fashioned single ruff, and a tight bodice with slashed virago sleeves.

The effigies are doubtless portraits, and are early instances of the abandonment of the recumbent position.

ROBERT LORD SPENCER, died 1627, and MARGARET his wife. Brington.

The clunch effigies of Lord Spencer and his wife lie upon an altar-tomb, under a semi-circular canopy, enriched with armorial bearings, and supported upon fluted Corinthian columns with black marble capitals; above the entablature on each side are three pyramids with shields on their bases. Lord Spencer is represented in a complete suit of armour, decorated throughout with an Italian taste, and of an earlier date than that in which he died. He is shown in a close helmet or burgonet with the visor up, a plate gorget and a peascod breastplate, with the skirts or bases charged with arms. Round the waist is a strap with three buckles, from which an estoc is suspended by a loop and tassel. The whole of these are of iron, and the straps and buckles in complete working order. The head rests upon a green grass mound, and the heels upon the gauntlets. The Lady Spencer wears a French hood edged with pearls. Her hair is arranged in a number of small curls close to the face, and brushed back. She wears a plain open ruff and a simple pleated dress of a pale lilac colour. Below the waist some drapery is loosely disposed over a sort of heraldic herse, which covers the lower part of the figure. The peculiar costume of this effigy is doubtless in allusion to the circumstances of Mar-



DAME ELIZABETH CARLY. DIED 1630.
STOWE-NINE-CHURCHES.

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garet Spencer's death in childbed. The head rests on two cushions, rich in flowing arabesques. From the fact, as stated in the inscription, that 'Robert Lord Spencer built this monume't in his life anno 1599,' both effigies must be taken as faithful portraits.

Although not an effigy, the very singular memorial in white marble of SIR EDWARD SPENCER (died 1655), fourth son of Lord Spencer, may not be omitted from these accounts. It consists of a pedestal supporting an urn out of which arises the life-size portrait bust in armour. The urn is flanked on the right and left sides respectively by a square and a round column and of the same height as the urn. The right hand is placed on the heart, the left resting on a book, the action probably signifying that by the aid of the Book the dead man will rise from his funeral urn.

The final sentence of the Latin inscription on the marble urn is as follows:—'*Maria uxor charissima monume'tu' hoc ipse ut descriptis viv', honoris et amoris ergo mortuo erexit.*'

In one of the 'Note Books' of Nicholas Stone in the Soane Museum is the following entry: 'In ano 1656 I set up a tombe for Sir Edward Spencer att Brainton neare Althrop in Northamptonshire for w^{ch} I had Li 64.'

DAME ELIZABETH CAREY. Died 1630. Stowe-nine-Churches.

This beautiful white marble effigy represents Lady Carey in a richly embroidered bodice or gown, and a mantle lined ermine. The head is covered with a coverchief, a feature very characteristic of the works of Nicholas Stone. This is justly considered his masterpiece. It was set up in Lady Carey's lifetime, and must therefore be an accurate portrait. In the sculptor's 'Note Book' in the Soane Museum the following entry occurs: 'The 16th of March, 1617, I undertoke to mak a tombe for my Lady, mother to my Lord Da'vers, which was all of whit marbell and touch, and I set it up at Stow of the nine chirches in Northampton some two year after, one altertomb for the wich I had £220.'

ELIZABETH, youngest daughter of John Nevill Lord Latimer, by Lucy, daughter of Henry Somerset second Earl of Worcester, married first Sir John Danvers, and secondly Sir Edward Carey, third son of Henry Lord Hunsdon. Her own alliances as well as those of her six daughters and her third and youngest son—together with the coats of her two elder sons and her seventh daughter—are displayed on white marble oval shields on the tomb of 'touch.'

SIR WILLIAM DOVE, died 1633, and DAMES FRANCES and DOROTHY his wives. Upton, near Peterborough.

Under a large canopied altar-tomb, supported by four Ionic columns, the whole of Barnack rag, lies the effigy of the knight carved in fine red stone, between those of his two wives. He wears the usual armour of his time, and lies upon a platted mattress, rolled up to form a support for the head. The rugged countenance, with its wrinkles and warts, are evidences of an accurate portrait. The figure of Dame Frances is also in fine red stone, and the face clearly a likeness. She wears a falling ruff or band edged with lace, a bodice, and a gown with slashed virago sleeves, lace-edged ruffles, and a coverchief over the head. Dame Dorothy wears a hood à calèche, falling ruff, loose body with narrow bodice, gown and mantle. This elegant portrait effigy is carved in clunch, and doubtless all of them are the work of Nicholas Stone.

WILLIAM LORD SPENCER, died 1636, and PENELOPE his wife. Brington.

The tomb of this nobleman is a very stately erection. It consists of a large basement table of black and white marble; upon this is placed a low altar-tomb of 'touch,' sustaining the white marble effigies. Above them rises a lofty canopy supported upon eight Corinthian pillars of black marble with white capitals. On the tomb and canopy are numerous impalements and quarterings of Spencer, and a long Latin inscription at the east end of the tomb. The effigies are very delicately sculptured in every respect, and are of course faithful portraits, having been set up in 1638, twenty-nine years before the death of Lady Spencer. Her noble husband is shown wearing a pique devant beard and a falling band edged with lace. He is habited in peer's robes, well disposed and lined ermine. The badge of the Order of the Bath hangs from a broad ribbon, and a very elegant sword, with an escallop shell at the hilt, lies free on his right. Lady Spencer wears Stone's characteristic coverchief over the head, and a lace collar richly decorated with jewels and SS for Spencer. She is habited in a loose gown with wide sleeves and double lace cuffs, and the mantle of a peeress lined ermine. The hands are long and slender, and the countenance betokens the nobility of her character. The cushions of both effigies are rich with arabesque patterns very beautifully executed. The monument is the work of Nicholas Stone, and his 'Note Book' records that it was erected at the cost of £600, the figure of

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Lord Spencer being carved under the sculptor's superintendence by Richard Hargrave for £14, and that of Lady Spencer by John White for £15.

SIR JOHN LANGHAM, died 1671, and MARY his wife. Cottesbrooke.

These white marble effigies lie upon coarse platted mattresses on a handsome tomb of black and white marble, with coats-of-arms on the north and south sides of the monument. Sir John Langham is habited in an alderman's gown faced with fur, and wears his own hair. The moustaches are carefully brushed upwards in a series of small curls, and a wart sculptured on the right side of the face indicates a faithful portrait. The lady, a daughter of James Bunce, wears a coverchief, a stomacher, and a gown embroidered at the bottom; in the right hand she holds a rose. The fine condition of the monument, which is probably from the workshop of John Stone, is attributable to the original iron railings still surrounding it.

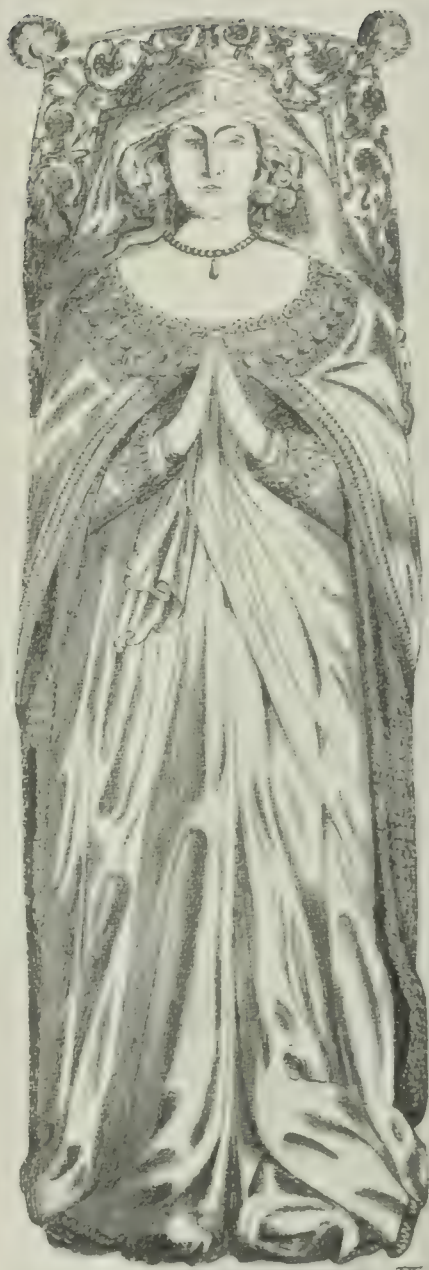
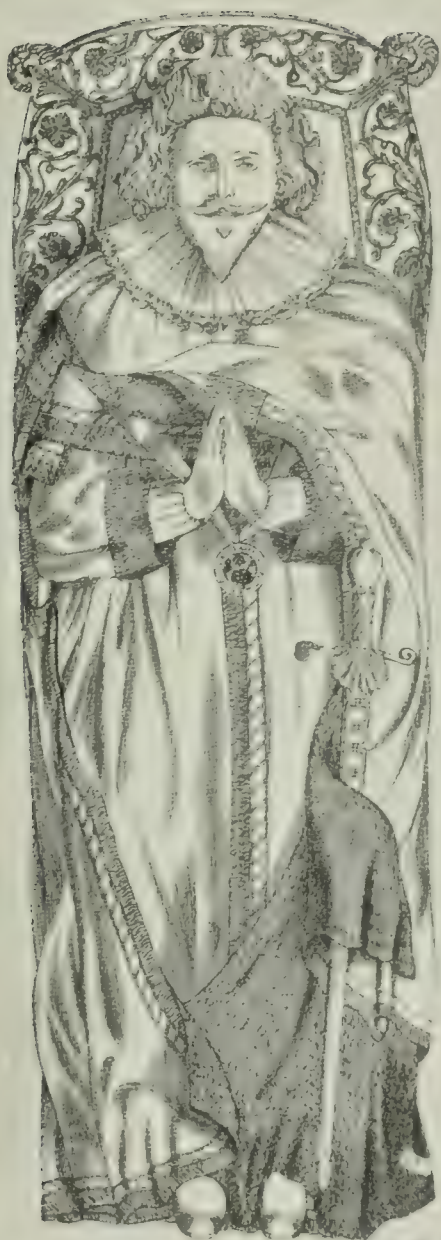
EDWARD GORGES, LORD DUNDALK, living 1634, and KATHERINE his wife. Maidwell.

The stone effigy of Lord Dundalk is interesting as an example of civil dress. This consists of falling band, doublet with slashed sleeves, trunk hose fastened by points or ties finished with fancies or aglets. He has yellow nether stocks or stockings with white tops and carefully wrinkled boots. The lady, who was widow of Edward Haslewood and

daughter and heir of Sir Robert Osborne, wears a coverchief, a gown with slashed sleeves, and the scarlet mantle of a peeress lined ermine. In the time of Bridges the monument stood in the chancel; it was subsequently removed to the outside of the east end of the chancel, and protected to a certain extent by a framework of glass. Thus it remained until 1891, when it was taken back to its original site in the chancel. The monument consists of a semi-circular recessed arch containing the effigies, which lie under a canopy with a broken pediment, supported by two Corinthian columns.

SIR JOHN GERMAINE died 1718, and LADY MARY MORDAUNT his wife. Lowick.

These white marble effigies are good examples of a bad style—of the *dégringolade* of monumental art. He is shown in a suit of armour, which it is doubtful if he ever wore, and a full-bottomed periwig. The lady, dressed in a low and loose gown, has naked feet, holds a palm branch in her left hand, and, like her husband, is shown lolling with the right elbow on a cushion, which in her case is further embellished and supported, in the odd taste of the time, by a human skull. This queer monumental production—so strangely contrasting with the dignified monuments of early times—is probably the work of Francis Bird, a greatly abused and industrious sculptor, much employed for want of a better by Sir Christopher Wren at St. Paul's Cathedral.



WILLIAM LORD SPENCER, DIED 1636, AND PENELOPE LADY SPENCER. GREAT BRINGTON.

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